

JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS

MEMORIAL STUDIES



Edited by

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PREFACE

*Fear no more the heat o' th' sun,
Nor the furious winter's rages;
Thou thy worldly task hast done,
Home art gone, and ta'en thy wages.*

On November 10, 1946, Joseph Quincy Adams completed his worldly tasks. The end was not unexpected, for his health had failed rapidly, and he had been sustained chiefly by his courage and an unconquerable will. Yet his gentleness never failed, nor his quiet humor.

Rarely is a man blessed, as was Dr. Adams, with the capacity and good fortune to win equal renown as a teacher, as a productive scholar, and as an administrator. His students love to talk of his stimulating lectures, of the wide range of his learning, of his keen insight, and, above all, of the rich personality which revealed itself equally in the patient direction of a dissertation and in the interpretation of literature.

More than local fame came with the publication in the learned journals of Dr. Adams's earliest notes and essays. These manifested the qualities that characterize all his major works: awareness of problems, grasp of the essentials, mastery of detail, power of organization, and cogency of statement. To these may be added originality and imagination. The notes collected through the spring and summer of 1946 for a revised edition of *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert* indicate that he was then at the height of his intellectual powers.

From the events of his career as teacher, editor and author at Cornell, few of even his closest friends could have guessed, when Dr. Adams came to the Folger Shakespeare Library, that he would within a few years prove to be a statesman of the first rank in the field of research library administration. Approaching the responsibilities of directorship as he would a scholarly problem, he first made it his business to ascertain from the correspondence of Henry Clay Folger the purposes of the Founder of the Library, and then he projected and put into execution the plans which would bring to rich fruition Folger's life-long dreams.

Putting aside his cherished plans for the lucrative Adams edition of Shakespeare, the initial volumes of which, *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, had won instant success, he identified himself completely with the Library and devoted himself exclusively to institutional problems: the building of the collections, the plans for cataloguing books and manuscripts, the

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publication of reprints of unique Shakespearian materials, the establishment of fellowships, and the service both in the reading room and through correspondence to scholars all over the world. By his personal example he established a fine tradition of scholarly generosity to readers and inquirers that is said to be unique. Nor was he unmindful of the needs and interests of the general public. The choicest items from the collections of artistic and museum materials were selected and exhibited with the greatest care, along with important books and manuscripts. And the visual education of high school and college students was given impetus by the series of Folger prints and views. An account of the first decade of Dr. Adams's stewardship written by his own hand will be found in modest terms in *The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1931-1941: A Report on Progress*. This does not include the events of his last five years, but it does reveal how by the exercise of wisdom, common sense and intuition Dr. Adams was able with limited funds to make the Folger one of the three great English Renaissance libraries in the world. It is incredible that his record of accomplishment will ever be equalled.

It is altogether fitting that a volume of Elizabethan studies should be published to honor the memory of Joseph Quincy Adams. More than once he himself contributed to *Festschriften*; in fact, his last two publications were an essay in the number of the *Library* which the Bibliographical Society dedicated to his friend, Dr. W. W. Greg, and another essay in the volume, *To Doctor R*, published in honor of another friend, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach. Among the contributors to the present volume are numbered several of Dr. Adams's intimate friends, some of his colleagues of earlier days, Shakespearian scholars of this and other countries, former students, and Folger Fellows. Others who would gladly have paid their tribute of friendship and admiration have been regrettably deprived of the privilege by prior commitments or ill health. My colleagues and I of the Folger Staff have denied ourselves space in the book, which exceeds average size, in order that other contributors might not be excluded. The care we have given to the editing of the volume is only a token of the love we felt for the man in whose honor it is published. He was a friend whose like we shall not see again.

JAMES G. McMANAWAY

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JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS

By STANLEY KING

He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one;
Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuasive;
And to those men that sought him, sweet as summer.
· (Henry VIII)

Dr. Adams' association with the Folger Shakespeare Memorial Library was a most happy union. To the Library he brought every quality necessary in a Director, together with a charm of personality unusual even to the natives of his state. At the Folger he found a collection of books, set in surroundings of rare beauty, which evoked all his powers as a scholar. He might have echoed the words of Prospero, "My Library was dukedom large enough."

Mr. and Mrs. Folger consulted Dr. Adams when they were making plans for the Library building. In the summer of 1931 he began his work at the Library as Supervisor of Research. In 1934 he assumed the Directorship of the Library, and continued in that post until his death. The record of his accomplishment is the Library today—its collections, its staff of scholars, its publications.

Dr. Adams "was a scholar, and a ripe and good one." One realized this at one's first meeting with him. The breadth and depth of his scholarship will be appraised by his colleagues in the Elizabethan field. But his rare human gifts of personality were obvious to all who were fortunate enough to come in contact with him. He gathered about him on the Folger staff a group of young scholars perhaps unequalled in any other institution, and they came to have an almost filial affection for their leader. He established post-doctoral fellowships at the Library, and he had an uncanny intuition in making selections for the fellowships. A glance at the list of Folger fellows and the high academic positions they are now filling in institutions all over the world is evidence of his judgment of men.

In his relations with the Trustees he was equally happy. Once each winter he and the Trustees were dinner guests of Mr. Chief Justice

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Stone, and after a repast which was Lucullan in the prewar years, Dr. Adams would present his report in an informal address from brief notes. These reports he

Delivers in such apt and gracious words
That aged ears play truant at his tales.

He "whose words all ears took captive" won the complete confidence of the Board and they looked forward eagerly to his new plans for the development of the Library.

He had a wide circle of friends among bibliophiles and collectors. Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, Mr. Carl H. Pforzheimer, the late Frank Hogan, Esquire, and Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald all sought his advice and gave him generously from their rich fund of experience.

But he was equally felicitous in his relations with laymen. The mechanical staff of the Library loved and trusted him. He received many visitors at the Library and he was always "the very pink of courtesy." One of his frequent visitors was Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, but ambassadors, cabinet officers, school children and tourists all came. On one memorable occasion, with consummate tact and understanding, he quieted an angry woman, a Baconian fanatic, who screamed to the visitors in the Exhibition Gallery that the Library should be torn down as it was a monument to a lie. And once I believe the urbane scholar-director spent a pleasant evening with the then famous Mary Pickford discussing subjects not remotely connected with the English Renaissance.

Dr. Adams' ability as an administrator enabled him to administer the Library with one hand while he spent the major part of his time either in writing or in enlarging the Library's collections. In this aspect of his work his competence was unequalled and the results he accomplished were superb. The acquisition of the Harmsworth collection, containing over ten thousand titles, was noted as "the outstanding bibliographic event of the season in America and Europe." The Loseley manuscripts from the muniment room at Loseley Park, eighteen autograph letters of John Donne, one hundred five manuscripts of the Essex collection, the Sir Thomas Gresham papers, and the Dobell Col-

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lection of Dryden were among the many outstanding additions to the collection which we owe to Dr. Adams.

Dr. Adams was in fact the ideal director of the Folger Shakespeare Library, and the Library was the ideal workshop for the exercise of his manifold gifts.

His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him, that nature might stand up
And say to all the world, "This was a man."

JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS (1881-1946)

By LANE COOPER

Hail and fare well, my Friend! Fare well in no pagan sense. "Don't let them expose my body when I am gone," said he (in effect), "for I shall not be there." So we hope to see each other again ere long, with all our good friends who have gone before us.

Joseph Quincy Adams was born on March 23, 1881, at Greenville, South Carolina, and died suddenly, of a chronic cardiac ailment, in the city of Washington on November 10, 1946. He was the son of the Reverend Joseph Quincy Adams and Mamie Fouchée Davis Adams, and was one of five children, three sons by this first marriage of his father, and two by the widowed father's second marriage; he had no sisters. He himself was happily married on January 29, 1931, to Helen Banks, of Ithaca, New York; she died on September 14, 1935, leaving one child, Helen. After his great bereavement, he said to me concerning himself in that loss: "I had not known that any one could suffer so." As evinced by his sorrows and his joys, and by his scholarly work, his two most eminent qualities were the constant strength of his affection and friendship, and the clarity of his productive mind.

As for his ease in composition, where others labored for a fine order, in this point he had no trouble at all. Once ready to write, he wrote with habitual pleasure; he did not suffer from a hardship common among teachers of "English," who mostly wish to write better than they can. He prepared himself, had the parts and the whole of his subject in his hand, then flowed with a natural (and beautiful) facility. Things came, and fell into their places as he wrote. With him revision called for no major changes.

I speak of this matter the more readily, because it was my good fortune to be in close touch with him almost from the day when he came to Cornell University, a year or so after my arrival there. With no great disparity in age, he being by five years the younger, we promptly took to each other, became close friends, and neighbors, and companions at table until close to the end of his career in Ithaca, when he married and left in the year 1931 to direct the work of the Folger Shakespeare

Library in Washington. After that, we remained in touch through the frequent exchange of letters, and jokes clipped from newspapers, and through visits, more often by his visits to Ithaca, where he had a host of friends and had relations-in-law. Among his friends I will mention Professor Horace L. Jones and his family, Professor Madison Bentley and his, Dean Robert M. Ogden, Mrs. Ogden, and their children, and the friends with whom I still live, Professor James Hutton and his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Hutton. He liked our buckwheat cakes and maple syrup, and also greatly enjoyed the ample hospitality of the University Librarian, Dr. Otto Kinkeldey and Mrs. Kinkeldey. Adams did justice to good cooking. He enjoyed his pipe, too, and fragrant tobacco, kept alight with innumerable matches; when, for example, he invented stories, impromptu and serial as well, for young children, little girls above all.

Our long association was of the utmost value to me; without false modesty I may say that it was of value to us both. On occasion we disputed with a little heat that commonly ended in smiles. We never had a quarrel. From an early date we formed the habit of reading each other's work before publication. For years neither of us ever wrote a line (so to say) for the printer without criticism from the other before the "copy" was sent off. As the years went on, we spent less time in preliminary compliments, but quickly got down to friendly help, pointing out what, if anything, we found amiss in evidence or style, and wherein the composition might be brought nearer to euphony, good usage, and truth. We always read each other's proofs. We encouraged each other. We did not think that we could be good teachers without filling our minds beforehand, or proving our faith by works. And gladly would we learn, and gladly teach. Every scholar needs a friend of that sort, one who is not afraid to give faithful wounds, and is magnanimous enough to profit by the like.

Did Adams have the defects of his virtues (and vice versa), or any defects at all? No scholar on earth is perfect; scholars must support each other by pursuing their special interests, making the most of the talents and training they have received. But if it is seemly and right for me to say so, Adams, in spite of his good Classical training in the South, nevertheless somewhat underrated the Attic drama, and in

particular, when I saw most of him, hardly perceived the excellence of Sophocles in depicting tragic character and in the subtle construction of powerful dramatic speeches. Accordingly, he did not always draw the line upon which Edmund Burke insisted, between the "felicities" and the "infelicities" of Shakespeare. For Adams, Shakespeare, the King, could do no wrong; and hence the hell-broth of the Witches in *Macbeth* (in lines that are hardly the work of Shakespeare, but rather in the main by Middleton!) did not need to be compared with other, superior, imitations of a well-known passage by Ovid. My friend could readily explain how the passage in *Macbeth* came to be where and what it was, and that was all we needed to know. If this trait carried a defect, what was the defect? The virtue of his utter sympathy with Shakespeare, of his detailed knowledge of all the Elizabethan and Jacobean background of Shakespeare as an actor, dramatic author, manager, led to the best, truest, most imaginative biography we have of Shakespeare, completed by Joseph Quincy Adams, at the height of his amazing powers, in the year 1923.

Let us sketch his career. He attended school in more than one Southern state, as his father held the pastorate successively in various Baptist churches; had an early practical experience in setting types as a printer—one that later greatly helped him in his scholarly work, for example, in solving the altered order of plays in the first and subsequent impressions of the Folio edition of Shakespeare—and graduated with high honors at Wake Forest College in the year 1900, where also, in 1901, he attained the degree of Master of Arts. He was Principal of Raleigh Male Academy for 1901-02. He always set a high value upon the influence he received at Wake Forest from Benjamin Sledd, professor of English, and a poet. In the years 1902-03 he studied under John M. Manly at the University of Chicago, and then accepted the fellowship in English under James Morgan Hart at Cornell University for the academic year 1903-04. Under the stimulus of Manly he gained an excellent introduction to the study of the Mediaeval and Elizabethan drama in England, a fine training which he could, and did, follow with great liberty and independence under Hart at Ithaca; here he began his university career as a teacher; and here too he promptly won the right to give a notable course in Shakespeare. Other courses ere long he developed and gave

with a like high success in the same and adjacent fields; such as his course in Elizabethan Non-dramatic Literature. And soon his better pupils, among them scholars now well known, came to him after undergraduate courses as graduate students.

Since scholarly apparatus for their work and his own was largely wanting in Adams' chosen field, already he had proceeded to build up his own exhaustive card-index of persons and things (with dates and hints of interrelations) in the realm of Elizabethan and Jacobean scholarship, and for the study of the course of the English drama in general; thus early he laid a solid foundation for all his varied researches in the earlier and later English drama, and the history of the playhouses. A notable asset for all his work was his intuitive, highly-developed sense of timing. He had breadth of interest, too. He did not confine himself to the age of Elizabeth and James; while a graduate student under Hart, he won the Hiram Corson prize with an essay on Browning; later he produced an admirable edition of Sheridan's comedy *The Rivals*. He advanced to the doctoral degree at Ithaca in the year 1906, having meanwhile studied in London (1904-05), and then attending the University of Berlin in the summer of 1907; Brandl was active there at the time, justly proud of the apparatus of books he had gathered for his English Seminary. As a teacher Adams rose quickly. He became Instructor in English in 1905; Assistant Professor in 1909; Professor in 1919.

Honors soon began to come to him, first the recognition by scholars at home and abroad that his knowledge, and statements, and acumen, could be relied on; the best sort of recognition, that by his most competent fellows. For the students, undergraduate and graduate alike, he was a most excellent teacher, clear, ample, interesting and not tricky, full of an illuminating humor, a fine lecturer—one of the best I ever heard; immensely stimulating in private to an increasing body of special students, quietly stimulating to the best of his colleagues too, and soon recognized as a force for sound learning, and a man of sound judgment for education throughout Cornell University. He was an active and useful member of the Society of Phi Beta Kappa. Providence and his own good sense saved him from too many committees, and too much of the vain drudgery for them.

The great honor of his life was the choice that fell to him to serve in command at the Folger Library. Thereafter he became, or continued to be, a member of virtually every important society concerned with Shakespeare or the Elizabethan drama; as, The Shakespeare Association of America, The Grolier Club, The Malone Society, the Deutsche Shakespeare Gesellschaft, The Elizabethan Club of Yale University, The Tudor and Stuart Club of the Johns Hopkins University.

No sketch of him could fail to mention his achievement as a collector of books and other documents. For an ill-paid instructor, before he became better known, he had gathered a marvelous collection of his own, including rarities, in his own domain. When he felt his collection to be complete enough, and doubtless foreseeing his migration to the Folger Library, he let his precious accumulation go to the University of Oklahoma, whither certain of his pupils had preceded it. In brief, he had a genius for collecting books at the lowest prices; in finding bargains, an order of talent unequaled, I believe, in his time. At Washington his developed skill, displayed, for example, when he obtained the Harmsworth collection from England, accomplished wonders for the great Shakespearian and Elizabethan library; these specific terms do not properly indicate its wealth in related items, or its general riches. I should mention the array of Folios of Shakespeare, but am not competent to expand this topic aright. There are means and persons enough elsewhere, above all in Washington, to enable any inquirer to gage this part of Adams' work; which, save for his teaching in and out of class, and the training he gave to his associates in Washington, is likely to go down as his most weighty achievement.

At Ithaca, his course in Shakespeare lifted the subject out of the flats and shallows where the study of this poet had floundered. Accordingly, there were many groans when he left us to go to Washington. I said: "No one can take away from Cornell University what Adams has given it." Nor can time, or any other creature, diminish the work that he did in Washington. A God-fearing man, he knew it too. Upon the basis which he laid down, the work that he did can only grow and prosper without end.

There is a little more for me to say on my personal relations with this great man and good friend. When I went to Ithaca, a year before Adams

came thither, I belonged to the class of persons who aim to work and play in a fashion that makes play and work all one. At Cornell University, however, there seemed to be two sorts of persons among the colleagues I met, those who aimed to play and not to work, and those who worked and could not play; these latter did not, like Milton, distinguish between learned pains and servile drudgery. When Adams came like a breath of vernal air, we each found a friend to work and play with. Above, I have tried to hint somewhat about our work in the stricter sense. For play in leisure hours we mostly fished and hunted. He was the better shot, though, coming from a point South of Mason and Dixon's line, sometimes a little quick on the trigger; not always too discriminating, either, about the local Yankee rules on shooting cock-birds only in the pheasant season—and once when he was tired by an extra burden he got us into trouble by asking me to carry a hen that he should never have retrieved. He paid the fine, but I had to shoulder the credit. Apart from incidents, on the march, though I was the poorer shot, I fancied (think of it!) that I knew better where to find the game. Fortunately, for some years we had in Ithaca a friend, George F. Foote, an older man and well-to-do, and a better shot even than Adams, who also knew more than either of us about the best places for game—grouse, woodcock, and later the ring-necked pheasants. Mr. Foote, moreover, had a small but handy yacht on Cayuga Lake for fishing (and hunting too), and one of the first of the few motor-cars in Ithaca then or Tompkins County. He was good to us with his motor-boat and car. Also as Steward, he brought us to his table in Sage College, a dormitory; and there, when luck had favored us afield, we feasted on fish and game of our own taking. At other times Adams and I went shooting with the help of bicycles, and a setter-dog to trot behind us; later we each had a car to take us farther. In those latter days he did not hear too well, and sometimes strayed beyond shouting-distance—and then the big Library took him away. But he came back to visit when he could, and we continued our shooting till the medical doctor warned him not to struggle up hills for grouse, and finally not to tramp our rugged fields at all. Meanwhile we had come to know every road in Tompkins County, and every field, so to speak, within some miles of Ithaca. Since I now have reached an age when men dislike the thought

Joseph Quincy Adams (1881-1946)

of killing anything to which our Creator gives life, I will say no more of shooting in itself. Let me speak instead of the wonderful sympathy that existed, and still exists, between Joseph Q. Adams and me. Afoot, we often talked but little; and in time he was often hard to reach with the voice; and yet often, when we had been walking side by side in silence for a while, it was clear that our minds had been marching together, for we would break the silence with talk about some matter, perhaps not recently mentioned, of which we had in unison been thinking. After his death last Autumn, I found myself instinctively driving much on roads to the Northeast of Ithaca where we had taken the air most often together. And there we seemed to be, we were, in communion as of old.

Shall I end with words about Adams, the scholarly sleuth, God's spy, about the amazing mind full of clean, detailed learning, that learning full of threads and clues, which he could trace and follow out as no one else I ever met could do? Shall I end with words about the lucid, limpid, supremely normal operating mind, almost uncanny in fertility of resource and sureness of stride? On earth I have not seen, and shall not see, his like.

No, let us end by dwelling on, and with, the faithful loving heart, on a love that could not die, and is not dead, on the good Christian, who is happily waiting and watching above.

AVE ATQUE VALE!

BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1904-1946, OF JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS

EDITORIAL

- Editor, THE CORNELL STUDIES IN ENGLISH, 1916-31.
General Editor, A NEW VARIORUM EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE, 1935-46.
Co-operating Editor, MATERIALIEN ZUR KUNDE DES ÄLTEREN ENGLISCHEN DRAMAS, 1912-46.
Editor, THE FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY PRINTS, 1932-46.
Editor, THE FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY PUBLICATIONS, 1936-46.
Editor, THE ADAMS SHAKESPEARE, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929-46.
Advisory Editor, THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN, 1930-46.
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BOOKS, ARTICLES, LONGER REVIEWS

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DID SHAKESPEARE, ACTOR, IMPROVISE IN
EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR?

By GEORGE C. TAYLOR

In a period when the Elizabethan actors were given to improvising it is only natural to suppose that Shakespeare himself knew how to play the game and that he occasionally extemporized. As Joseph Quincy Adams says, we have taken perhaps too seriously Hamlet's injunction, "Let those who play your clowns speak no more than is set down for them." And perhaps the boldest and most striking statement in Adams's *A Life of William Shakespeare* is to the effect that Shakespeare in haste left it to Will Kempe to round out *The Taming of the Shrew* by extemporizing in the part of Sly, the Tinker, at the end. Says Adams:

Probably the rôle of Christopher Sly was put into the hands of William Kempe, or William Slye, and Shakespeare, after outlining the comic setting of the plot, left the working out of the later details to the improvisation of the sharp-witted actor, for the skill of the Elizabethan comedians at extemporization was proverbial.¹

In his article, "Elizabethan Playhouse Manuscripts and Their Significance for the Text of Shakespeare,"² Adams repeatedly makes it clear that a manuscript play once sold to a company of actors was subjected to many changes by the actors who owned it before it reached its final "fair copy" form for presentation on the stage. Katherine M. Lea, in *Italian Popular Comedy* (1934), Winifred Smith, in *Commedia Dell'Arte* (1912), and Thornton Shirley Graves, in "Some Aspects of Extemporal Acting,"³ all emphasize how necessary it is for us to recognize how common was the practice of improvising, if we are to study and understand the text of an Elizabethan play. Louis Wright,⁴ student of Graves, supports his theory:

Extempore pleasantries with the audience often formed a choice part of the

1 Joseph Quincy Adams, *A Life of William Shakespeare* (1923), pp. 224-5.

2 *The Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine*, xxi (November, 1932), p. 21 ff.

3 *S.P.*, xix (1922), 429 ff.

4 Louis Wright, "Variety-Show Clownage on the Pre-Restoration Stage," *Anglia*, lii (1928), 53 ff.

clown's performance. . . . So important were the clown's additions to the play that the printed versions sometimes included an advertisement in the sub-title of this comic matter. "Will Kempe's applauded merriments of the Men of Gotheham in receiving the King into Gotheham."

William Marshall's article, in the same volume⁵ as Wright's, pushes the theory of improvisation to an extreme in "Das Sir Thomas More's Manuscript und die Englische, *Commedia Dell' Arte*." He finds Shakespeare, in *The Play of Sir Thomas More*, improvising on a vast scale. One may accept as sensible the conservative statements of Graves and Adams. Graves says:⁶

When such freedom was allowed the players, the amount of extemporizing must have been considerable. Some scholars, indeed, believe that some of the brightest sayings that have come down to us as strokes of the Elizabethan dramatists may really represent the timely improvisations of clever actors of the day.

And Adams⁷ states that:

Many of the manuscripts he possibly furbished never came into print, and so perished; some were later subjected to further revision, either by Shakespeare or by other playwrights; *and a few, perhaps, are extant to-day with hasty lines from his pen that cannot easily be recognized* [italics mine].

With these considerations in mind, it may not seem outrageously bold to suggest, and to attempt to establish the fact, that Shakespeare, while acting in Jonson's *Every Man In*, was responsible for many expressions in that play, used frequently by Shakespeare in his plays, but never used by Jonson in his other plays.

It will be remembered that in his foreword to *Sejanus*, in which Shakespeare also acted, Jonson says:

Lastly, I would inform you, that this Booke, in all numbers, is not the same with that which was acted on the public stage, wherein a second Pen had a good share: in place of which I have rather chosen, to put weaker (and no doubt lesse pleasing) of mine own, then to defraud so happy a *Genius* of his right, by my lothed usurpation.

That this "second Pen" was Shakespeare's has been discussed consid-

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁶ *S.P.*, xix (1922), 433.

⁷ *Life*, p. 214.

erably among Jonson scholars pro and con.⁸ Lately, we have Mr. Adams saying:⁹

By placing Shakespeare's name at the *head of the second column* [of actors of *Sejanus*] Jonson gives it a significance almost equal to that of Burbage's. And it is just possible, though we cannot feel at all sure, that Shakespeare had a hand in the composition of some of the scenes [*italics mine*].

It so happens that Jonson placed Shakespeare's name at the *head* of the *first* column in *Every Man In*, and Burbage's at the head of the second. It follows, therefore, that Shakespeare may have had a hand in that play also.¹⁰ The creator of such irrepressible persons as Berowne, Bottom, Mercutio, Falstaff, and the Bastard Faulconbridge may have been, as an actor, himself irrepressible, particularly as a *young* actor, say from age 19 to 25, during those lost years, perhaps spent in London.

While Adams is inclined to believe Aubrey's statement as to Shakespeare's teaching school, and discredits the tradition that Shakespeare's father was a butcher, he does not deny Aubrey's statement that Shakespeare himself was apprenticed to a butcher.¹¹ Now it is here that the statement that Shakespeare improvised as he butchered first appears. Of course it is open to anyone to think of all this as idle. But E. K. Chambers takes the matter even more seriously than does Adams. "Perhaps," Chambers says, "this really points to some early exercise of mimic talent."¹² Space does not permit going into the bitter debates as to whether Shakespeare was a great actor. Certainly we have drifted carelessly into the acceptance of Shakespeare's playing only *serious* rôles, to the entire exclusion of comic ones, on the scantiest sort of late traditional evidence. Hence the common impression that Shakespeare acted

8 B. Nicholson, "Shakespeare not Part Author of *Sejanus*," *Academy*, vi (1874), 536-7; W. A. Henderson, "Shakespeare and *Sejanus*," *N. & Q.*, 8th Ser., v (1894), 502-05, and his "Shakespeare's Indebtedness to Ben Jonson," *N. & Q.*, 8th Ser., viii (1895), 27, 272-3, and ix (1896), 150-1; and replies to this by C. C. B. and J. Malone, viii, 132, and by C. C. B., viii, 317.

9 *Life*, p. 360.

10 As the school led by J. M. Robertson in his *Canon of Shakespeare* studies has succeeded in piling up a sizable body of books and articles which seek to take away from Shakespeare much of what is supposed to be his, it can do no harm to attempt to add perhaps something, in this case, to the corpus of Shakespeare's works.

11 Adams, *Life*, pp. 64-5.

12 E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* (1936), i, 17.

the part of the elder Knowell in *Every Man In*. It is rather difficult to imagine the *youthful* actor, about whom we are told amusing anecdotes, acting serious parts only. Edward Phillips¹³ and Fuller¹⁴ do not give us the impression of a person lacking physical animation and lightning-like rapidity of repartee. And Johnson remarked that he seems to repose in his comedies, but to labor in his tragedy; that "his tragedy seems to be skill, his comedy to be instinct."¹⁵

Perhaps it is just as well to put the detailed evidence on record before proceeding further. The following, then, are a *few* of the words and phrases which a concordance to Shakespeare shows to be rather often employed by him. They are employed never by Jonson except in *Every Man In*:

Carry it away, I,iii,175; stand affected to, I,iv,29; bare himself, I,iv,38; diseased riot, (*diseased* as an adjective before a noun) I,iv,54; fallen off, I,iv,46; and what not, I,iv,59; stale himself, I,iv,51; domineer, I,iv,65; divers reasons, I,iv,70; savour of, I,iv,74; tottering, I,iv,82; disparagement, I,iv,88; purposely, I,iv,99; bare-ribbed, I,iv,106; Gargantua, I,iv,131; fret yourself, I,iv,133; despatch some business, I,iv,153; at a vente, I,iv,162; resort (noun, singular), I,iv,164; unscarred, I,iv,168; sways the appetite (*sway* in reference to the passions), I,iv,171; prescription (in sense of *prohibition*, singular), I,iv,185; balked, I,iv,178; pestiferous, I,iv,213; come what will, II,i,46; fleering, III,i,14; drempt of, III,i,12; seals up the eyes, III,i,21; what's a clock, III,i,36; consorts (noun), III,i,39; but that's the question, III,i,55; thou art ware of, III,i,70; I have bethought me, III,i,49; I am a Jew, III,i,40; dribbling, III,i,44; ventricle, III,i,45; protestation, III,i,78; sealed with kisses, III,iii,27; what stir is this? III,iv,163; undiscovered, IV,i,240; sick at heart, IV,i,243; mark what I say, IV,i,289; observe him well, IV,i,291; hoary-headed, V,i,47.¹⁶

How are we to explain the absence of these expressions and words in

¹³ *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675), pp. 194 ff.

¹⁴ *Worthies of England* (1662).

¹⁵ Preface Johnson-Steevens, *The Plays of William Shakespeare* (1793), ii, 192.

¹⁶ The act, scene, line references are to the quarto, in Henry H. Carter's parallel column edition, Y. U. P. 1921, as many of these Jonson omits in the folio, perhaps as from a better pen. I realize that the task of verifying my conclusions as to these details is almost as great as was my labor in ascertaining these facts. A short cut to such a verification is the manuscript concordance to Jonson's Folio made by Charles Crawford, now in possession of the University of Michigan, or a photofilm of the same owned by the University of North Carolina Library and one of my own. I am now rechecking each of these myself. Crawford himself checked them for me before he died. His manuscript checking is still in my possession.

Jonson and their common appearance in Shakespeare except on the theory that Shakespeare either improvised in this play or helped to give life to it by writing the speeches in which such words and expressions occur? And how are we to explain the fact that the great majority of these expressions not common to Jonson and common to Shakespeare are in the mouth of Kitley or Thomas (as Kitley is called in the quarto), except on the basis that Shakespeare acted the part of Kitley?

Jonson's sentences are as a rule syntactically parsable; Shakespeare's very often are not.¹⁷ Three authorities on Shakespeare have, independently of each other, recorded their impression of the "impromptu" quality of Shakespeare's style. They deserve notice in this connection and in other connections. Oliver Elton¹⁸ states that:

. . . all modes and formulae by which anger, hurry, fretfulness, scorn, impatience, or excitement under any movement whatever, can disturb or modify the formal bookish style of commencement—these are as rife in Shakespeare's dialogue as in life itself. . . . He can, notoriously, write in a complex and embarrassed style, which must have been difficult for his own audience. . . . The images kindle one another like sparks in a train. . . . This process has been described. Dowden speaks of a "preponderance or excess of the ideas over the means of giving them utterance," of the "rapid and abrupt turnings of thought," and of the "impatient activity of intellect and fancy" which cannot stop to work out an idea.

E. E. Kellett¹⁹ quotes the following from Coleridge's *Table Talk* of 5 March 1834:

Shakespeare's intellectual action is *wholly unlike that of Ben Jonson* [italics mine] or Beaumont and Fletcher. The latter see the totality of a sentence or passage, and then project it entire. Shakespeare goes on creating, and evolving B out of A, and C out of B, and so on, just as a serpent moves, which makes a fulcrum out of its own body, and seems forever twisting and untwisting its own strength.

And the following from Coleridge's *Table Talk* of 7 April 1833 is quoted further by Kellett: "In Shakespeare one sentence begets the next naturally; the meaning is all inwoven. He goes on kindling like a

¹⁷ Of course in his non-dramatic poems, Shakespeare's syntax is superior.

¹⁸ "Style in Shakespeare" (Annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy, 1936), pp. 6-23.

¹⁹ *Suggestions: Literary Essays* (1923), pp. 57-8.

meteor through the dark atmosphere." Kellett himself adds that "the thoughts do not follow a line previously traced out, but spring, *ex-tempore*, from a singularly fertile and ready mind." William Augustus White, in his "A History and Criticism of the Text of Shakespeare's Plays," says:

Macbeth, I think, was but a magnificent impromptu and perhaps much of the obscurity of its text is to be attributed to the illegibility of handwriting, instead of confusion of thought. Then too in an author who writes with great rapidity we naturally expect to find trifling grammatical inaccuracies. . . . Much of the irregularity of Shakespeare's thought and expression arose, I am convinced, from this rapidity with which he *composed* [italics mine] his plays.

My considered opinion is that this matter, either of Shakespeare's improvising or of his over-hasty writing, comes best to a head in 1598 in Jonson's *Every Man In* and in *The Merry Wives*. One has but to read in close connection *The Merry Wives* and *Every Man In* to notice how much more these two plays resemble one another in countless details of expression, characterization, and situation, than any other two plays of these two dramatists. I put Miss Sally Sewell to work on this in 1939. Her findings, which appeared in 1941, are quite remarkable. Particularly noticeable are the two jealous husbands in these two plays: Kitley, and Ford or Brooke. Miss Sewell says:²⁰

Turning now to the even more remarkable resemblance between Ford and Kitley, we note that their similarity has been observed by almost every critic dealing with either play. Although some have considered the likeness superficial, merely the co-incidental treatment of a common passion, the more typical attitude is expressed by Palmer, "Kitley is first cousin to Master Ford," and by Hart, who says of Ford's malady, "It is a jealousy so unjust and unreasoning that it recalls Kitley's in *Every Man In His Humour* more than any other creation I am aware of."

Baskervill called attention to the extraordinary similarity of King John's evasiveness in suggesting murder to Hubert to Kitley's evasiveness in suggesting spy work for Cash in *Every Man In*.²¹ There is no good reason why Shakespeare could not have acted the part of Kitley, which would have afforded him a chance to be in and out in scene after

²⁰ *Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, xvi (1941), p. 179.

²¹ *The Native Elements in Jonson's Comedy*, pp. 137-8.

scene, to help popularize the play, as Rowe suggests. And it is fascinating to note that the last scene of the last act of *Every Man In* is given over to a discussion of extemporizing, with one of the characters trying his hand at it:²² "I'll make verses with you in honor of the Gods and Goddesses for what you will, extempore. And now I will begin!"

The same Shakespeare who was, according to the suggestion of Adams, in 1597 handing over to Will Kempe the job of improvising at the end of *The Taming of the Shrew*, very naturally would in 1598, as an actor in *Every Man In*, do some improvising of his own. If one does not fancy this idea, then it is open to him to assume that Shakespeare hastily wrote some of Kitley's speeches as he had already done in the case of his own jealous husband, Ford in *The Merry Wives*; or to reject the whole matter as conjectural. Before resorting to the last, however, it will be only fair for him to read carefully Kitley's speeches in order to see if Jonson could have written them. In the few typical Kitley speeches which follow the reader will doubtless catch many other expressions which remind him far more of Shakespeare than of anything Jonson ever wrote.²³

Tho. Now (in good faith) my minde is somewhat easd,
Though not reposd in that securitie,
As I could wish; well, I must be content,
How e're I set a face on't to the world.
Would I had lost this finger at a vente,
So Prospero had ne're log'd in my house;
Why't cannot be, where there is such resort
Of wanton gallants, and young revellers,
That any woman should be honest long.
I'st like, that factious beauty will preserve
The *soveraigne state* of chastitie *unscard*,
When such strong motives muster, and make head
Against her single peace? no, no: beware
When mutual pleasure swayes the appetite,
And spirits of one kinde and qualitie,
Do meet to parlee in the pride of blood.

(I, iv, 158-73)

²² *Every Man In*, V, v, 451 ff.

²³ In the quotations that follow, Kitley of the Folio is called Thomas in quarto. The quotations are from the quarto, ed. H. H. Carter (folio and quarto texts parallel, Yale Studies in English, 1921).

Did Shakespeare, Actor, Improvise

Tho. Oh that's well: fetch me my cloake. *Exit Piso.*
Stay, let me see; an hower to goe and come,
I that will be the least: and then 'twill be
An houre, before I can dispatch with him;
Or very neare: well, I will say two houres;
Two houres? ha? things never *drempt of* yet
May be contriv'd, I and effected too,
In two houres absence: well I will not go.
Two houres; no! fleeing opportunity
I will not give your trecherie that scope.
Who will not judge him worthy to be robd,
That sets his doores wide open to a theefe,
And shewes the felon, where his treasure lyes?
Againe, what earthy spirit but will attempt
To taste the fruite of beauties golden tree,
When laden sleepe *seales up the dragons eyes?*
Oh beauty is a Project of some power,
Chiefely when opportunitie attends her:
She will infuse true motion in a stone,
Put glowing fire in an Icie soule,
Stuffe peasants bosoms with proud Caesars spleene,
Powre rich device into an empty braine:
Bring youth to follies gate: there traine him in,
And after all, extenuate his sinne.
Well, I will not go, I am resolv'd for that.
Goe cary it againe, yet stay: yet do too,
I will deferre it till some other time.

Enter Piso

Piso. Sir, signior Platano will meet you there with the bond.

Tho. That's true: by Jesu I had cleane forgot it. I must goe,
what's a clocke?

Piso. Past ten sir.

Tho. 'Hart, then will Prospero presently be here too,
With one or other of his loose *consorts.*
I am a Jew, if I know what to say,
What course to take, or which way to resolve.
My braine (me thinkes) is like an hower-glasse,
And my imaginations like the sands,
Runne dribling forth to fill the mouth of time,
*Still chaung'd with turning in the ventricle.*²⁴

²⁴ Jonson has managed to eliminate the bold figurativeness of this passage in his Folio version.

in Every Man in His Humour?

What were I best to doe? It shalbe so.
Nay I dare build upon his secrecie? Piso.

Piso. Sir.

Tho. Yet now *I have bethought me* to, I wil not.
Is Cob within?

(III, i, 6-50)

Giu. Come, come what needs this circumstance,

Tho. I will not say what honor I ascribe
Unto your friendship, nor in what deare state
I hold your love; let my continued zeale,
The constant and religious regard,
That I have ever caried to your name,
My cariage with your sister, all contest,
How much I *stand affected* to your house.

Giu. You are too tedious, come to the matter, come to the matter.

Tho. Then (without further ceremony) thus.
My brother Prospero (I know not how)
Of late is much declin'd from what he was,
And greatly alterd in his disposition.
When he came first to lodge here in my house,
Ne're trust me, if I was not proud of him:
Me thought he *bare himselfe* with such obseruance,
So true election and so faire a forme:
And (what was chiefe) it shewd not borrowed in him,
But all he did became him as his owne,
And seemd as perfect, proper, and innate,
Unto the mind, as collar to the blood,
But now, his course is so irregular,
So loose affected, and depriu'd of grace,
And he himselfe withall so farre *falne off*
From his first place, that scarce no note remaines,
To tell mens judgements where he lately stood;
Hee's growne a stranger to all due respect,
Forgetfull of his friends, and not content
To *stale himselfe* in all societies,
He makes my house as common as a Mart
A Theater, a publike receptacle.
For giddie humor, and *diseased*²⁵ riot,
And there, (as in a Tauerne, or a stewes,)

²⁵ Jonson never uses this apparent participle in *-ed* as an adjective before a noun. Shakespeare frequently does.

Did Shakespeare, Actor, Improvise

He, and his wilde associates, spend their houres,
In repetition of lasciuious iests,
Sweare, leape, and dance, and reuell night by night,
Controll my seruants: *and indeed what not?*

Giu. Faith I know not what I should say to him: so
God saue mee, I am eene at my wits end, I have tolde
him inough, one would thinke, if that would serue: well,
he knowes what to trust to for me: let him spend, and
spend, and domineere till his hart ake: & he get a peny
more of me, Ile giue him this eare.

Tho. Nay good Brother haue patience.
O there are *divers reasons* to disswade me,
But would your selfe vouchsafe to trauaile in it,
(Though but with plaine, and easie circumstance,) *)*
It would, both come much better to his fence,
And *saue* lesse of griefe and discontent.
You are his elder brother, and that title
Confirmes and warrants your authoritie;
Which (seconded by your aspect) will breed
A kinde of duty in him, and regard.
Whereas, if I should intimate the least,
It would but adde contempt, to his neglect.
Heape worse on ill, reare a huge pile of hate,
That in the building, would come tottring downe,
And in her ruines, *bury all our love.*
Nay more then this brothers; (if I should speake)
He would be ready in the heate of passion,
To fill the eares of his familiars,
With oft reporting to them, what disgrace
And grosse disparagement, I had propos'd him.
And then would they straight back him, in opinion,
Make some loose comment upon every word,
And out of their distracted phantasies;
Contrive some slander, that should dwell with me.
And what would that be thinke you? mary this,
They would giue out, (because my wife is fayre,
My selfe but lately married, and my sister
Heere sojourning a virgin in my house)
That I were iealous; nay, as sure as death,
Thus they would say: and how that I had wrong'd
My brother purposely, thereby to finde
An apt pretext to *banish them my house.*

in Every Man in His Humour?

Giu. Masse perhaps so.

Tho. Brother they would beleeve it: so should I
(Like one of these penurious quack-saluers,)

But trie experiments upon my selfe,
Open the gates unto mine owne disgrace,

Lend *bare-ribd enuie*, oportunitie,
To stab my reputation, and good name.

(I, iv, 22-107, p. 74 ff.)

In conclusion it is interesting to observe the remarkable similarity cited in another connection by Charles Read Baskervill, "English Elements in Jonson's Early Comedy," *Bulletin of the University of Texas*, No. 178 (Austin, Texas; the University of Texas, April 8, 1911), pp. 137-8.

Jonson

Shakespeare

Kit(ely) It shall be so.
Nay, I dare build upon his secrecy,
He knows not to deceive me.

—Thomas!

Cash. Sir.

Kit. Yet now I have bethought me
too, I will not.—

Thomas, is Cob within?

.

Thomas—you may deceive me, but
I hope—

Your love to me is more—

Cash. Sir, if a servant's

Duty, with faith, may be called love,
you are

More than in hope, you are possessed
of it.

Kit. I thank you heartily, Thomas:
give me your hand:

With all my heart, good Thomas. I
have, Thomas,

A secret to impart unto you. . . .

.

Think I esteem you, Thomas,

K(ing) John. Come hither, Hubert.

O my gentle Hubert,

We owe thee much!

.

And, my good friend, thy voluntary
oath

Lives in this bosom, dearly cherished.

Give me thy hand. I had a thing to
say,—

But I will fit it with some better
time.

By heaven, Hubert, I'm almost
ashamed

To say what good respect I have of
thee.

Hub. I am much bounden to your
Majesty.

K. John. Good friend, thou hast no
cause to say so yet:

.

I had a thing to say,—but let it go:

The sun is in the heaven. . . .

.

Then, in despite of brooded watch-
ful day,

Did Shakespeare Improvise in Every Man in His Humour?

When I will let you in thus to my
private.

.
I know thy faith to be as firm as rock.

Thomas, come hither, near; we cannot be

Too private in this business. So it is,
—Now he has sworn, I dare the safer
venture. (*Aside*)

I have of late, by divers observations—
.

Thomas, it will be now too long to
stay,

I'll spy some fitter time soon, or to-
morrow.

(Folio, III, iii, 53-111)

I would into thy bosom pour my
thought:

But, ah, I will not! yet I love thee
well;

And, by my troth, I think thou lovest
me well.

Hub. So well, that what you bid me
undertake,

Though that my death were adjunct
to my act,

By heaven, I'd do't.

K. John. Do not I know thou
wouldst?

(III, iii, 19-58)

SHAKESPEARIAN IMAGERY AND SENECA IMITATION

By FRANCIS R. JOHNSON

As a result of many recent studies, of which T. W. Baldwin's *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* (1944)¹ is the most detailed and extensive, we can now delimit, with reasonable assurance, the common educational experience of all authors who passed through the curriculum of the Elizabethan grammar school. We understand more fully the manner in which the youth was trained in literary composition. We know the Latin works he customarily studied and the specific beauties of language, thought, and imagery that his master taught him to observe and copy out in his commonplace book, so that he could make use of them to enrich his own fledgling attempts as a writer. We are aware of the importance that translation from the Latin into English, followed by retranslation of the English into Latin, held in the pedagogical method of Elizabethan schoolmasters.² Finally, we have acquired a more accurate comprehension of the part that the doctrine of literary imitation played in critical theory and educational practice. The

1 Some further material on the literary training given in the English grammar schools of the sixteenth century appears incidentally in Professor Baldwin's later book: *Shakspeare's Five-Act Structure* (1947). The most important pioneering studies of the curriculum in the English grammar schools are Foster Watson's *The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice* (1908), and *The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England* (1909). For a general study of the school learning of the Renaissance as reflected in its literature, see Hardin Craig, *The Enchanted Glass: The Elizabethan Mind in Literature* (1936). Far too numerous to mention here are the many special investigations of various phases of the training of the Renaissance student in the theory and practice of literary composition. These have appeared in scholarly articles, in prefaces to reprints of pertinent Renaissance schoolbooks or treatises on pedagogy, and in critical studies of Renaissance writers.

2 The principal treatises upon pedagogy by masters of Tudor and Stuart grammar schools were: (1) Richard Mulcaster, **Positions* (1581), and **The First Part of the Elementarie* (1582); (2) William Kempe, *The Education of Children in Learning* (1588); (3) Edmund Coote, *The English Schoole-Master* (1596); (4) John Brinsley, **Ludus Literarius: Or the Grammar Schoole* (1612), and **A Consolation for our Grammar Schooles* (1622); (5) Charles Hoole, **A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schooles* (1660, written 1637); (6) Ralph Johnson, *The Scholars Guide from the Accidence to the University* (1665). The titles preceded by an asterisk exist in modern reprints. Roger Ascham's *The Scholemaster* (1570) is better known than any of these, but Ascham, though he was tutor to royalty, was never master of a grammar school.

clearest, most inclusive Elizabethan description of *imitatio* as a pedagogical device leading to literary creativity is that of the schoolmaster William Kempe in his *The Education of Children in Learning* (London, 1588):

. . . all knowledge is taught generally both by precepts of arte, and also by practise of the same precepts. They are practised partly by obseruing examples of them in other mens workes, and partly by making somewhat of our owne, and that first by imitation, and at length without imitation. So that the perfection of the arte is not gotten at the first, but *Per numeros veniunt ista gradusque suos*. Wherefore first the scholler shall learne the precepts: secondly, he shall learne to note the examples of the precepts in vnfoldung other mens workes: thirdly, to imitate the examples in some worke of his owne: fourthly and lastly, to make somewhat alone without an example.³

The goal of the best Renaissance teaching was always the fourth stage. There the writer's own invention and genius received its test. His instructors could provide the systematic training of the first three stages, but whether the ambitious author had the natural ability to utilize what he had learned to create an original masterpiece determined his success in the final stage. The doctrine of literary imitation, as the most discriminating critics expounded it from the time of classical antiquity to the Renaissance, never extolled the mere slavish copying of an earlier writer except as a pedagogical exercise for the instruction of students. Many critics, it is true—especially those writing before 1560—failed to distinguish clearly between close imitation as a method eminently suitable for the first efforts of the schoolboy, and the free artistic imitation of the creative writer, which in the words of Ben Jonson, converts “the substance, or Riches of an other Poet, to his owne use.”⁴ But although these critics sometimes suggest even for the mature author a closeness of imitation that would unduly restrict his own freedom of

3 Sigs. Fr^r-F2^r. Ascham's treatment of *imitatio* in Book II of *The Scholemaster* does not make as clear a distinction as Kempe's between stages three and four.

4 *Timber: Or, Discoveries*, in *Works*, ed. Herford and Simpson, viii (1947), 638. For historical studies of the doctrine of imitation, see H. O. White, *Plagiarism and Imitation During the English Renaissance* (1935); Walter L. Bullock, “The Precept of Plagiarism in the Cinquecento,” *M.P.*, xxv (1928), 293-312; T. W. Baldwin, *Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, ii, 406 ff.; Hermann Gmelin, “Der Princip der Imitatio in der romanischen Literatur der Renaissance,” *Romanische Forschungen*, xlv, 83-360; George Converse Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace: A Study in the Classical Theory of Imitation* (1920); and Izora Scott, *Controversies over the Imitation of Cicero* (1910).

invention, the ideal was always an imitation that transformed its original (or its many originals) to create a new work of art that, building upon the excellences of its predecessors, might thereby aspire to surpass them.

Since Professor T. W. Baldwin has amply demonstrated that Shakespeare's "small Latine" was actually the classical training that constituted the very solid curriculum of the English grammar school of the sixteenth century, there is need, now that the necessary tools are available, to analyze what Shakespeare did with the training that he shared with his contemporaries. The question for scholarly and critical studies to answer is no longer one of his indebtedness to some particular Latin poem for ideas or images, but of how and why, in accord with the doctrine of imitation which he learned from his schooling, he selected, combined, and transmuted the material which first fired his imagination. The student, in analyses of this type, can also exploit the advantage of being able to ascertain, from the school texts of the time, the metaphors, comparisons, and *sententiae* that were selected for special attention and prospective imitation by the pupil. In many editions of classical authors prepared for schoolroom use, such passages were singled out by some device, such as being printed in distinctive type. Moreover, they were collected in the printed commonplace-books that came to occupy a favored position in the reference library of the aspiring writer.

Knowing the passages that the Renaissance master chose for special emphasis from the schoolroom classics, the modern scholar can study the way in which various Elizabethans adapted them to their own purposes in their English writings. Investigations of this sort would go much further than the mere collecting of apparently parallel passages, and would avoid the usual fallacies of the parallel-passage method, such as asserting that resemblances in the phraseology of Renaissance commonplaces prove either that one passage was derived directly from the other, or that they indicate identity of authorship, or that they provide a means for dating literary works. Such studies would, on the contrary, enforce a realization that certain ideas owed their pervasiveness to their having been impressed upon every educated man of the period during his impressionable school years. The ultimate source of these ideas, for the Renaissance, was the grammar-school author in

which they appeared. Analogous passages in thought and expression, if found in classical works outside the grammar-school curriculum, were far less likely to have influenced the imagination of the vernacular poet or prose writer in his imitation. Prior imitations in his own or other languages, if he were acquainted with them, might, however, dictate the direction which his imagination would take in producing his own. Furthermore, there is always the possibility that a contemporary's restatement of a commonplace was the inciting force which recalled the classical passage to the poet's mind.

These and other possible, but generally undemonstrable, identifications of the proximate source of the inspiration for particular lines need lead to no confusion in studies such as I have suggested. Pope's aphorism

True Wit is Nature to advantage dress'd,
What oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd,

is sound critical doctrine for the Renaissance as well as for the eighteenth century. The real problem is to bring together the many examples of a common thought or poetic image and then try to analyze, so far as that may be possible, what distinctive quality has been added to create the best.

The study of Shakespeare's dramatic poetry by this method will give a deeper insight, I believe, to the nature of his genius and to the sources of his inspiration than the recent studies of his imagery based upon classifying the subjects from which his images are drawn and making biographical and psychological inferences from this classification.⁵ Inasmuch as we can often parallel Shakespeare's lines with lines from a number of other contemporary dramatists, confident that all the examples echo a passage from a classical author familiar to all because all had studied that passage in school, we can examine critically the manner in which Shakespeare, especially at the height of his career, nearly always uniquely transforms the common source and adapts it to his immediate purpose.

Admittedly, the assumption basic to this method is that a poet's imagination is stimulated by what he reads as well as by his direct ex-

⁵ The principal study of this sort is Caroline F. E. Spurgeon's *Shakespeare's Imagery and What It Tells Us* (1935). For a critique of her method, see Lillian Hornstein, "Analysis of Imagery: A Critique of Literary Method," *P.M.L.A.*, lvii (1942), 638-53.

perience and observation of animate and inanimate nature. Initial impulses from both sources usually interact in subtle ways in the poet's mind in the creation of any specific image. There is no proof—nor is it likely—that in this respect Shakespeare's mind functioned differently from that of any other poet. Here again the notion that Shakespeare was an ignorant, untutored genius whose masterpieces were happy accidents rather than the result of conscious artistic intention has not encouraged students in the past to analyze his works in the light of the Renaissance system of training in literary composition. The artistry that can choose from any author only so much as will serve the writer's purpose, that can make each borrowing truly the writer's own by transmutations so notable that it no longer displays the label of its source, is the quality which the best Renaissance critics extolled as the highest achievement of those practiced in the doctrines of literary imitation.

Moreover, critical theory directed the poet to look afresh at life and nature for the material wherewith to transform and make his own whatever he might draw from the literary works of his predecessors. For from at least as early as the second century B.C. onward, there were two interrelated aspects of *imitatio* as a method of artistic creativity: the Aristotelian *mimesis* or artistic imitation of nature, and the selective imitation of earlier authors of recognized eminence.⁶

The praise of Shakespeare for excelling his contemporaries in depicting Nature—a praise which became a commonplace as a result of Ben Jonson's eulogy in the First Folio—is a tribute, as Jonson's lines make clear, to Shakespeare's genius in surpassing all the ancient models for dramatic poetry, as well as the works of his modern rivals.⁷

As one of the many studies that our more precise knowledge of Shakespeare's acquaintance with the Latin classics now makes desirable,

6 See Richard McKeon, "Literary Criticism and the Concept of Imitation in Antiquity," *M.P.*, xxxiv (1936), 1-35, and Walter L. Bullock, "The Precept of Plagiarism in the Cinquecento," *M.P.*, xxv (1928), 293-312.

7 An early instance of undiscerning praise of Shakespeare's originality is the eulogistic poem by Leonard Digges in the 1640 edition of the *Poems*. Digges asserts that "Nature only" helped Shakespeare; that he does not borrow "One phrase from Greeks, or Latins imitate"; and that "all that he doth write is pure his own—plot, language exquisite. . . ." We lose faith in Digges's testimony when he states that Shakespeare invented his own plots, and suspect that Digges was more concerned with fitting his praise of Shakespeare into Castelvetro's theory of poetry than in praising him understandingly for what he actually did.

I propose a re-examination of his debt to the *Tragedies* of Seneca. Scholars agree that Seneca was the chief preceptor for Elizabethan tragic drama—not only for the closely imitative academic plays, but also for the free adaptations and combinations with native dramatic traditions in the plays that held the popular stage.⁸ Cunliffe, Lucas, Engel, and many others, and, more recently, Hardin Craig have assembled parallels in structure, philosophic content, situations, characters, and rhetorical patterns and imagery between Seneca's tragedies and Shakespeare's plays, but most of these scholars carefully refrain from asserting that Shakespeare's indebtedness is direct—the result of his having read Seneca in Latin. Cunliffe, in the earliest comprehensive study of the problem, rightly notes that:

. . . whether Shakspeare was directly indebted to Seneca is a question as difficult as it is interesting. As English tragedy advances, there grows up an accumulation of Senecan influence within the English drama in addition to the original source, and it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish between the direct and indirect influence of Seneca. In no case is the difficulty greater than in that of Shakspeare.⁹

The conclusion that Cunliffe reaches is that:

The decision must, however, rest upon the internal evidence contained in the plays themselves, and while I look upon this as pointing very plainly to

8 The principal studies dealing with Seneca and Elizabethan tragic drama are: John W. Cunliffe, *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy* (1893); F. L. Lucas, *Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy* (1922); Jakob Engel, "Die Spuren Senecas in Shaksperes Dramen," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, cxii (1903), 60–81; Hardin Craig, "The Shackling of Accidents: A Study of Elizabethan Tragedy," *P.Q.*, xix (1940), 1–19; J. M. Manly, "The Influence of the Tragedies of Seneca upon Early English Drama," in *The Tragedies of Seneca*, trans. F. J. Miller (1907), 3–10; T. S. Eliot, introductory essay in *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies Translated into English, edited by Thomas Newton, Anno 1581*, "Tudor Translations, 2d Series" (1927), i, pp. v–liv; T. S. Eliot, "Shakespeare and the Stoicism of Seneca," in *Elizabethan Essays* (1934), 33–54; L. E. Kastner and H. B. Charlton, introductory essay to *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander* (1921), i, pp. xvii–cc (the fullest discussion of the Senecan tradition in Renaissance tragedy); Rudolf Fischer, *Zur Kunstentwicklung der englischen Tragödie* (Strassburg, 1893); A. M. Witherspoon, *The Influence of Robert Garnier on Elizabethan Drama* (1924); Allan H. Gilbert, "Seneca and the Criticism of Elizabethan Tragedy," *P.Q.*, xiii (1934), 370–81. For a recent study of the characteristics, merits, and defects of Senecan tragedy, see Clarence W. Mendell, *Our Seneca* (1941).

9 *Op. cit.*, p. 66. Rudolf Fischer's study, though published in the same year as Cunliffe's, is not quite so comprehensive and confines itself primarily to Shakespeare's predecessors.

Shakespearian Imagery and Senecan Imitation

an almost certain conclusion, it can hardly be said to amount to absolute proof. A number of instances have been already quoted in which Shakspeare might have been influenced by the example of Seneca; and others will be given; but it cannot be said that in any one case the resemblance is absolutely convincing. The evidence must be taken in its cumulative force.¹⁰

F. L. Lucas, with a justifiable suspicion of some of the doubtful parallels that have been cited in evidence of Shakespeare's debt to Seneca, concludes:

But it must be said once for all about the bulk of Shakespeare's supposed borrowings from Seneca, that one grows more and more sceptical; with Chapman and Marston, as we shall see, the evidence of actual indebtedness is convincing. But most of the Shakespearian passages quoted by Cunliffe and Engel seems to me the merest coincidences. . . .

In short though Shakespeare almost certainly had read Seneca, and though he may even have read him in the original, and though he seems here and there to echo him, the number and importance of such echoes seem to have been very much exaggerated.¹¹

Hardin Craig, in an admirable paper dealing with borrowings and imitations of Seneca as they appear in Shakespeare's plays, emphasizes the literary training characteristic of the Renaissance, observing:

The greater authors of the Renaissance from Petrarch to Cervantes habitually began on a level of close imitation both in matters rhetorical and in those which were structural and architectonic; but usually, as their geniuses developed, they emancipated themselves, to a greater or less degree, from formalism in style and thought. They thus came, by following the road of rather stupid imitation, to exemplify what we regard as true originality, so that their imitation no longer intruded itself or restricted their freedom. There is little doubt that Shakespeare himself is an example of such an emancipated genius.¹²

Though Professor Craig notes that Seneca was "a principal channel through which the wisdom of the past reached the Renaissance," and states that it "is at least certain that in treating various subjects Shake-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 122-3.

¹² "The Shackling of Accidents," p. 4. In his book *The Enchanted Glass* (1936) Professor Craig deals comprehensively with the relation of the school learning of the Renaissance to its literature.

speare followed a Senecan pattern," he does not concern himself in this paper with the question of "whether Shakespeare knew Seneca and borrowed from him."¹³ One gains the impression, however, that while recognizing the multitude of indirect ways in which Senecan influence reached Shakespeare, he believes that the weight of evidence indicates the dramatist's direct as well as indirect use of Seneca.

T. S. Eliot is more positive:

I want to be quite definite in my notion of the possible influence of Seneca on Shakespeare. I think it quite likely that Shakespeare read some of Seneca's tragedies at school. I think it quite unlikely that Shakespeare knew anything of that extraordinarily dull and uninteresting body of Seneca's prose. . . . So far as Shakespeare was influenced by Seneca, it was by his memories of school conning and through the influence of the Senecan tragedy of the day.¹⁴

On the other hand, T. W. Baldwin demonstrates that Seneca's *Tragedies* were rarely included in the grammar-school curriculum before 1600, although in the seventeenth century they were often prescribed for the sixth form. He is therefore inclined to minimize the significance of similarities in phraseology between Shakespeare and Seneca.¹⁵

Here is the strange anomaly of modern scholarship: on the one hand it emphasizes the pervasive general influence of Senecan tragedy upon the tragic dramas of Shakespeare, yet on the other, having scrutinized the numerous analogies in phrasing and imagery which it discovers between the plays of the two authors, it at the same time hesitates to draw the conclusion that Shakespeare knew Seneca in the original. The paradox can be resolved, however, once scholars accept two postulates which recent studies have justified beyond any reasonable doubt. The first is that Shakespeare, having received the solid classical training of the Elizabethan grammar school, would have found no difficulty in reading Seneca in Latin, whether or not he had studied the *Tragedies* in school. Furthermore, Seneca would certainly have been an important item on the reading list of any serious and aspiring dramatist in London around 1590. The second is that the peculiar genius of Shakespeare

¹³ "The Shackling of Accidents," p. 5.

¹⁴ "Shakespeare and the Stoicism of Seneca," pp. 37-8.

¹⁵ *Shakespeare's Small Latine*, ii, 553-60.

—his measure of superiority to his rivals—would cause his imitations to be less exact than the more literal imitations of lesser writers; instead, by imaginatively creative transmutations, they would surpass the original which inspired them. For this reason they would be less easy to detect, and could never be satisfactorily proved by citing “parallels” that were no more than vaguely parallel to Seneca’s lines, and usually much more vividly and metaphorically phrased.

Accepting these postulates, we can proceed best, it seems to me, by gathering from plays contemporaneous with Shakespeare’s the passages in which the author is obviously imitating some trope or *sententia* that an Elizabethan would recognize as having its primary source in a tragedy of Seneca. By analyzing these passages and comparing them with the lines in which Shakespeare gives expression to the same idea, we can gain some insight into the creative processes by which he utilized and transformed the Senecan commonplaces of his age. In following this procedure, we could not be certain whether the stimulus for any specific Shakespearian passage had come directly from Seneca, from a Renaissance commonplace book, or from the imitation of the Senecan lines by an English contemporary. For evaluating the distinctive quality of Shakespeare’s expression of the idea, his immediate source need not concern us. Yet when we bring together a very large number of Shakespearian passages, the phrasing of any one of which, considered by itself, may have been suggested to the poet by a variety of sources other than the Latin Seneca, the probability that the immediate stimulus for some of them came from the one source common to all increases very greatly. This is all the more true when the probability that Shakespeare read Seneca at some time during or before his early efforts as a playwright is itself close to certainty.

In short, I am confident that a much stronger case for Seneca’s influence on the language and imagery of Shakespeare can be advanced by re-examining and reinforcing the evidence heretofore presented.¹⁶ Here there is insufficient space to do more than illustrate the point by a few examples, taken chiefly from *Macbeth*. Of the plays in which the

¹⁶ The author is at present engaged upon an extensive study of the use that Shakespeare and his fellow-dramatists made of Senecan materials, examining their procedures as examples of the Renaissance doctrines of creative literary imitation.

greatest number of verbal resemblances to lines in Seneca's tragedies have been pointed out, *Macbeth* is the one which represents Shakespeare at his maturity. *Titus Andronicus*, the *Henry VI* trilogy, and *Richard III* are early plays, and large sections of all but the last have been attributed—on insufficient grounds, I believe—to other writers.¹⁷

Before examining *Macbeth*, however, let us consider the following proposition as the foundation upon which to base any analysis of possible relationships between the phraseology and imagery of similar passages in different authors. If we take a given passage in Shakespeare (or any other author), the ideas and phraseology of which might so far as the available evidence goes be derived from any one of two or more sources, that source which is so worded that it provides a natural imaginative suggestion for the diction found in the given passage is far more likely than the others to be the direct source of the author's inspiration. To illustrate, take the lines from *Antony and Cleopatra* (IV, xii, 43-7) in which Antony in his rage, exclaims:

The shirt of Nessus is upon me: teach me,
Alcides, thou mine ancestor, thy rage:
Let me lodge Lichas on the horns o' the moon;
And with those hands, that grasp'd the heaviest club,
Subdue my worthiest self.

The story of Lichas, Hercules' page who at Deïanira's bidding brought him the robe poisoned with Nessus' blood, is recounted in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book 9, and also in Seneca's *Hercules Oetaeus*. In Ovid, Hercules, in his fury and agony, merely swings the terrified Lichas about his head and hurls him over the cliff into the Euboean Sea, where he is turned into a group of rocks. It is this better known Ovidian version that appears in Stephanus' *Dictionarium Historicum Poeticum, Geographicum*, with no allusion to the slightly variant Senecan version. Yet Seneca, characteristically, expands the tale with sanguinary hyperbole:

¹⁷ *Titus* is the only play in the Shakespeare canon containing Latin quotations from Seneca (see Cunliffe, p. 128). If, with H. B. Baildon, the editor of the play in the Arden series (London, Methuen, 1904), we accept *Titus* as wholly Shakespeare's—his first effort at tragedy, written about 1590 or 1591 in the style of the neo-Senecan popular tragedy recently exemplified by Kyd—the case for Shakespeare's direct use of Seneca could be still further strengthened.

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in astra missus fertur et nubes vago
spargit cruore. talis in caelum exilit
harundo Getica visa dimitti manu
aut quam Cydon excussit: inferius tamen
et tela fugient. truncus in pontum cadit,
in saxa vertex; unus ambobus iacet.

To the stars the boy went hurtling and sprinkled the clouds with his scattered blood. So does a Getan arrow, from the hand let fly, go speeding skyward, or the shaft a Cydonian has shot; but far below [the height reached by Lichas] even these weapons will wing their flight. His body falls into the sea, his head upon the rocks; one youth lies slain in both [i.e., head and body].¹⁸

It is worth noting by way of comparison with Shakespeare's passage that, in the lines immediately following, Hercules is described as tearing his own flesh apart with his own hand.

Cunliffe states that at "first sight it seems more than likely that this [Shakespearian passage] is from Seneca, but it might also come from Ovid."¹⁹ R. K. Root rightly says that the phrase "Let me lodge Lichas on the horns of the moon" seems nearer to the Senecan account, and quotes the Senecan lines above, underlining "in astra."²⁰

What has happened is clear. Shakespeare, taking his suggestion from Seneca's *in astra*, has adapted the Latin poet's hyperbole to his own purpose, making the imagery less obviously sanguinary, and more actively concrete.²¹

Let us turn now to the suggestions for ideas and imagery which Shakespeare might have absorbed from Seneca and utilized in writing *Macbeth*. If we assume that Shakespeare had read Seneca, if not at school, at least during his early years as a playwright in London, no dramatist's works would be more naturally recalled to his mind as he prepared to compose the tragedy of *Macbeth*. The stories in Holinshed had supplied him with a pair of protagonists who committed great and

¹⁸ *Hercules Oetaeus*, 817-22. Unless otherwise noted, quotations and translations from Seneca are from the Loeb edition *Seneca's Tragedies*, trans. F. J. Miller, revised ed. (1928-9).

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

²⁰ *Classical Mythology in Shakespeare* (1903), pp. 73-4.

²¹ John Studley's translation, printed in Newton's edition of *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581), could not have substituted for the Latin as the inciting force for Shakespeare's lines. Lichas is merely "throwne up to heaven they say."

bloody crimes, and the plan he was formulating aimed to display the thoughts and passions of two apparently normal human beings whose overpowering ambition leads them to commit a premeditated murder, but who can never, thereafter, escape its consequences to their own innermost natures. Seneca's plays abound in awe-inspiring, introspective evildoers. But most Senecan murderers are superhuman monsters of passion who glory in their villainy. The two plays in which the protagonist's crimes are accompanied or followed by violent fear and remorse are *Hippolytus* or *Phaedra*²² and *Hercules Furens*. Among the parallels of phraseology and imagery between *Macbeth* and Seneca's *Tragedies* which have been cited by Cunliffe, Engel, Lucas, and others, the number from these two plays far exceeds those from any other. An attractive conjecture—although it could not be more than pure conjecture—is that Shakespeare, as a part of his reading and meditating at the time he was engaged in working the germinal ideas for *Macbeth* into some definite shape in his mind, skimmed through the pages of Seneca again, alert for whatever might stimulate his imagination and provide him with suitable matter for poetic invention. He paused longer over *Hippolytus* and *Hercules Furens* because he found these, compared with the other plays, closer in spirit to the theme he had chosen for his next drama.

Whatever may have been Shakespeare's procedure in composing *Macbeth*, we can scarcely dismiss as purely fortuitous the number of instances in which lines of Seneca supply a likely seed from which an idea, phrase, or metaphor in *Macbeth* could have developed through the fructifying and transmuting power of Shakespeare's genius. Scholars have suggested that the incantations of the witches in *Macbeth* owe something to Medea's weaving of her magic spells in *Medea*, 740-842, and that Medea's lines (893-910) steeling herself for her vengeance lie behind Lady Macbeth's speech (I, v, 40-54) beginning:

Come, you spirits
That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here,
And fill me, from the crown to the toe, top-full
Of direst cruelty!

22 In the Renaissance editions the play was entitled *Hippolytus*; therefore I have chosen to designate the play by that title.

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These are vague resemblances; certainly no antecedent in Seneca is necessary to account for the passages in *Macbeth*. But it does not follow that the Senecan lines were unknown to Shakespeare. There is, however, one passage in *Macbeth* which, considered entirely by itself, exhibits correspondences so close that one can say with assurance that it was an inspired imitation of Seneca. The parallel is well known, having first been pointed out by Lessing in 1754, but no one, to my knowledge, has brought the contemporary editions of Seneca to the witness stand to strengthen the case for Seneca's Latin lines having been the direct source of Shakespeare's imagery.

In *Hippolytus*, 715-18, at the end of the scene in which Phaedra reveals her love to Hippolytus, he casts away his sword as polluted by his step-mother's touch and exclaims:

quis eluet me Tanais aut quae barbaris
Maeotis undis Pontico incumbens mari?
non ipse toto magnus Oceano pater
tantum expiarit sceleris.

What Tanaïs will cleanse me, what Maeotis, with its barbaric waves rushing into the Pontic sea? Not great Father Neptune's self, with his whole ocean, could wash away so much of guilt.

A note to these lines in the early seventeenth-century school editions of Seneca refers the reader to a similar passage in *Hercules Furens*, 1323-9:

quis Tanais aut quis Nilus aut quis Persica
violentus unda Tigris aut Rhenus ferox
Tagusve Hibera turbidus gaza fluens
abluere dextram poterit? arctoum licet
Maeotis in me gelida transfundat mare
et tota Tethys per meas currat manus,
haerebit altum facinus.

What Tanaïs, what Nile, what Tigris, raging with Persian torrents, what warlike Rhine, or Tagus, turbid with the golden sands of Spain, can cleanse this hand? Though cold Maeotis should pour its northern seas upon me, though the whole ocean should stream along my hands, still would the deep stains cling.

Shakespeare's lines for which these Senecan parallels have been suggested as his source of inspiration are familiar to all:

What hands are here? Ha! they pluck out mine eyes.
Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? (II, ii, 58-60)

T. W. Baldwin, in arguing against the likelihood of Seneca's *Tragedies* having been included in the grammar-school curriculum of Shakespeare, minimizes the force of this parallel, stating that "this hyperbolical figure is so inevitable, and so widely spread both in the classics and among Shakspeare's contemporaries, that it can hardly be considered significant for our present purpose."²³

The particular *form* of this figure, however, is not common in Latin poets other than Seneca. Many examples can be cited in which a river (*flumen*) is mentioned, figuratively, as being insufficient to cleanse some stain. In fact, had Shakespeare consulted an edition of Seneca containing the scholia of M. A. Del Rio,²⁴ he would have found, in the note to these lines in *Hippolytus*, a long list of analogous passages from the classics, so that he would have had his attention particularly directed to the fact that Seneca had made a hyperbolical figure found in other writers still more hyperbolical by including all the seas of the world. Moreover, the note to *Oceano* (*Hippolytus*, 717) in the editions of Shakespeare's time reads: "Non ipse Neptunus, universo mari suo," with a reference to the similar metonymical use of Tethys in line 1328 of *Hercules Furens*, quoted above. One should observe, also, that these Senecan lines, taken with the scholia of the Renaissance editors,^{24a} explain the form taken by Shakespeare's next figure (again a hyperbole):

No, this my hand will rather
The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the green one red. (II, ii, 60-2)

²³ *Shakspeare's Small Latine*, ii, 559.

²⁴ The first edition with the notes and commentary of Del Rio is *In L. Annaei Senecae . . . Tragoedias Decem, Amplissima Adversaria quae loco commentarii esse possunt* (Antwerp, Plantin, 1576). Del Rio's notes also formed the third volume of *Martini Antonii Delrii Syntagma tragoediae latinae* (Antwerp, Plantin, 1593-4).

^{24a} Although the various editors of Seneca chose different passages for which to supply explanatory notes, their scholia, when combined, give us a reliable picture of the manner in which Seneca's plays were elucidated by Renaissance school masters.

These facts so strengthen the evidence for the lines in *Macbeth* being the result of Shakespeare's imagination transmuting the baser metal of Seneca that no room is left, it seems to me, for a reasonable doubt.

What Shakespeare did in this case, as in the example cited earlier from *Antony and Cleopatra*, was to transfigure his source by infusing still more vivid and appropriate imagery. Where the transformation was more radical, as in the other parallels that students have found between *Macbeth* and Seneca, it is more difficult to feel certain of the source. But there is a different avenue open for studying the alchemy of Shakespeare's genius: to compare his expression of Senecan *sententiae* which became Renaissance commonplaces with the versions in the dramas and other works of his contemporaries.

We can begin with no better example than the Senecan *sententia* which was a universal favorite of the Renaissance:

Curae leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent. (*Hippolytus*, 607)
Light troubles speak; the weighty are struck dumb.

It occurs in the same scene in *Hippolytus* from which comes the evidence we have cited above for Shakespeare's reading of Seneca being reflected in *Macbeth*. Phaedra is struggling to gain courage to reveal her passion to Hippolytus. In reply to his question: "Thy heart desires somewhat and cannot tell it out?" she utters this *sententia*.

John Studley, the translator in Newton's collection of 1581, renders the line as follows:

Light cares have words at will, but great do make us
sore agast.

Even earlier, however, the *sententia* had received the distinction of an unusually long entry in the standard Latin-English dictionary of the Elizabethan age, Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae*.²⁵ It appears as the most elaborate illustrative example of the word *cura*:

²⁵ This work, first published under this title in 1565, was in turn an expansion by Cooper of the Latin-English dictionary by Sir Thomas Elyot first issued in 1538. Cooper's work had numerous later editions; I have used that of 1573. For the history of this dictionary see D. T. Starnes, "Bilingual Dictionaries of Shakespeare's Day," *P.M.L.A.*, lii (1937), 1005-18.

Curae leues loquuntur, ingentes stupent. Sen. They that haue small cares, vtter their minde, & make their mone: but they that are in great sorow be as it were astonied, & cannot complaine. Small sorow complayneth, great care is astonied.

Instances of the appearance of this *sententia* in other dictionaries and in the printed commonplace books of the sixteenth century could readily be collected, but our special concern is with its use in the drama. The frequency of its occurrence in its Latin form in the plays written about 1600 proves that it had become an oft-quoted proverb. The anonymous author of *Sir Thomas More* (ca. 1596), a play in which it is claimed that Shakespeare inserted revisions, has William Roper pronounce this sentence, not entirely too appositely, at the end of Act IV, as More is led from his home in Chelsea to the Tower. The lines are:

MOORE. . . . —what's heere, what's heere?
Mine eye had almost parted with a teare.—
Deare sonne, possesse my vertue, that I nere gaue.—
Graue Moore thus lightly walks to a quick graue.
Ro. *Curae leues loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*
MOORE. You that way in; minde you my course in prayer:
By water I to prison, to heauen through ayre.²⁶

In *The Return from Parnassus*, the third of the *Parnassus* plays, this *sententia* is employed facetiously by Philomusus masquerading as the physician Theodore treating a wealthy burgess—a sure indication that the audience at Cambridge was well acquainted with the Latin line. The supposed physician tells his patient:

Tit, tit, your worship takes care of your speeches. *O, courae leues loquuntur, ingentes stoupent*, it is an Aphorisme in Galen.²⁷

Guildford Dudley, as he parts from Lady Jane Grey in *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyat* (1602) by Dekker and others, utters an English adaptation of this Senecan line:

Great griefs speak louder, when the least are dumb.²⁸

²⁶ Quoted from *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke (1918), p. 413. For the date of composition of this and other plays I have followed E. K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage* (1923).

²⁷ Quoted from the edition by Edward Arber (1895), p. 20.

²⁸ *The Dramatic Works of John Webster*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt (1857), i, 55. Alexander

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Chapman's *The Widdowes Tears*, which, if we accept 1605 as the date of composition, appeared on the London stage at about the same time as *Macbeth*, presents another English version:

These griefs that sound so loud, prove always light,
True sorrow evermore keeps out of sight.²⁹

The Senecan *sententia* is quoted in Latin and then rendered into English in Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essayes* (1603), Book I, chap. 2, "Of Sadness or Sorrowe":

And thence is sometimes engendered that casuall faintnes, which so unseasonably surpriseth passionate Lovers, and that childnesse which by the power of an extreame heat doth close on them in the verie midst of their joy and enjoying. All passions that may be tasted and digested, are but mean and slight.

Curae leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.
Light cares can freely speake,
Great cares heart rather breake.³⁰

Before noting Shakespeare's transformation of this commonplace, which we have illustrated with only a few of the contemporary examples of its use, we shall cite two versions later than *Macbeth*. Webster, in *The White Diuel* (1609-12), has the harassed Isabella exclaim to her brother Francisco:

"Unkindnesse do thy office, poore heart breake,
"Those are the killing greifes which dare not speake."³¹

In the last scene of Ford's *The Broken Heart* (1632), Calantha says, just before her death:

They are the silent griefs which cut the heartstrings;
Let me die smiling. (V, iii, 75-6)

Dyce, in his note to this line in his edition of Webster's works, points out the parallel of the line in Seneca's *Hippolytus*, and suggests that the author wrote: "Least griefs speak louder, when the great are dumb," intending a close translation rather than a transposition of the idea in Seneca.

²⁹ IV, i, 104-5. T. M. Parrott, in his edition of *The Plays and Poems of George Chapman: The Comedies* (1914), pp. 797-800, argues for the date 1605, but Chambers dates the play less definitely between 1603 and 1609.

³⁰ Florio has the note at this point: "Sen. *Hip.* Act. ii. Scena 2."

³¹ II, i, 278-9. The original edition of 1612 has the inverted commas, as here, to call attention to the aphorism.

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Theodore Spencer says of this line of Ford's: "There is no more successful version than this of the old Senecan tag, probably the commonest of all such in the Elizabethan drama."³² Although I would be willing to grant Ford the second place, my vote would go to Shakespeare for the first. In *Macbeth* (IV, iii, 208-11), as Macduff stands completely stricken by the news that his wife and children have been savagely slaughtered, Malcolm tries to rally him from his stupor with the words:

Merciful heaven!—
What, man! ne'er pull your hat upon your brows;
Give sorrow words; the grief, that does not speak,
Whispers the o'er-fraught heart, and bids it break.

Here Shakespeare has taken an almost hackneyed aphorism, and by giving it a new setting in a powerful dramatic situation, at the same time transforming it by a vivid metaphor involving personification, has fully displayed the power of his creative imagination. This exemplifies the highest type of imitation, that far surpasses the source from which it drew its inspiration.

One other example of Shakespeare's transmutation of a familiar Senecan *sententia* will be cited from *Macbeth*—one in which he improves upon his own prior imitation in an earlier play. In the first episode of *Agamemnon*, Clytemnestra with a nurse as interlocutor discusses how, with Agamemnon's return imminent, she can with safety protect herself from the consequences of her adultery with her paramour Aegisthus. The most famous *sententia* in the scene is (line 115):

per scelera semper sceleribus tutum est iter.

through crime is ever the safe way for crime.

There are, however, many similar aphorisms in the same scene to give added color to this *sententia* expressing Clytemnestra's savage determination to pursue a murderous course in search of safety.³³ Moreover, when Aegisthus enters he tells her that if she will be partner in his peril, then

³² *Death and Elizabethan Tragedy* (1936), p. 259 n.

³³ See, for example, lines 124, 150, 154, and 193.

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sanguinem reddit tibi
ignavus iste ductor ac fortis pater. (lines 235-6)

blood for blood shall he repay to thee
this cowardly warrior and valiant sire.

Studley, in 1566, thus translates line 115:

The safest path to mischief is by mischief open still.

Thomas Kyd, in the scene in *The Spanish Tragedy* (1585-7) in which Hieronimo enters reading a book—none other than Seneca's *Tragoediae*—includes, among the sometimes slightly inaccurate Senecan quotations:

*Per scelus semper tutum est sceleribus iter.*³⁴

In *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1588) by Thomas Hughes, a thoroughly Senecan play, the line appears as:

The safest passage is from bad to worse. (I, iv, 77)

Shakespeare himself, in his prentice years, adapted the *sententia* to his purpose in *Richard III*. Planning to put into effect his latest brazen design of marrying his niece, Richard soliloquizes:

I must be married to my brother's daughter,
Or else my kingdom stands on brittle glass.
Murder her brothers, and then marry her!
Uncertain way of gain! But I am in
So far in blood that sin will pluck on sin. (IV, ii, 60-64)

One other instance of the appearance of this *sententia* in Elizabethan drama before *Macbeth* will be cited, inasmuch as it illustrates the recognition of the Senecan source of the idea. In Marston's *The Malcontent* (1604), when Mendoza utters the aphorism (printed in distinctive type in the original edition):

Blacke deede onely through blacke deedes safely flies,

Malevole caps it with:

Pew! *per scelera semper sceleribus tutum est iter.*³⁵

³⁴ *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, ed. F. S. Boas (1901), p. 69.

³⁵ *The Plays of John Marston*, ed. H. Harvey Wood (1934-9), i, 206.

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Shakespeare adapts this *sententia* in his concluding lines to Act III, scene ii of *Macbeth*:

Things bad begun make strong themselves by ill.

But Macbeth, a little later, repeats the same idea in a far more striking form, transmuting it from a simple sententious statement to a powerful metaphor that vividly expresses Macbeth's emotions, when, thoroughly shaken by the appearance of Banquo's ghost, he realizes that there is no peace for the murderer—only a frantic heaping of crime upon crime.

For mine own good
All causes shall give way: I am in blood
Stepp'd in so far, that, should I wade no more,
Returning were as tedious as go o'er. (III, iv, 135-8)

Once again, and far more successfully than in *Richard III*, Shakespeare, imitating a Senecan commonplace, has completely transformed and surpassed his ultimate source of inspiration.

The illustrations here presented should suffice to show that, in studying Shakespeare's art, we cannot neglect to analyze carefully the contribution made by the *Tragedies* of Seneca to the development of his genius. A re-examination of the evidence is needed, making use of three factors in the problem that hitherto have not been accurately understood nor fully considered: the nature of Shakespeare's Latin learning, the critical and explanatory notes in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts of Seneca's *Tragoediae*, and the Renaissance critical theory and practice in training for literary craftsmanship. When the evidence provided by earlier studies is interpreted with these factors in mind, and the additional evidence which they provide is thrown into the scale, we should be able to prove, beyond a reasonable doubt, that Shakespeare, from the time of his first efforts as a tragic poet and dramatist until the full maturity of his art, made his levies upon Seneca directly, as well as indirectly through the many Senecan imitations by his contemporaries.

The plays of Shakespeare's prentice years, which I have not touched upon here, would reward careful study. But the student must go beyond the mere presentation of parallels and endeavor in each case to ascertain

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why a particular source incited Shakespeare's imagination, and to account for the adaptation and transformation that made the result, as a rule, far surpass the original. The student, moreover, must always remember that Seneca's *Tragoediae* was only one—though a very important one—of the many ingredients that were poured into the alembic of Shakespeare's mind and by the alchemy of his genius so transmuted that in the resulting poem to distinguish accurately the proportion of each constituent becomes impossible.

As scholars and critics, however, we can now hope to achieve a more satisfactory approximation. Although we have no record of Shakespeare's reading, such as Coleridge's notebook provided for Professor Lowes in his study of the ways of Coleridge's imagination in *The Road to Xanadu*, we can nevertheless, in a somewhat less certain fashion, acquire the means for deepening our understanding of the operation of Shakespeare's creative imagination.

SHAKESPEARE AND THE HISTORY PLAY

By HARDIN CRAIG

The controlling form of drama in the sixteenth century in England was the romantic drama, a simple, variable, adaptable literary form like that of the novel.¹ With the technique and instruments of the religious drama it told a story on the stage. As a drama it did not know the difference between comedy and tragedy except in the mediaeval sense, and, although it produced masterpieces in both kinds, it never learned this distinction well. The form was so strongly influenced by Plautine and Terentian comedy and by Senecan tragedy that its current seemed for a time to be unchartable; but it re-asserted itself and ultimately embraced and absorbed all of its tributaries. *The Spanish Tragedy* is a famous compromise between romantic drama and Senecan tragedy; so to some extent are all of the popular Senecan tragedies in English. The chronicle play took its rise at the very time that the influence of Seneca was at its height. Some chronicle plays are merely romantic dramas; many of them are compromises between the native form and Senecan tragedy.

Thomas Legge's *Ricardus Tertius* (1573) treats a historical subject in the Senecan manner and is merely an example of Senecan tragedy in England. On the other hand, *The Famous Victories of Henry Fifth*, the original of which was in existence as early as 1588, is a romantic drama free from Senecanism. *Gorboduc*, although celebrated as a Senecan tragedy, has nevertheless what Dr. J. M. Manly used to describe as the distinguishing characteristic of the chronicle play, namely, an appeal to patriotism. This criterion alone would make *Gorboduc* the first chronicle play, and there is little objection to such a classification, since the chronicle play is a grouping of dramas, not on the basis of form, but of subject matter and purpose. *The Troublesome Raigne of John King*

1 For the origins and outlines of this form see J. M. Manly, "The Miracle Play in Mediaeval England," *Essays by Divers Hands* (Royal Society of Literature, *Trans.*), New Ser., vii, 133-53; C. R. Baskervill, "Some Evidence for Early Romantic Plays in England," *M.P.*, xiv (1916), 229-51, 467-512; "Conventional Features of Medwall's *Fulgens and Lucres*," *ibid.*, xxiv (1927), 419-42; Henry Medwall, *Fulgens and Lucres: A Fifteenth-Century Secular Play*, ed. F. S. Boas and A. W. Reed (1926), introduction.

of England (printed 1591), more Senecan than *The Famous Victories*, is none the less a romantic drama, and the same may be said of *The True Chronicle History of King Leir* (S.R. 1594) and of Peele's *Edward I*. Greene's *The Scottish History of James IV* (1590-91) is of course almost completely out of account as a play treating of history, but as a chronicle play is not formally different from *The Famous Victories*. *Locrine* and *Selimus*, both strongly Senecan, are hardly to be distinguished from chronicle plays. Indeed, there is no available criterion until plays began to deal actually and faithfully with history.

Of such plays there are two which stand out as early dramatizations of serious history: Marlowe's *The Troublesome Raigne and Lamentable Death of Edward II* and Shakespeare's *2 Henry VI*. It has usually been assumed that Marlowe's play is the earlier of the two; but, in point of fact, the question is open. When it was realized that Greene's *A Groat's-worth of Wit* parodies *3 Henry VI* (I, iv, 137) and not *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*,² and that Greene wrote the satire before his death on September 3, 1592, it became obvious that *3 Henry VI* was in existence before that date and that *2 Henry VI* was still earlier, perhaps at least as early as 1591. We do not know the date of Marlowe's play, which may or may not be earlier than 1592.³

It makes little difference how the matter of priority is settled, since Shakespeare did not approach the history play by way of Marlowe's play but by way of Senecan tragedy. *2 Henry VI* and other early history plays to a lessening extent show an obvious transition from the Senecanism of *Titus Andronicus*⁴ to a new, more straightforward style and method, one more appropriate to the writing of dramatic history and

2 See Madeleine Doran, *Henry VI, Parts II and III: their relation to The Contention and The True Tragedy* (1928); Peter Alexander, *Shakespeare's Henry VI and Richard III* (1929); E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* (1930), i, 277-89, *et passim*.

3 See Marlowe, *Edward II*, ed. H. B. Charlton and R. D. Waller (1933), pp. 6-8 and 25-7, *et passim*. The introduction to this volume offers a discussion of the question of priority and seems disposed to regard Shakespeare's play as earlier than Marlowe's.

4 See Walter F. Schirmer, "Shakespeare und die Rhetorik," *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, lxxi (1935), 11-31, an excellent treatment of ancient oratory as it appears in *Titus* and in other tragedies by Shakespeare. Of the many works on Shakespeare's style see particularly Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, *Leading Motives in the Imagery of Shakespeare's Tragedies* (1931); and *Shakespeare's Iterative Imagery* (1931); Wolfgang Clemen, *Shakespeares Bilder, ihre Entwicklung und ihre Functionen im dramatischen Werk* (Bonn, 1936).

actually characteristic of Shakespeare in his greater history plays. It is as if Shakespeare had learned rather quickly as he went on in his dramatic career the interest that lay in the dramatization of real event and, as he did so, displaced much of his early Senecan rhetoric in favor of a less mannered dramatic style. Indeed, it seems obvious that he did so, for Shakespeare's use of rhetoric in the Yorkist plays shows a change of style in progress, or rather a growing discrimination in the use of stylistic devices, in the writing of history plays.

In no play, unless it be *Titus Andronicus*, does Shakespeare make greater effort to achieve formal correctness and take greater pains with rhetorical ornament than in 2 *Henry VI*. He does not cease in later-written plays in the series to employ abundant rhetoric, but his rhetoric is slightly less obtrusive there and tends more and more in serious historical narrative to attach itself to special situations and characters. It is clear that Shakespeare did not adopt at once the style and method of Marlowe, but in the writing of history plays broke out his own way and did so gradually.

Dialogue, somewhat deficient in Seneca, is by no means the only element in Senecan drama in English. Rhetorical and oratorical elements, as distinguished from dialogue, are very important in Shakespeare's early plays and, to be sure, in his later plays. Perhaps it may be said that in the Yorkist cycle he achieves an unwanted success from the point of view of excellent declamation, for he was never without deep human feeling and profound insight into human nature. He seems, like Seneca himself, to cultivate turbulent emotion, spectacular passion, and even violence of action. This was not in accordance, we think, with his real nature, and perhaps his Senecanism was overdone even according to the standards of his own age.⁵

In the opening soliloquy of *Richard III* the Senecan prologue reappears practically in its true form, since it characterizes the speaker, discloses his motives, and, by inference at least, announces the course of action to be developed in the play.⁶ The duties of the prologue are,

5 Greene scorns him in *A Groat'sworth of Wit* and parodies a bombastic line. It is obvious that Ben Jonson did not admire his extravagance.

6 See Howard Vernon Canter, *Rhetorical Elements in the Tragedies of Seneca* (1925), an excellent study which has been used freely in this paper as a means of classifying rhetorical forms in Shakespeare's early history plays.

however, apt to be distributed over later acts of these plays. In *2 Henry VI* it is York's speeches (I, i, 213-59 and III, i, 331-83) that correspond to the Senecan prologue; in *3 Henry VI* this feature is seen most clearly in Richard of Gloucester's speech (III, ii, 124-95).⁷ In *Richard III* this type of monologue is hard to distinguish from the ordinary informative soliloquy which Shakespeare puts into the mouths of villains like Iago and Edmund, intended perhaps to keep his none-too-attentive audience informed as to the course of the action.

Almost all varieties of the Senecan declamation are to be found in the Yorkist plays.⁸ For example, Duke Humphrey's outburst of indignation over the surrender to the French of the duchies of Maine and Anjou (I, i, 75-103) is a declamation expressive of grief and surprise; Margaret's denunciations of Duke Humphrey and his duchess (I, iii, 45-66, 78-90; III, i, 4-41) express hatred and envy; the Duchess of Gloucester's speech (II, iv, 27-69) is a lamentation; Duke Humphrey's analysis of the situation (III, i, 142-71), one of the best declamations in the play, is deliberative; King Henry's abandonment of Duke Humphrey (III, i, 198-222), very Senecan in its mood, is expressive of surrender and defenseless suffering; the Queen's great effort to win Henry over to her side (III, ii, 73-121), incidentally a failure, is a *suasoria* and highly rhetorical; Suffolk's last speech (IV, i, 121-38), and indeed the whole scene of Suffolk's capture and death, is an example of conscious amplification and much overdone; and note, finally, Young Clifford's lamentation over his father's body (V, i, 31-65).

These set speeches grow less frequent as the play goes on, and they are still less frequent in *3 Henry VI*. To be sure, in the earlier part of that play we have Margaret's vehement denunciation of her husband for disinheriting his own son (I, ii, 230-56) and two very Senecan declamations at the death of York (I, iv, 66-108, 111-68). Warwick's long speech (II, i, 104-41) is less rhetorical than are the ones mentioned and is significantly devoted to the business of the play. Clifford's speech to the King (II, ii, 9-42), slightly more rhetorical, is also closely

⁷ This speech seems to mark a sudden change in the character of Richard, who up until that time had been a loyal fighter for his family. It is as if Shakespeare had recently read Richard's story in More's *Life of Richard III* and in the *Chronicles* or had then decided to provide Richard with a play of his own.

⁸ See Canter, *Rhet. El.*, pp. 55 ff.

related to the action. His dying speech (II, vi, 1-30), though not excessive, is in the earlier vein. The new use of long speeches is well illustrated in 3 *Henry VI* by the Queen's address to her captains before the battle of Tewksbury (V, iv, 1-38), which gains power by its bearing on a crisis in the action of the drama and is not, when compared with most of the declamations in 2 *Henry VI*, of an excessively rhetorical nature. Declamations in Seneca are apt to be disconnected with the action of the plays, and Shakespeare shows his admiration for such writing and really goes to rhetorical extremes in the speeches of King Henry VI in the fifth scene of the second act, particularly in lines 1-54, in which he contrasts the lives of kings and shepherds.

Whether or not this is an example of Shakespeare's use of the oratorical style of Seneca for special situations in 3 *Henry VI* and whether or not he already shows in that play progress in freeing himself from extreme rhetoricism when engaged in dramatizing serious history, there can be no doubt that such a situation appears in *Richard III*. If one sets aside the prologue-like soliloquies of Richard, one finds the use of oratory in *Richard III* mainly in the parts of Queen Margaret and the lamenting women. Formal rhetoric appears rather legitimately in Clarence's dream (I, iv); in the lamentations of various persons going to their deaths, all recalling the prophecies of Margaret; in the speeches before battle; and in the scene of the ghosts (V, iii). Otherwise, it may be said, the long speeches of the play bear closely on the action. This is even true of the demagogic speeches of Buckingham and Gloucester in the seventh scene of the third act.

There is one use of the long speech by Shakespeare in 2 and 3 *Henry VI* and, particularly, in *Richard III* which seems to continue throughout his career. Something of the same sort can be found in Seneca and, since it is a natural and obvious device, no doubt in the works of other dramatists. Whenever Shakespeare has something important, doubtful, or difficult of credence to establish, he makes use of a long speech to secure his object, so that the long speech becomes a method of emphasis. In practice such a thing would give his actor, a Burbadge perhaps, an opportunity to exercise the power of his personality and the skill of his art. The idea that long speeches are important primarily because they are long does not fit in well with the custom of those who

shorten Shakespeare's plays by slashing his long speeches, but the fact remains that almost everywhere in the reading of Shakespeare one may be on the lookout for a long speech at a point where some objective or plausibility is to be achieved. Shakespeare had begun this practice in his early period. Consider, for example, the wooing of the Lady Anne in *Richard III* (I, ii, 1-225) and its parallel, the persuasion of Queen Elizabeth to consent to Richard's marrying her daughter (IV, iv, 198-431). One finds that in both cases the actual persuasion is effected by long speeches and that the psychological method is the same, a method found throughout the plays of Shakespeare and based on belief in the power of the spoken word. In Elizabethan psychology, and indeed in any psychology, the mind in passing from one settled attitude to another goes through a state of confusion and doubt.⁹ Richard definitely shocks the Lady Anne in order to disturb her settled hate, first by his proposal and, secondly, by his professed willingness to die at her bidding. She marks her doubt by saying (l. 193), "I would I knew thy heart." In the scene with Queen Elizabeth, much less clearly executed, it is apparently ambition that rouses and changes her spirits. This use of the long speech as a natural means of emphasis Shakespeare may have learned from Senecan drama or learned for himself. In any case he found it so acceptable that he continued its use.

One other Senecan feature usually of some length which seems to appear consciously in the Yorkist plays, particularly in *2 Henry VI*, is the description of objects, physical or spiritual, in rhetorical terms.¹⁰ Shakespeare's object seems to be, as in *Titus Andronicus*,¹¹ the accumulation of revolting and circumstantial horror, with exclamations, enumerations, and epithets. Such passages are objectionable to modern taste and are in part no doubt the basis of the opinions of groups of critics who have sought to relieve Shakespeare of the responsibility of having written in the vein of Senecan horror and have somewhat unjustly called in Marlowe, Kyd, Greene, or Peele to bear the blame as authors or co-authors. If it is once granted that Shakespeare wrote *Titus*

⁹ This transition is clearly marked in Brutus's speech in *J.C.* (II, i, 63-9), and in *Oth.* the hero's doubt is dramatically resolved in III, iii, 330-431.

¹⁰ See Canter, *Rhet. EL.*, pp. 70-84.

¹¹ See Schirmer, *Shak. und die Rhet.*, pp. 18-25.

Andronicus, or even the Yorkist plays, he appears as one of the worst offenders in the lot. If his later plays were free, which they are not, of passionate violence and rhetorical vehemence, the case for his emancipation would be better; but, in truth, loftily worded portrayal of despair, torment, hatred, revenge, guilt, and unmerited suffering continues to appear throughout his career. Of course in later cases such portrayal is organically related to plot and character. This is true also to some extent in early plays, in which, however, such passages often appear to be crude exercises in amplification. Such descriptive parts are often associated with historical, mythological, and geographical comparisons, and this rhetorical figure persists in such plays as *Othello*, *Macbeth*, and *Coriolanus*.

Again 2 *Henry VI* furnishes many sensational descriptions. Note Salisbury's comparison of Suffolk with a serpent (III, ii, 241-69), the violence of Suffolk's curses as he bids farewell to the Queen (III, ii, 309-32), Winchester's god-forsaken death (III, ii), almost the whole of the scene of Suffolk's murder (IV, i), and Young Clifford's ferocity (V, ii, 51-65). Such exercises in horror appear in the other Yorkist plays; for example, in Mortimer's death (II, v) and La Pucelle's capture and condemnation (V, iii, iv) in 1 *Henry VI*; in Rutland's, York's, and King Henry's murder in 3 *Henry VI*, and of course in the gruesome and wildly pathetic death of Clarence and in the account of his dream before his murder in *Richard III* as well as in the visitation of the ghosts (V, iii, 118-206).

One can check off tropes, *schemata*, and figures of expression one by one and find that Shakespeare used them all in the Yorkist plays:¹² sententiae, simile, metaphor, synecdoche and metonymy, periphrasis, hyperbole; rhetorical question, apostrophe and exclamation, climax, antithesis; anaphora, paronomasia, chiasmus, and asyndeton. It would be most interesting to study Shakespeare's use of the figures of rhetoric and the figures of thought and to determine how his genius employed

¹² See Canter, *Rhet. El.*; Richard Rainolds, *The Foundation of Rhetorike*, with an introduction by Francis R. Johnson (Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1945), a book of special pertinency to the rhetorical treatment of historical subjects. Rainolds actually provides (f. xiiij-xiiij) a historical narration upon Richard III as a cruel tyrant. See particularly Dr. Johnson's well documented introduction. The whole system of Shakespeare's training in rhetoric is fully and convincingly laid out by T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke* (1944), ii, 1-238.

them, learned to employ them effectively, and modified them according to his needs as a dramatic writer. This is not an appropriate occasion to do this, even if the detailed work had been completed.

One rhetorical figure seems, however, to have special importance, namely, the figure of irony, in which, because of tone, character, and situation, the literal meaning of words yields a sense opposite to or very different from the real meaning. In the *Henry VI* plays there is a good deal of irony with or without its frequent concomitant, sarcasm. Irony appears in situations, as, for example, the overthrow of the innocent Horner by the false and cowardly Peter (*1 Henry VI*, II, iii). In the same play very obvious irony appears in the murder of the proud Suffolk by pirates (IV, i). There is also much irony in the story of Cade's career and death (IV), and of course in the spectacle of the pious and helpless King and the brave and wicked Queen. The very career of Edward IV is ironical, as are all the words of Richard after his speech at the end of the second scene of the third act of *3 Henry VI*. *Richard III* is a riot of dramatic irony on all levels. There is some suggestion of Richard's cynical humor in More's *Life* and in Hall's *Chronicle*, with which Holinshed fills out his account. Polydore Vergil speaks of Richard's physical deformity, his sour countenance, which seemed "to savor of mischief, and utter evydently craft and deceyt"; also of Richard's sharp wit, "provident and subtile, apt both to counterfeyt and dissemble." Some such conception appears in *The True Tragedie of Richard the Thirde*, and there were no doubt suggestive contributions from the saga; but Shakespeare goes far further than his sources and builds his complex character out of the ferocity, the subtlety, and the unscrupulous ambition of his sources. He weaves them together into perhaps his first truly synthetic character and gives to the whole the flavor of rhetorical irony.

With reference to *1 Henry VI*, Shakespeare's authorship is of course regarded as doubtful; but the rhetorical quality of its style is in general not out of line with what Shakespeare did in the other three plays to which it forms an introduction. It is certainly less carefully rhetorical in style than is *2 Henry VI*, and its more strictly historical scenes seem to show less deliberate ornamentation than appears in similar parts of *2 Henry VI* and *3 Henry VI*. This fact may lend support to the con-

tention that Shakespeare wrote it after and not before he had written the second and third parts. It is hard from the point of view of rhetorical style to see the validity of the argument¹³ that the scenes of English politics (I, iii; II, iv, v; III, i, iv; IV, i, iv; and V, i, iv, 94-175) are by one hand, and the scenes of the French war and Joan of Arc (I, ii, iv-vi; II, i-iii; III, ii, iii; IV, vii, 33-96; and V, ii, iii, 33-44; iv, 1-93) are certainly by another. The French scenes are the more artificial and rhetorical of the two groups but they have far less historical dignity. It is also difficult to be sure that the scenes of Talbot's death, so brilliant and so moving, are not by Shakespeare. It is possible that Shakespeare in his earlier, more experimental days may have chosen to write the scenes in heroic rhyme. Certainly the comparison of Talbot and his son to Daedalus and Icarus would not have been "tasteless" to Shakespeare and his audience. It is also hardly warrantable to bring in a third hand to write the Suffolk-Margaret scenes (V, iii, 45-195; v), which not only look immediately forward to the opening scene of *2 Henry VI*, but by their nature as love scenes would call for rhetorical treatment. It is not a very satisfactory way out of the difficulty to declare that Shakespeare's hand is present only in the Temple Garden scene (II, iv)¹⁴ and in the scene leading up to Talbot's death. These scenes to a refined and experienced critic may be the greatest in the play, but even the best taste can hardly be regarded as definitive in considering work which is still too rhetorical for modern taste and too crude for comparison with Shakespeare's more mature work. The French scenes are uneven, but they are of a nature to invite rhetorical treatment, and after all many of them may be scenes which Shakespeare accepted or rewrote from an older play. The point is, not that Shakespeare wrote the whole of *1 Henry VI*, but that modern taste is so different from the taste of the 1590's and from what was obviously Shakespeare's taste also that one cannot rely too much on individual judgments.

King John is a carefully written play and has in it much of the slightly plainer style of historical writing which makes its appearance

¹³ Chambers, *W. Shak.*, ii, 289-93.

¹⁴ The substance of this scene, it will be observed, appears also in *2 Henry VI* (II, ii), a circumstance which suggests that the Temple Garden scene may be a more picturesque rewriting.

in the Yorkist plays. Certain parts of the long speeches, never free from obvious rhetorical and oratorical qualities—indeed, Shakespeare never ceased to write in that style—are yet relatively sober and free from deliberate amplification and copiousness. Note, for example, the speeches of John and Lewis in the first scene of the second act (ll. 206–66) and the long speeches of Pandulf and Melun. There are, however, two characters in the play in whose words all the arts of rhetoric are used, Constance and Philip the Bastard. Special reasons exist for rhetoric in both these cases. Constance is passionate, excitable, sentimental, and imaginative, and her speeches reflect these traits. Philip is a licensed character, a brilliant talker, a humorist, and his language is extravagant in its figurative quality. He even makes fun of rhetoric while he uses it. Shakespeare in *King John* seems settled in the practice of using rhetoric for special ends. Particularly, he connects it with character, and this device is likewise present in *Richard II*. In that play there seem also to appear the two styles, as in Shakespeare's earlier history plays. Much of *Richard II* is only moderately ornamental in style, but the parts of Gaunt and Richard are highly rhetorical. Both characters are properly rhetoricians.

It has been diffidently suggested in this paper that Shakespeare made his way into the history play through the door of Senecan tragedy, with its abundant use of rhetoric and oratory. This would mean that he did not begin as an imitator of Marlowe, although there is no disposition to deny that Shakespeare was influenced by Marlowe. This position has been supported in two ways: Shakespeare's Senecan formalism grows less as he proceeds and connects itself more and more with special situations and characters. At the same time Shakespeare seems to develop a soberer style, better adapted to the dramatization of history. Another way of saying this is to suggest that Shakespeare learned from his own experience a new kind of dramatic interest, an interest which resides in history itself. The result was Shakespeare's history plays.

SHAKESPEARE'S IDEAL MAN

By ALFRED HARBAGE

Admirers of Shakespeare are apt to smile a little at Schiller's *Don Carlos*, with its manifest defects as theatrical art, but few can remain untouched by its fervor: the moral excitement of its youthful composer still glows in every line. It was written slightly past midway between Shakespeare's time and our own, and it was once hailed as giving to drama the one thing that Shakespeare had withheld. What this thing is, is best illustrated in the character of the Marquis de Posa, a Spanish grandee who, in lonely righteousness, opposes the terrible Philip, the bloody Alva, and the baleful figure of the Grand Inquisitor. Although de Posa's immediate mission is to save the threatened burghers of Flanders, his martyrdom is for all mankind. He is presented as Christ-like, as a symbol of moral beauty, as a citizen of a future world of freedom, equality, and lovingkindness. So generous is the impulse that inspired his creation that we dare not use his own words cynically against him—that those who would serve their fellow men must somewhat resemble them.

Shakespeare gives us no character like the Marquis de Posa. Perhaps if he had done so, Emerson would have called him the "poet priest." Emerson denied Shakespeare this accolade in his *Representative Men* in 1850. In 1861, another great liberal, Giuseppe Mazzini, prefaced a collection of his critical writings with the avowal of his own belief that "art is a moral priesthood."¹ For Mazzini, Schiller qualified as the poet priest by representing in such a character as the Marquis de Posa "the principle of right, of freedom of thought, of progress, the soul of the universe."² Mazzini would give Schiller to Italian youth to read entire. The only other dramatists he would give entire to the rising generation were Aeschylus and Shakespeare, both selected because they *paved the way* for Schiller. Shakespeare, although magnificent, was in last analysis only the poet of the Middle Ages, the poet of the individual. His characters are "not symbols of any absolute or ideal type" and give "no

¹ *Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini* (1891), ii, p. viii.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 89.

universal law acting upon collective humanity; no social religious idea."³

There are interesting parallels between the thought of Mazzini and of a later philosopher-critic of Latin lineage, George Santayana. The latter notes "the absence of religion" in Shakespeare, his lack of allegiance to any ideal or system, and wonders if perhaps "the northern mind, even in him, did not remain morose and barbarous in its inmost core."⁴ Mazzini had spoken of "those reflections on the nullity of human things and the worthlessness of life which so constantly recur throughout his plays" with their distressing effect upon the "youthful soul."⁵ Both critics quote Macbeth's "Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow," but Santayana is the more incautious of the two in accepting it as Shakespeare's ultimate philosophy. Mazzini believes that Shakespeare teaches us "calmly to face and despise both life and death" and hears, to his words of defeat, a glorious echo—*be my tomb thy stepping stone*.⁶ These particular words were written in 1830 and thus anticipate T. S. Eliot's⁷ by about a century in "proposing" a stoical Shakespeare. Mazzini is not scornful of stoicism in the fashion of Eliot, but he views it certainly as only second best. Shakespeare's characters, who accept the universe, will do well enough until Schiller's appear: these will gloriously transform it.

Schiller and Mazzini have not occupied our minds very much of late, and it may seem invidious to pair their names at this moment of history. A voice from Germany spoke and a voice from Italy responded. That more recent voices from Germany and responses from Italy have been so different is merest coincidence, and we should resist the temptation to say that Shakespeare represents the more temperate spirit of an Anglo-American axis, avoiding ideological extremes and consequent disaster in the practical world. The distinction between Shakespeare and Schiller is not a national one, and dissatisfaction with Shakespeare's ideals or lack of them has not been confined to foreign lands. "Caesar was not in Shakespeare," says Bernard Shaw, craving a symbol-Caesar

3 *Ibid.*, ii, 133-4.

4 *Interpretations of Poetry and Religion*, in *Works* (1936), ii, 111.

5 *Life and Writings*, ii, 135.

6 *Ibid.*, ii, 138, 147.

7 "Shakespeare and the Stoicism of Seneca" (1927), in *Selected Essays, 1917-1932* (1932).

of triumphant practicality.⁸ Frank Harris, most incongruously, maintained that Christ and Mahomet were not in him. Walt Whitman at least implied that Abraham Lincoln was not in him—and thus it goes. To whatever extent we remain unconvinced that Shakespeare's spiritual capacity was less than that of those who bring the charges, we must recognize the fact that no Lincoln, Christ, or symbol-Caesar of triumphant practicality appears in his *dramatis personae*. A critic like Dowden moderately concedes the deficiency: "We need to supplement the noble positivism of Shakespeare."⁹ He instances such poets as Wordsworth, Shelley, Newman, and Whitman as providing that supplement. The point is precisely the same. Since Shakespeare was a dramatist, the only way he himself could have provided the supplement would have been to create characters like the Marquis de Posa—symbolizing freedom, holiness, brotherhood, social justice, or whatever the ideals might be, Wordsworthian, Whitmanesque, or Shavian, individually endorsed or universally yearned after.

The usual defense of Shakespeare is that his characters symbolize no great ideals because they represent actual men with all their merits and defects. Schiller's Marquis de Posa is a group of ideas, whereas Shakespeare's Brutus is a man. The defense is persuasive, but is based upon a fallacy. Shakespeare's Brutus is *not* a man. He is not even a portrait of a man, except in the limited sense in which all characterization may be called portraiture. Brutus is the literary projection of Shakespeare's *conception* of a man. He is a character in a play, consisting of a number of traits synthesized in his creator's imagination, and is therefore as much a group of ideas as is the Marquis de Posa. We must not be evasive. If the Marquis de Posa had appeared in a play by Shakespeare, he could have retained his program and voiced his high aspirations without seeming any less a man than Brutus. Shakespeare's characters seem lifelike because of Shakespeare's technique. We may go so far as to say that his technique is his most distinguishing quality, and that he was more concerned with the plausibility and interest of his characters than in the value of the ideas they represent,

8 "Better than Shakespeare," *Three Plays for Puritans* (1931), p. xxx.

9 *Shakespeare: A Critical Study of His Mind and Art* (1875), p. 40.

but we must not say that his characters are not characters. When we say that the Marquis de Posa is a group of ideas, we are saying what is true; our words are reliable because Schiller's play has not succeeded in "taking us in." When we say that Brutus is a man, our words are unreliable because Shakespeare's play *has* succeeded in "taking us in."

Brutus and the Marquis de Posa are no different generically. Each came out of a dramatist's head. Each is a symbol. To say that Shakespeare does not symbolize ideals is to mistake the nature of art, and to recognize no distinction between how skilfully an artist does a thing and what it is that he does. It assumes that symbols that are lifelike are no longer symbols. An artist deals in symbols and in nothing else. Falstaff is as much a symbol as Brutus or the Marquis de Posa, but he symbolizes a different thing. Shakespeare's "good" characters are composites of qualities mainly good, given a local habitation and a name, a deceptive appearance of reality. Henry the Fifth is a symbol of something that Shakespeare and those who gave him a favorable hearing conceived to be very good, just as the Marquis de Posa is a symbol of something that Schiller and those who gave *him* a favorable hearing conceived to be very good. That Henry the Fifth possesses an ingratiating chuckle, as the Marquis de Posa does not, and thus has for us a greater appearance of reality and a greater human appeal, does not alter the fact that Henry wants to acquire France and de Posa wants to free Flanders. It does not refute the assertion that a character who wants to free Flanders symbolizes a higher ideal than does one who wants to acquire France.

Shakespeare's characters are symbols, and his good characters symbolize ideals conceived by Shakespeare to be good. Before we decide the extent to which these ideals are deficient, we ought to decide what they are. There are many ways in which the inquiry might proceed. The one chosen in the present essay is intended to eliminate such things as Henry the Fifth's ingratiating chuckle so that we will not be diverted by Shakespeare's artistic cunning. Those shrewd touches of nature, those living lineaments, those fascinating notes of reserve which make us forget that Shakespeare's symbols are, after all, symbols only, will be blanked out. We will deal with abstract qualities alone, in the hope of discovering the pattern adumbrated by all of Shakespeare's

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admirable men—the pattern from which the Marquis de Posa presumably departs.

The reader will recollect many speeches, like Antony's tribute to Brutus at one extreme and Polonius's prudential maxims to Laertes at the other, in which ideals of character are expressed. In the tribute to Brutus¹⁰ unselfishness and equanimity are the dominant qualities suggested. In a corresponding tribute to Hamlet, the qualities are regal and soldierly—"For he was likely . . ."¹¹ Helena's stated reasons for loving Bertram are simply, "His arched brows, his hawking eye, his curls."¹² The quality stressed may be tolerance as in the case of the elder Bertram,¹³ or self-control as in the case of Horatio.¹⁴ Usually a number of qualities are included in a single speech. Ophelia speaks of Hamlet's "noble mind" and his

. . . tongue, sword,
The courtier's, scholar's, soldier's eye,
Th' expectancy and rose of the fair state,
The glass of fashion and the mould of form . . .¹⁵

Capulet describes his candidate for Juliet's hand as

A gentleman of princely parentage,
Of fair demesnes, youthful, and nobly train'd,
Stuff'd, as they say, with honourable parts,
Proportion'd as one's thoughts would wish a man.¹⁶

A young woman is apt to list the same qualities but place the emphasis a little differently. Olivia speaks of Orsino:

. . . I suppose him virtuous, know him noble,
Of great estate, of fresh and stainless youth;
In voices well divulg'd, free, learn'd and valiant,
And in dimension and the shape of nature
A gracious person.¹⁷

Sometimes the application is quite general:

Do you know what a man is? Is not birth, beauty, good shape, discourse, manhood, learning, gentleness, virtue, youth, liberality and such-like, the spice and salt that season a man?¹⁸

¹⁰ *J. C.*, V, v, 68-75.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, ii, 31-7.

¹⁶ *Romeo*, III, v, 181-4.

¹¹ *Ham.*, V, ii, 406-11.

¹⁴ *Ham.*, III, ii, 70-8.

¹⁷ *T. N.*, I, v, 276-81.

¹² *All's W.*, I, i, 105.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, III, i, 158-61.

¹⁸ *Troilus*, I, ii, 274-9.

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Sometimes the ideal is presented negatively, as when Proteus proposes to slander Valentine "with falsehood, cowardice, and poor descent,"¹⁹ or when Viola cries,

I hate ingratitude more in a man
Than lying, vainness, babbling, drunkenness
Or any taint of vice whose strong corruption
Inhabits our frail blood.²⁰

The shorter the speech, the more apt it is to include indispensables, like Portia's terse characterization of Bassanio as "a scholar and a soldier,"²¹ or the Duke of Vienna's defense of himself as "a scholar, a statesman, and a soldier."²² The prominence of courage and brains among the valued traits receives emphasis from the fact that the despicable ones such as Thurio, Slender, Sir Andrew Aguecheek, and the like are nearly always both cowardly and silly.

If we examine the many speeches²³ in which the merits or defects of men are inventoried, we will find every conceivable quality listed, but some so frequently repeated, by so many different types of speaker in so many different circumstances, as to achieve the status of universal application. These indispensable qualities are three in number, and are most commonly designated by terms that are now somewhat quaint. The right kind of man must be *scholarly*, *soldierly*, and *honest*. It is well that he be also handsome, well-born, opulent, generous, kind, and even possess the social graces. It is well that he be open-minded, or "free" as Olivia tells Malvolio. But he *must be* scholarly, soldierly, and honest. Good men may deviate from this norm; their minds may be abused or their honesty disordered by their passions; but only the fools and villains are incurable.

By *scholarly* Shakespeare means intelligent and well-informed, educated, schooled, whether formally or by natural aptitude and experience of the world. His characters so designated are not scholars in the most common modern sense of the word. They are not bookish or

19 *Two G.*, III, ii, 32.

20 *T. N.*, III, iv, 389-91.

21 *Merch.*, I, ii, 125.

22 *M. for M.*, III, ii, 154.

23 *Two G.*, I, ii, 8-14; I, iii, 1-34; V, i, 1-30; *H. V.*, II, ii, 127-40; *A. Y. L. I.*, I, ii, 138-64; *M. Ado*, II, i, 393-402; III, i, 96; *T. N.*, I, v, 99-102; *J. C.*, III, i, 126-7; *Ham.*, I, iii, 55-81; I, v, 140-2; *Troilus*, I, ii, 19-31; IV, v, 97-109; *Mac.*, III, i, 51-4; IV, iii, 9-96; *A. & C.*, V, ii, 83-92; *W. T.*, I, ii, 390-4; *Cym.*, I, i, 28-55; *et alia*.

specialized in their interests. Hamlet and the Duke of Vienna may suggest to us studious and contemplative men, but Bassanio and Orsino do not; yet Bassanio is a "scholar" and Orsino is "learn'd." Shakespeare would not have called a scholar *scholarly* if the process of specialization had dwarfed his general interests. The dramatist's high regard for the active and informed mind goes far to explain his alleged contempt for the lower classes. When artisans attempt to govern the state, perform plays, or debate philosophy, he is not socially incensed but he is certainly amused—they simply do not *know* enough.

By *soldierly* Shakespeare means courageous and strong, capable of effective physical action. Hamlet may be out of training and may have little experience in the field, but he is soldierly nevertheless—worthy to be borne from the stage by four captains. He can, on occasion, prove a tall man of his hands, an able swordsman, and could, if necessary, submit to discipline, master tactics, and lead men. No superlative endowment of wisdom, talent, or virtue whatsoever excuses a man from being physically formidable. A saint who is not soldierly can aspire to no higher rôle than that of Henry the Sixth. The right kind of man must be willing to sell his life, and able to sell it dear. The single claim to exemption is old age, and one of the most curious and sometimes distressing details of the Shakespearian attitude is revealed when his aged men, who have retained their courage but lost the strength to implement it, are portrayed as futile and ridiculous.

By *honest*, Shakespeare means reliable, moral, virtuous—everything that implies deference to the conventional code of right conduct prevalent in the character's circle. The word in his time had not the almost exclusive connotation of respect for property rights that it has since, significantly, acquired. In Shakespeare, it is as dishonest to make love to a man's wife as to pick his pocket or cheat him at cards; it is as dishonest for a sentry to sleep at his post as to sell secrets to the enemy. There is nothing experimental, exploratory, or critical in the concept. Honesty is doing what is generally recognized to be *right*. In last analysis it is the quality that makes a man act for the common good, with the nature of such action determined not by the man himself but by the accumulated experience of his race and expressed in simple and clearly defined rules. The order of precedence of the rules is itself predeter-

mined. Ingratitude is always dishonest. Lying may or may not be, according to the circumstances.

There is no inevitable occurrence in the inventories of words signifying that a man should be pious; in fact such words rarely occur at all. That he should not be actively irreligious, or atheistical, is implied by the comprehensive term *honest*, but Shakespeare's pagans are as honest as his Christians, and both classes are presented with equally few particulars about their piety. That his characters are not delineated as devout, that religion appears as a well-spring of action in few of them, has been noted and deplored. The phenomenon should not be discussed in isolation. His characters are with equal rarity praised for being humanitarian, truthful, or just. There is no insistence upon qualities more sublimated than those of immediate use in the character's immediate world. That we are not dealing merely with words, and with their chance occurrence and non-occurrence, may be demonstrated by the way in which one of the more abstract virtues fares in the action. Shakespeare's good characters are not praised for being truthful, and for very good reason—truthful they rarely are.

Hamlet thus excuses the wrong he has done Laertes:

Give me your pardon, sir. I have done you wrong;
But pardon't, as you are a gentleman.
This presence knows,
And you must needs have heard, how I am punish'd
With sore distraction. What I have done
That might your nature, honour, and exception
Roughly awake, I here proclaim was madness.
Was't Hamlet that wrong'd Laertes? Never Hamlet.
If Hamlet from himself be ta'en away,
And when he's not himself does wrong Laertes,
Then Hamlet does it not, Hamlet denies it.
Who does it, then? His madness.²⁴

Since Hamlet is not truly mad, this speech is a circumstantial lie, and as such it offended Dr. Johnson.²⁵ Kittredge defends Hamlet thus:

"I wish Hamlet had made some other defence; it is unsuitable to the character of a good or a brave man to shelter himself in falsehood" (Johnson). It is odd

²⁴ *Ham.*, V, ii, 237-48.

²⁵ Shakespeare *Works*, ed. Isaac Reed ("First Variorum," 1803), xviii, 367, n. 3.

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that Dr. Johnson failed to see that Hamlet's particular falsehood here is inseparable from the general falsehood involved in his counterfeiting madness. If his conduct here is to be reprehended, the blame should go farther back and attach itself to his whole stratagem, and no one has ever taken ethical ground against that.²⁶

But Hamlet also lies without reference to his stratagem:

Ros. My lord, you once did love me.

Ham. And do still, by these pickers and stealers!²⁷

Coleridge and Strachey took pains to explain away this deviation also,²⁸ but the fact remains that Hamlet's standards are not strict. Although it is quite true that his lie to Laertes is related to his stratagem, it is not told in order to advance that stratagem; rather, a past event is used as a convenience to ease a present situation, and the speech qualifies as a lie no matter how irreprehensible. And although no ethical ground has been taken against the stratagem itself, the fact remains that it might be. Readers of the play have simply concurred in the doctrine that deceit may be practiced in a worthy cause, that ends justify means—including falsehood of both word and action. One suspects that the classical view that comedy should deal with base characters is linked with the fact that comedy, not tragedy, is usually concerned with stratagems.

Practically all of Shakespeare's characters lie, even the best of them, and the women as frequently as the men. When the good Duke Humphrey is arranging a duel and is asked by his king what he is saying, he replies "Talking of hawking; nothing else, my lord."²⁹ When the sheriff asks for Falstaff, who is behind the curtain, Prince Hal says, "The man, I do assure you, is not here . . .";³⁰ and he shows no more devotion to the truth after his reform and ascent of the throne.³¹ Portia, although she elsewhere expresses her aversion for him, assures the Prince of Morocco that if her choice were free,

Yourself, renowned Prince, then stood as fair
As any comer I have look'd on yet
For my affection.³²

²⁶ *Ham.*, ed. G. L. Kittredge (1939), p. 98.

²⁷ *Ham.*, III, ii, 348-9.

²⁸ *Ham.*, ed. H. H. Furness ("New Variorum," 1877), I, 266-7.

²⁹ 2 *H. VI*, II, i, 49.

³⁰ 1 *H. IV*, II, iv, 560.

³¹ *H. V.*, IV, vii, 160-6.

³² *Merch.*, II, i, 20-2.

Paulina affirms vehemently that Hermione is dead, deceiving the audience as well as the other characters in the play,

I say she's dead; I'll swear't. If word nor oath
Prevail not, go and see.³³

Antony's bare-faced lie to Octavia³⁴ does not impugn his standing as a man of honor, nor Florizel's detailed lie to Leontes³⁵ his standing as a fresh and chivalrous youth. Young women in love, otherwise so clear and stainless, show a masterful duplicity, Helena,³⁶ Olivia,³⁷ Portia,³⁸ and the rest; Juliet is one of the most accomplished liars in literature.³⁹ The innocent maidens are matched in this department only by the holy friars—Laurence,⁴⁰ Francis,⁴¹ and Peter.⁴² Even when the lie has debatable motives or evil consequences, like Ophelia's,⁴³ or Emilia's,⁴⁴ or Volumnia's,⁴⁵ the teller is indicted in our minds not for falsehood but for weakness or poor judgment. A few of the lies are glorious, like Desdemona's exoneration of Othello,⁴⁶ but the great majority of them are designed to further a ruse, ease an awkward moment, or serve as a minor convenience.

Brutus is the most finical of Shakespeare's men. "Swear priests and cowards and men cautelous," he cries when an oath is proposed among the conspirators. He wants no other oath "than honesty to honesty engag'd."⁴⁷ There is pride in the speech, an insistence that Brutus's word is as good as his bond, but there is also a notion of transcendental virtue. As a rule the characters welcome vows. Ceremonial is concrete, and for a moment the great abstractions become semi-visible. When Imogen gives a false name, she says to herself,

If I do lie and do
No harm by it, though the gods hear, I hope
They'll pardon it.⁴⁸

33 *W. T.*, III, ii, 204-05.

35 *W. T.*, V, i, 138-47.

37 *T. N.*, I, v, 320.

39 *Romeo*, III, v; IV, ii, 17-22; IV, iii, 1-5.

41 *M. Ado*, IV, i, 202-09; V, iv, 69.

43 *Ham.*, III, i, 135.

45 *Cor.*, III, ii, 55-7.

47 *J. C.*, II, i, 127-9.

34 *A. & C.*, II, iii, 6-7, 38-9.

36 *All's W.*, I, iii, 197-206.

38 *Merch.*, III, iv, 26-9.

40 *Ibid.*, IV, v, 66-7.

42 *M. for M.*, V, i, 150-62.

44 *Oth.*, III, iv, 23-4.

46 *Oth.*, V, ii, 124.

48 *Cym.*, IV, ii, 377, 379.

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Her self-consciousness in the matter is most untypical of Shakespeare. Lying in these plays conveys no sense of guilt, and is thus distinguished from lying, even "white" lying, on the part of good characters in, let us say, the nineteenth-century novel. The reason has already been indicated. The indispensable virtues of men as deduced from the inventories, and exemplified by the actions of the admirable characters in the plays as a whole, fail to imply devotion to truth as an abstract ideal. The truth as such commands no loyalty in the Shakespearian world.

The Shakespearian man is not required to act upon a nice consideration of abstract principle in general. He feels no compulsion to relieve wants other than those about him, or to right wrongs other than those he sees. A good man's ministry is to particular men and not to mankind. The most striking statement of the superior claim of justice over mercy is voiced by Angelo:

Isab. Yet show some mercy.
Ang. I show it most of all when I show justice;
For then I pity those I do not know . . .⁴⁹

But this play, like all the other plays, comes nearer to vindicating compromise than absolute justice. The characters in general want mercy for themselves and their friends, and justice for their enemies and strangers; or, putting it less stridently, justice appears to them more venerable than mercy but not nearly so pleasant. Angelo's devotion to exemplary justice comes near to being portrayed, even before his fall from grace, as an eccentricity and defect of character. Even in Shakespeare's good men, devotion to the more transcendental virtues is apt to appear as disabling. Hamlet yearns for the absolute, but Hamlet is fatally confused. Brutus has a passion for purity in leadership, but Brutus leads men to their doom. In Shakespeare, the expression of our finest aspirations is often put into the mouths of the defective or the despised. John Ball cries for social justice, but John Ball is fiercely predatory. Henry the Sixth cries for peace and forbearance, but Henry the Sixth is pusillanimous. Shylock pleads the case of our common humanity, but Shylock is an embittered outcast.

In view of the chillingly finite nature of Shakespearian ideals as thus

⁴⁹ *M. for M.*, II, ii, 101-10; see also II, i, 1-40.

far described, what can be said in his defense? Nothing? a little? or everything? The answer is *almost everything*. We should notice, first of all, that his soldierly, scholarly, honest man, while completely acceptable in his milieu, is not completely acceptable to himself. He is not smug, self-righteous, convinced of his own perfection. There hovers about him a consciousness of his own inadequacy, a latent sense of guilt.

Pol. My lord, I will use them according to their desert.

Ham. God's bodykins, man, much better! Use every man after his desert, and who should scape whipping?⁵⁰

We should notice, also, that the appeals for social justice, human equality, and the like do not receive summary condemnation along with those who utter them. Even Angelo is not successfully argued down; it is he and his apostasy that are condemned rather than his program of reform. The portraits of John Ball and Shylock represent less a rejection of progressive principles than a recognition of historical fact: great aspirations are born of great needs; cries for inclusion come from the excluded; shares are not given but demanded and then wrested away. Dealing still with the somewhat intangible, we should notice that although there is no all-pervasive love of distant peoples enjoined in Shakespeare, there is also no all-pervasive hatred. Unconsciously, at least, he is something of an internationalist. Unless they are actively at war with his nation, he pays foreigners the high compliment of thinking of them as English. The French were reputedly arrogant, but Shakespeare's most democratic king is French.⁵¹ The Russians were reputedly bizarre and barbaric, but Russian Hermione is most gently civilized. Italy was reputedly the land of lust, but most of Shakespeare's pure lovers are Italian. With him, the difference among the races of the world seemed only skin-deep: Othello is a Moor as well as Aaron, Jessica Jewish as well as Shylock. One other word, in this somewhat scattered phase of the defense: the absence of devotion to the more elevated principles seems little handicap to the characters in filling the rôles most available to them. Although poorly equipped to be pacifists, emancipators, or humanitarians, they make good kings, subjects, masters, servants, fathers, sons, husbands, and lovers. One is optimistic if one

⁵⁰ *Ham.*, II, ii, 552-53.

⁵¹ In *All's W.*

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dismisses this much as a trifle, or relegates these characters to an ethical past.

The best indication of Shakespeare's ideal man is supplied, not by the fugitive impressions mentioned thus far, but by the capacity for growth resident in one of his three cardinal qualities. The ideal man is *scholarly*. At the moment we meet him, he is simply not scholarly enough. What strikes us most forcibly about him in his function as a power for good is his limited imagination. Antonio is a scholarly, soldierly, honest man, but his scholarship fails to embrace an adequate knowledge of Jewish history or of the psychological effects of persecution upon racial and religious minorities. If he were as well informed as we are upon these matters, he could not have spat upon Shylock's gaberdine. His honesty would have forbade it. If others had attempted to do so, his courage would have prevented it. We remember Lear's words in his moment of vision.

O, I have ta'en
Too little care of this! Take physic pomp;
Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel,
That thou mayst shake the superflux to them
And show the heavens more just.⁵²

Shakespeare's characters in general have *ta'en too little care*. They have failed to collect the necessary data and to engage in the necessary reflection to keep their system of collective welfare adequately revised. There is some excuse for them in that they live in a less complex society than ours and feel that they can accomplish much by doing the good closest at hand. Their deficiency is a practical one. The only true charge that can be lodged against them is that they lack the ideas that will solve the problems that we wish solved. The Marquis de Posa is not a better man than Henry the Fifth. He has merely, we presume, a better program.

The intention of these remarks is not to defend Shakespeare on an historical basis—on the ground that his good man is as good as his age would tolerate. The intention is to point out that the distinction between Shakespeare's ideal man and Schiller's Marquis de Posa is not

⁵² *Lear*, III, iv, 32-6.

one of *goodness* at all. A subject of Henry the Fifth, so solicitous for the welfare of the peasants of Picardy as to oppose the invasion of France, would have seemed to Shakespeare *morally* offensive. The King himself is as solicitous for the welfare of these peasants as propriety will allow; they are not to be pillaged and are to receive, when the conquest is over, the inestimable boon of rule by England. To Shakespeare the Marquis de Posa, intriguing against his own nation on behalf of Flanders, would have seemed an eccentric, comic, or useless fellow, if not a downright villain. The loss of faith in existing institutions, one's own church and state and their duly authorized heads, as the best available means of achieving collective welfare is an intellectual phenomenon. It is the *idea* of revolution. It appears in Schiller, but does not appear in Shakespeare; there is no more to it than that. We must quote Mazzini once more: "in Shakespeare the *Ego* reached its highest formula, unaccompanied by any synthetical conception or love of the collective, yet preparing the way for both by a sublime affirmation of individual power and individual right."⁵³ Inevitably, the first part of this statement conveys the impression that the store of righteousness of Shakespeare's good men is too small to extend out far beyond themselves. Such is not the case. In them the "synthetical conception or love of the collective" exists, but takes the form of trust in and fidelity to the inherited institutions and the recognized leaders. As human knowledge has grown, the inadequacy of certain received institutions and their human pillars has become increasingly manifest—manifest to scholarly men like Shakespeare's.

If Schiller has progressed beyond Shakespeare or if we have progressed beyond either, it is on the intellectual plane, and it is absurd to bring charges of spiritual deficiency. The Marquis de Posa is a martyr. Those who assert that Shakespeare has given us no martyrs are most unobservant. What they really mean is that he has given us no martyrs for *their* causes. He has given us many martyrs, for king and country, for factions—above all, for beloved individuals. The great thing is that martyrdom itself is not alien to them. They will die for what is right as the right appears to them. There is as much moral fervor

53 *Life and Writings*, ii, 109.

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in these characters as the world can possibly use. All soldierly, scholarly, honest men are potential martyrs; they need only a proper occasion.

We admire the Marquis de Posa but must recognize that, in last analysis, he is worth no more than the practicality of his plan. It is difficult to see how one system for implementing the "synthetical conception or love of the collective" can be valued above another except on the basis of its utility. There is value, of course, in experimentation, but experimentation seems often to bring with it a sense of suspended responsibility. In brooding over panaceas, we neglect to administer homely remedies; in regarding ourselves as citizens of the future, we neglect our duties in the present. Even in the Marquis de Posa himself, and in ourselves as we read Schiller's play, we are sometimes uneasily aware of a basking in the *emotion* of benevolence, detached from its practical effects. Perhaps this is the great malady of our age. One thing that sends us back to Shakespeare for strength and refreshment is that his good people are incorrupt. They do not luxuriate in impulses of goodness, but act upon them within their limited sphere. The emphasis is upon achievement. The beneficiaries are never, as in Schiller, completely out of sight. We have the impression that as the knowledge of Shakespeare's characters grows, their courage and honesty will keep pace. If our own courage and honesty had kept pace with our knowledge, we would now be living in Utopia. We show a defect from which Shakespeare was free: we revere high ideals simply as high ideals, and respond to them sentimentally, aesthetically. We take pleasure, as Shakespeare refused to do, simply in *righteous sensations*.

Shakespeare's ideal woman had also three indispensable qualities. To correspond to his soldierly, scholarly, honest man, his ideal woman had to be gentle, chaste, and fair. These requirements are not such low ones after all. In Restoration times they seemed rather high. Thomas Otway's voice is nostalgic:

My father was (a thing now rare)
Loyal and brave, my mother chaste and fair.⁵⁴

The famous lines of Otway's great contemporary filter away the intangibles altogether:

54 "The Poet's Complaint to his Muse."

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Happy, happy, happy pair!
None but the brave,
None but the brave,
None but the brave deserves the fair.

Now this truly *does* express an ideal too rudimentary to be of any use.

SHAKESPEARE AND THE "NEW" CRITICS

By OSCAR JAMES CAMPBELL

I

A "new" critical method has lately been applied to the poetry of Shakespeare. It is founded on the belief that the critic, by an intensive analysis of such imagery as his special insight and sensitivity may designate as crucial, will be able to discover in a play a certain inner imaginative structure that has hitherto been unrecognized. In the past the "new" critics, especially T. S. Eliot, Ransom, Tate, Cleanth Brooks, and Robert Penn Warren, have rendered a great and enduring service to the study of poetry. Their discussions of theory are closely reasoned and stimulating and their analyses of individual poems and passages in longer works are often brilliantly illuminating. It is the purpose of this essay to examine their critical procedure and to appraise the results when it is applied to Shakespeare's plays.

As a group these critics take as the cornerstone of their critical structure T. S. Eliot's pronouncement that the only way of expressing emotion in the form of art is by finding an objective correlative which shall be the formula of the emotion in question—the sensory experience which immediately evokes the desired emotion. In poetic drama a chain of events is taken to be the most obvious "objective correlative." But of at least equal importance are the images which a poet uses as a means to shadow forth the deeper implications of his thought and feeling. "Each one of these images," says Ezra Pound, "presents an intellectual and emotional complex in an instant of time." Eliot makes an important addition to the traditional view of the function of imagery. He believes that it should not remain an isolated detail in a poem, but should form "a part of an architectural structure." Therefore, adopting these two statements as gospel, the new critics demand that a poem be a coherent system of images organized so artfully as to embody the essential imaginative significance of the work. Only through a proper understanding of this inner structure does a reader come to know all that a poem means and all that it is.

Another important article of the new critics' faith is embodied in

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the dictum that the language of poetry is paradox. It is only the language of science and philosophy that is simple and direct. The language of pure poetry must state an experience in terms of conflict or tension between two extreme opposites—between beauty and ugliness, romance and the realistic commonplace, or the sublime and the ridiculous.

The sources of this very fruitful conception of poetry are many and various. Much of the theory lies implicit in Coleridge's statement that the imagination "reveals itself in the balance or the reconciliation of opposites or discordant qualities of sameness with difference; of the general with the concrete; the idea with the image; the individual with the representative, the sense of novelty or freshness with the old familiar objects, a more than usual state of emotion, with more than usual order." This conflict of opposites, so Coleridge implies, produces that irony which the modern critics take to be the essence of poetic enjoyment. Most of the critical practices of the new school are ingenious applications of the principles enunciated by Coleridge in the above passage and illustrated most clearly in the works of John Donne.

The new critics in applying these principles to Shakespeare's dramas—often with queer results—are more directly fortified for the task by T. S. Eliot's belief that in a play of Shakespeare there are several levels of significance. For the least intelligent there is the plot, for the more thoughtful the characters and their conflicts, for the more literary the words and the phrases. But for the auditors of the most delicate sensibility there is a meaning implicit in the imagery which reveals itself only gradually. It is to the discovery of this esoteric meaning that the new critics address themselves.

In the search they have also been inspired by G. Wilson Knight's methods of interpretation as revealed in his essay "On the Principles of Shakespeare Interpretation,"¹ in his *Myth and Miracle: An Essay on the Mystic Symbolism of Shakespeare* (1929), and most of all in his many interpretations of the individual plays. His main thesis is that every play of Shakespeare is set "spatially as well as temporally in the mind." The temporal aspect of a play is Knight's grandiose phrase for the plot or the action. And he admits that it is "natural in analysis to

¹ This essay serves as an Introduction (pp. 1-18) to his *The Wheel of Fire* (1930).

pursue the steps of the tale in sequence, noting the logic that connects them, regarding those essentials that Aristotle noted." But, he continues, to give supreme attention to this aspect of a play is to miss what, in Shakespeare at least, is of equivalent importance—a set of correspondences [Eliot's objective correlatives] which relate to each other independently of the time sequence of the story.

The inner meaning which Knight discovers through an act of intuition invariably proves to be tension developed between two abstractions. For example, *Troilus and Cressida* regarded spatially is in his view a struggle between intuition and reason. The Trojans, and particularly Troilus, represent the finer, nobler spiritual quality of intuition, while the Greeks represent the less admirable quality of reason. The struggle between these two conceptions somehow generates the "purely spiritual atmosphere" which interpenetrates the action.

In *Timon of Athens*, the struggle is between the Timon of the first part of the play—"the universal lover," "the flower of human aspiration," a creature of time—and the Timon of the latter part of the play, an embodiment of universal hatred and consequently a creature of eternity. The poetic essence of the play therefore is to be found in the conflict of the sense world with that which is spiritual and infinite. The massive simplicity of this struggle between two abstract ideas makes *Timon of Athens* the archetype and norm of all tragedy, in Knight's opinion, for "*Timon* is essentially an allegory or parable" in which the philosophical or spiritual meaning makes of the story a means to express itself concretely. We are not here concerned with the distortions suffered by both text and characters in these and others of Shakespeare's dramas when the works are forced into such strange molds. We are interested solely in Knight's compulsion to reduce the rich complexity of the most objective of literary arts to a bare conflict of two antithetical philosophical concepts. In striving for this simplification he is attempting to reverse the amazing development of sixteenth-century English drama, which, springing out of the ethical gauntness of the morality play, grew into a full-bodied presentation of the varied and copious life of Elizabethan England.

In passing, it is interesting to note that Knight's Shakespeare criticism is in essence neo-Hegelian. It often sounds like a pretentious version of

the interpretations forced on the plays by Denton E. Snider,² an important member of the St. Louis school of Hegelians, which flourished mightily during the final decades of the last century. Good Hegelian that he was, Snider saw that Shakespeare often flings his characters into "a vortex of self-destructive antithesis." For example in *Romeo and Juliet*, "love is Romeo's strength and his weakness." For the play is in essence a conflict between the family as an institution and the individual as represented by the lovers. Hence the union of Romeo and Juliet ironically aggravates the social disunion. Their love becomes an ethical violation, since it renders domestic life impossible—and the rights of an institution are always higher than those of an individual. The moral significance of *Romeo and Juliet* lies in the fact that because the love of an individual assails the family on the universal side, the conflict must result in a tragic termination. For in the play the emotional foundation of the Family [Snider means love] is destroying the Family itself. Love by annihilating its own object (the Family) puts an end to itself. Thus does the philosophical critic, poring over the text of the drama in the isolation of his study, reduce the world's most famous love story to a conflict of sociological commonplaces. Wilson Knight clearly follows the same process of analysis. His results are different from Snider's only in that the general concepts he discovers are metaphysical rather than sociological and so even more remote from the human conflicts dramatized in the play.

The new critics who analyze Shakespeare's plays follow Knight in believing that the aim of a sound imaginative interpretation of a drama is to discover "that burning core of mental or spiritual reality [Knight's grandiose way of saying 'general philosophical concept'] from which each play derives its nature and meaning." They search for such a general truth beneath or beyond the dramatic action, but they base their interpretations not on insight—sheer subjective hunches—but on an analysis of what they decide is the essential poetic symbolism, directed, of course, by their theories of the true nature of poetry.

Caroline Spurgeon in her *Shakespeare's Imagery*³ taught these new

² His criticism of Shakespeare appeared in three volumes published in the 1880's, one devoted to the *Histories*, one to the *Comedies*, and one to the *Tragedies*.

³ Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, *Shakespeare's Imagery and What It Tells Us* (1935).

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critics to discover recurrent or related images in Shakespeare's work. However, she avoids attributing recondite significances to the evidence she gathers. For example, although she finds in 2 and 3 *Henry VI* many recurrent images of the butcher and the slaughter house, she is content to point out their pertinency to the murderous civil strife which forms the subject of the two plays. In *The Tempest* Miss Spurgeon finds a number of images taken from different groups, but all illustrating or emphasizing the single sensation of sound. And she adds that through sound all contrasts and movements of the play as expressed, "from the clashing discords of the opening to the serene harmony at the close."⁴ This choice of symbols, Miss Spurgeon thinks, shows Shakespeare's uncanny instinct for divining salient and characteristic truth. For everyone who has lived on a subtropical isle—like the *isola perduta* of *The Tempest*—knows that there the sea and the wind assail one's ears day after day with a constant succession of loud or eerie noises. Such a simple interpretation of Shakespeare's imagery as this is not to the taste of the new critics. Like Miss Spurgeon they are able to assemble and classify the dominant images in a play, but only as a preliminary to forcing them to become part of the stiff schematism that is the essence of their critical method.

II

One of the sanest of recent applications of the new critical method to a Shakespearian play is an essay on *Macbeth*, entitled "The Naked Babe and the Cloak of Manliness."⁵ The article illustrates the virtues of the method but also exemplifies its dangers, even though it be applied by a critic of unusual sensitivity and insight. Mr. Brooks, discovering two principal chains of imagery in *Macbeth*, one composed of garments or "old clothes," the other of babes, undertakes to prove that each chain subserves a deep imaginative unity. Since he realizes that what is at stake in his investigation is the whole matter of the relation of Shakespeare's imagery to the structure of the play, he proceeds with caution and (if his premises be granted) with adequate logic.

Miss Spurgeon, in her study of the images in *Macbeth*, pointed out

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁵ This essay appears in Cleanth Brooks' *The Well-Wrought Urn* (1947), pp. 21-46.

that "the idea constantly recurs that Macbeth's new honors sit ill upon him, like a loose and badly fitting garment belonging to someone else."⁶ And she illustrates the point by showing how many times Shakespeare repeats and varies the clothes image in order to keep before our minds "this imaginative picture of a small ignoble man encumbered and degraded by garments unsuited to him." The poet's manipulation of this image, as described by Miss Spurgeon, is the reverse of metaphysical; it is direct and simple. The imaginative significance of Banquo's remark as he observes Macbeth ruminating over the "supernatural soliciting" of the witches—

New honours come upon him,
Like our strange garments, cleave not to their mould
But with the aid of use [I, iii, 144-6]—

is easily grasped without the intervention of a new critic. So is Angus's comment upon Macbeth's conduct after his accession to power:

Now does he feel his title
Hang loose about him, like a giant's robe
Upon a dwarfish thief.

These two passages are typical of Shakespeare's use of the clothes metaphor as a descriptive tag to pin upon Macbeth.

Mr. Brooks, however, finds such simple employment of the figure merely an adumbration of its more subtle manifestations. After glancing with approval at Miss Spurgeon's analysis, he asserts that these undisguised appearances of the metaphor are paralleled by a series of cloaking or masking images, variants of garment figures. The purpose of those figures is to suggest that throughout the play Macbeth is seeking to hide his "disgraceful self" from his own eyes as well as from the eyes of others. Mr. Brooks seeks to prove that the cloaking images form a chain, in the manner of the metaphysicals new and old, to keep alive the ironical contrast between the wretched creature that Macbeth really is and the pompous disguises he assumes to conceal the fact.

In attempting to build a structure out of the clothes images Mr. Brooks is forced to distort the meaning of more than one passage. This is evident in the variant interpretation he offers for Lady Macbeth's

⁶ *Shak. Im.*, p. 324.

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Come, thick night,
And pall thee in the dunnest smoke of hell,
That my keen knife sees not the wound it makes,
Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark
To cry, Hold, Hold!

Mr. Brooks admits that it is natural to think of the "keen knife" as in Lady Macbeth's hand and that she is begging the night to be so dark that even her knife, much less herself, may not see the wound it makes. The interpretation is more than natural, considering the fact that the image comes at the end of a speech in which she seeks to suppress her woman's nature so that she can be capable of the horrid deed.

But since the figure thus interpreted cannot serve as a link in the chain the critic is forging, Mr. Brooks offers the over-ingenious suggestion that the "keen knife" may be Macbeth himself. Thus interpreted, the figure can be forced to serve as one more indication of the efforts of the two murderers to hide from themselves what they are and what they do. Lady Macbeth would then be invoking the pall, the clothing of death, to blanket the horrid deed from the reluctant doer. But such an interpretation seems to this writer to be strained beyond the limits of credulity.

It is obvious that *Macbeth* contains much clothes imagery, but it is equally undeniable that Shakespeare used it in his own characteristic fashion. Once having employed the figure as a swift and startling method of characterizing his villain hero, the poet found the image and the word so securely lodged in his mind that it arose repeatedly while he was at work on his drama. And instead of discarding it every time it demanded expression, he subtly varied its form and employed it on many occasions to intensify crucial moments in the action. A striking example of putting the figure to an original use occurs when, at the end of a highly mannered passage, Macbeth describes the murderers' daggers as "unmannerly breeched with gore." Mr. Brooks properly characterizes this image as vivid and fantastic. But his efforts to make it play a part in developing the disguise motif seems as fantastic as the metaphor. The daggers, naked except for their red breeches, are not only "unmannerly" but have also been clothed, or so he believes, in a horrible masquerade in order to play in this disguise a villainous rôle. For their natural

guise was honorable nakedness, the form in which they could have guarded the King. This interpretation quite ignores the value of the metaphor for the speech in which it occurs. There it flashes a sudden light upon Macbeth's state of mind at the moment when he utters it. Shakespeare has designed the series of extravagant images—of which the daggers "unmannerly breeched with gore" is the last—as a means of revealing Macbeth's neurotic embarrassment, which is here on the verge of betraying his guilt to Macduff, Malcolm, and Donalbain. In other words, the figure epitomizes the murderers' state of mind and nerves at one of the play's high emotional moments. Mr. Brooks' analysis of the various clothes images does not establish the facts he desires. But it has the unconscious merit of throwing into sharp relief the difference between Shakespeare's habitual use of figurative language and the methods of the metaphysical poets, which the new critics falsely assume Shakespeare to have adopted.

Mr. Brooks' analysis of Shakespeare's employment of the image of the babe is less free of bias than his treatment of the clothes figure and leads to a less valid conclusion. He begins with a brilliant interpretation of some lines which many commentators have stigmatized as pure fustian:

And pity, like a naked new-born babe,
Striding the blast, or heaven's cherubim, hors'd
Upon the sightless couriers of the air,
Shall blow the horrid deed in every eye,
That tears shall drown the wind. [I, vii, 21]

The poet means, so says Mr. Brooks, that the nature of pity is paradoxical. When first aroused it seems to be as helpless as a new born babe. Yet when it is blown into the hearts and minds of multitudes of men, it becomes stronger than the blasts of tempestuous wind. That is, its strength lies in its very weakness.

Mr. Brooks' close attention to this passage has led him to note many other references to babes in *Macbeth*. "Sometimes," he writes, "it is a character such as Macduff's child" (who is not a babe at all); "sometimes a symbol, like the crowned babe and the bloody babe which are raised by the witches; . . . sometimes in a metaphor." This babe, the critic arbitrarily decides, "signifies the future which Macbeth would

control and cannot control." Mr. Brooks makes this identification in spite of the fact that in the passage he has just analyzed the babe is a symbol of something quite different. But not satisfied with this concrete use of the symbol Mr. Brooks explains that "the babe signifies not only the future; it symbolizes all those enlarging purposes which make life meaningful, and it symbolizes, furthermore, all those emotional and—to Lady Macbeth—irrational ties which make man more than a machine—which render him human." By this time the hard concrete core of the symbol has developed so amorphous an aura that its "burning center" has been almost completely obscured. By interpreting the babe as a recurrent symbol of the future Mr. Brooks is able to discover that Macbeth's tragedy is that of man making futile efforts to control the future. But this erratic, neo-Hegelian judgment reduces the rich complexity of Macbeth's human nature to a bare general proposition. His tragedy lies not in a failure of his efforts to impose his will upon the future but in the multitudinous fears and superstitions that form the psychological punishment for his crime. Whatever the value of imagery as an objective correlative of emotion, it obviously must not be interpreted in such a way as to contradict directly the clear meaning of the plot.

If Mr. Brooks' conclusions be false, it is important to discover at what points his method has been at fault. In general his errors of judgment result from efforts to force all the references to babes into one connected system of imagery to form a structural principal for the drama. For example, Macbeth's famous soliloquy ending

If th' assassination
Could trammel up the consequence, and catch
With his surcease, success; that but this blow
Might be the be-all and the end-all here,
But here, upon this bank and shoal of time,
We 'd jump the life to come [I, vii, 2-7]

to Mr. Brooks means that Macbeth is agonizing over the future. But Macbeth's case is hopeless, he proceeds, because "the continuum of time cannot be partitioned off, the future is implicit in the present." Such recourse to a philosophical generality is perverse. Macbeth, like all murderers in Elizabethan plays, is afraid, not of his inability to control the

future, but of the knife in the hands of a human avenger. This fear he expresses in the lines:

We but teach
Bloody instructions, which, being taught, return
To plague the inventor.

This expectation of inevitable revenge is the reason why his fears in Banquo stick deep—why, in spite of the witches' assurance that he need fear no man of woman born, he fears Macduff so greatly that he orders his death.

One reason for Mr. Brooks' misunderstanding of the above passage is his misinterpretation of the phrase "the life to come." In its context it clearly refers to life after death and not, as Mr. Brooks thinks, to the future of Macbeth and his line in this world. Can it be that the critic has taken "jump" to mean "leap over"—that is, "skip"—instead of the correct "risk"? His following statement suggests this as a distinct possibility. "It is idle," he says, "to speak of jumping the life to come if one yearns to found a line of kings."

Mr. Brooks forces other passages into distorted shapes in his valiant effort to forge a chain of imagery out of materials extracted from the poetry. For example, he gives a sophistical interpretation to one of Lady Macbeth's most revealing exclamations. Her scornful cry that she would rather have torn her baby from her breast and dashed out its brains than be so cowardly as to fail to kill Duncan, as her husband had sworn to do. This, says the critic, means that she is willing to go to any lengths to grasp the future. But her cry, Mr. Brooks continues, is extremely ironical because "she will grasp the future by repudiating the future of which the child is the symbol." This over-ingenious reading obscures and enfeebles the stark simplicity of Lady Macbeth's utterance. What she says to her husband is this: Rather than be such an irresolute coward as you now are, I had rather be guilty of the most fiendishly unnatural deed of which a mother is capable.

More than once Brooks forces upon an image an interpretation which, by the wildest stretch of the imagination, it cannot be made to bear. For example, he insists that when Macduff's little boy defies the murderers the child, whom he persists in calling a babe, testifies to the

strength of the future, the force that threatens Macbeth and which he cannot destroy. The child, whose real dramatic function, besides the evocation of pity, is to show the wild killer that Macbeth has become in his efforts to kill fear itself, in Mr. Brooks' view "ties into the inner symbolism of the play." The truth is that Shakespeare has not used the image of the babe any more in the manner of a metaphysical poet than he did that of the clothes image. The word and the image reappeared in the poet's mind, but each time he used it for an immediate imaginative purpose relevant only to a specific situation.

III

Certain English critics, notably L. C. Knights, F. R. Leavis, and D. A. Traversi, have contributed to *Scrutiny* numerous essays in which they, too, seek to find in the iterative imagery of a Shakespearian play its inner imaginative structure. Though they, like their American fellows, are ardent disciples of T. S. Eliot, they owe a deeper allegiance to G. Wilson Knight. Therefore their compulsion is to discover the essential meaning of a drama in the tension set up between a neo-Hegelian thesis and antithesis. An article on *Measure for Measure* written by D. A. Traversi and published in the 1942 summer issue of *Scrutiny*, may serve as a good example of the work of these men. He hits upon the figurative language in Claudio's first speech as the material which, properly interpreted, will reveal the essential meaning of the entire drama. It is the condemned man's answer to Lucio's question

Why, how now, Claudio! whence comes this restraint?
CLAUDIO. From too much liberty, my Lucio, liberty.
As surfeit is the father of much fast,
So every scope by the immoderate use
Turns to restraint. Our natures do pursue,
Like rats that ravin down their proper bane,
A thirsty evil, and when we drink we die. (I, ii, 122-8)

The word "ravin," Mr. Traversi begins, suggests something bestial—immoderate feeding—and makes of physical passion an animal appetite. But thirst is the indication of a natural and human need. Hence the passage is designed to stress the deep-seated contradiction subsisting in the very nature of passion. On the one hand, it is desire, which, pursued

in unrestrained liberty, goes beyond the limits of the moral law and so leads to destruction. On the other hand, passion is an instinct proper to man, for which he craves free satisfaction as inevitably as an animal craves water—an impulse, then, which man cannot hope to suppress even if he should so desire. Having discovered this ironical paradox, which the new critics are determined to discover in every passage of pure poetry, Mr. Traversi warms to his work.

The conflict presented in this speech, he continues, is the subject of the entire play and determines almost all of its features. To begin with, the social background of the play illustrates the ravaging process of self-destruction. Physical beastliness corrodes the health and the morals of Vienna. But the severe law enacted to suppress the evil, as administered by Angelo, ignores the normal and necessary aspects of passion. The precise deputy's complete lack of self-knowledge renders him ignorant of normal sex impulse. Isabella is also victim of such great egotism and ignorance of self as to be rendered similarly at sea. "Virtue to her is an imposition of reason planted a little aridly upon a whole world of sentiments and natural impulses which remain outside it." So in the case of both Angelo and Isabella Shakespeare is declaring that, though both institutional and moral law are expressions of Reason, unless Reason is fully harmonized with a rich and free emotional life it may sponsor futile attempts to bury and thwart imperious instincts. The critic concludes that Shakespeare gives us no perfect solution of the dilemma his drama presents. Like the Duke, he is seeking not a solution but an understanding of the situation for himself.

Mr. Traversi develops his thesis with much more illustration and circumstance, but his method and its tendency are fairly adumbrated in the above exposition. Though he is less extreme than those neo-Calvinists who would make of the play an application of the Sermon on the Mount or even an allegory of the Christian doctrine of the atonement, the drama is for him no less homiletic. He converts its essence into a struggle between a thesis—passion is bestial—and an antithesis—passion is a normal human need; but, unfortunately for his Hegelian structure, the poet makes no reconciliation in a synthesis of the opposites.

This elaborate interpretation, we have seen, is built upon an analysis

of three lines of imagery—an analysis which is demonstrably false. Mr. Traversi is right in pointing out that "ravin" suggests bestial gulping down, but the thirst in the passage is not natural craving. The poison, says Shakespeare, is a "thirsty evil"—that is, a diseased condition which stimulates immoderate thirst. And the extreme indulgence to which man is driven for the quenching of this thirst destroys him. The passage which the critic has chosen as crucial is a development of Claudio's immediately preceding statement. "So every scope by the immoderate use Turns to restraint." If this interpretation be correct, the foundation upon which Mr. Traversi has built his elaborate neo-Hegelian structure crumbles, and with it his imposing critical edifice.

Although the essays I have just examined are only two of a large number of similar effusions, they fairly represent the Shakespeare criticism written by the new critics both American and English. The principal reason for the failure of these interpreters, in spite of the delicacy of their aesthetic sensibility and their stimulating ideas about the nature of poetry, should now be clear. They approach each play of Shakespeare under a compulsion to find in his poetry those characteristics which T. S. Eliot and his followers have decided must be present in all pure poetry. They assume therefore that Shakespeare, like Donne, constructed an integrated system of connotation based on the iteration of certain words, to which the poet had given an arbitrary symbolical value. And they make the further assumption that in this system of sequence and repetition of images all the poetry of the play is fused into one intense impression.

But Shakespeare seems never to have manipulated his imagery in this consciously scheming fashion. His poetry rather gives the effect of a spontaneous eruption from that secret region of the mind where the imaginative impulse is generated. His imagination usually finds release, not in an integrated structure of figures, but rather in a medley of metaphors, each one relevant only to some specific emotional situation. Yet, unlike the romantic poets, he seldom, if ever, employs shifting and dissolving imagery. His imagination always concentrates on something distinct and specific, so that his connotations always form an "aura around a bright center." Or, to change the figure, his suggestions of inner significance invariably radiate from a hard core of meaning.

It is true that the poet's imagery often extends its influence beyond the immediate situation which it particularly illumines, but not in the manner postulated by the new critics.⁷ In the first place, Shakespeare seldom uses symbolism in the technical sense of the term. He prefers metaphorical speech, a more flexible imaginative device and one more highly charged with thought and feeling.

In the second place, he seldom employs his imagery to adumbrate an abstract theme, much less to pose a conflict between two philosophical absolutes. Often, to be sure, it reveals a larger world than the stage on which the action of the play is set. Most frequently it serves to suggest that the disordered lives of the *dramatis personae* are a reflection of a parallel disturbance in the social order and, beyond that, in the cosmos itself. For example, the themes of disease and robbery which strike their discords in the mind of Timon of Athens are accompanied by images to suggest that the macrocosm is afflicted with similar evil and confusion. Many critics have also remarked the skillful manner in which the romantic love of Antony and Cleopatra is given amplitude by images invoking Rome's world-wide sway and, beyond that, the infinite and immortal world which serves as a backdrop to the tragedy of two of the greatest figures of antiquity.⁸ More familiar to all students of Shakespeare is the manner in which, by the artful use of iterative imagery, he keeps his audience immersed in the mood of the play. Obvious examples of this phase of his artistry are the recurrent images of blood and of darkness in *Macbeth*, or of moonlight and woodland in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Richard D. Altick in a recent article⁹ believes that the symbolism of *Richard II* is dominated by the related words *earth*, *land*, and *ground*. These words are symbols of the "sense of pride felt in the English nation, of jealousy when the country is threatened by foreign invasion, of bitter anger when its health has been destroyed by mismanagement and greed." Mr. Altick adds that "as our experience of the words increases, their connotation steadily deepens." Yet none of these characteristics of Shakespeare's functional use

7 Miss Una Ellis-Fermor has discussed this aspect of Shakespeare's imagery with insight in "Imagery in Drama," one of the essays in her *The Frontiers of the Drama* (1945).

8 Spurgeon, *Shak. Im.*, pp. 352-3, suggests that the grandeur of the theme is constantly emphasized by the repetition of the word *world*.

9 "Symphonic Imagery in *Richard II*," *PMLA*, lxii (1947), 339-65.

of imagery, pointed out by numerous scholars, resembles that which the new critics foist upon him. If, then, Shakespeare's poetic method was quite different from that which the new critics believe he employed, their compulsion to crowd his work into an arbitrarily superimposed pattern inevitably leads to the forced readings and distortions which are easily detected by those who do not share their critical preoccupations.

But even if Shakespeare had written such "elliptical poetry,"¹⁰ he must have done as all the modern metaphysical poets do—he must have made an implied, though urgent, suggestion that the reader or auditor add something to the poetry, even though, at the same time, he refrained from telling at all definitely what that something should be. Such a vague, unexpressed demand, even as it is made by the new poets, has evoked curiously various and contradictory responses from critics of different degrees of sensibility and of different literary experience. Such disagreement has often bedeviled the interpreters of T. S. Eliot's imagery—for example, that of the rose garden and the door through which it is entered, in his play *Family Reunion*. Critics have interpreted these objects as fertility symbols, or as the "first sexual experiments of childhood which become transmuted into a kind of religious love which is the heart of the symbol," or, in the case of the door to the garden, as the female sex symbol, with the garden representing the consummation of the sexual act. Or the door, say others, is the need of religious love, which is to be satisfied by passing through it into the garden, which is both the Garden of Eden and the Garden of Mary, the Mother of God. Or, finally, to the confirmed Anglo-Catholics of the group the door is the symbol of grace, which we all need if we are to be saved. If the critic's chances for error are thus great when he seeks to interpret the direct poetic symbolism of an author who deliberately endowed it with "metaphysical" and structural significance, how much greater must be his chance of error in attributing hidden symbolical significance to words which for reasons of his own Shakespeare used repeatedly in a play.

The truth is that Shakespeare employed his images for two purposes, both dramatic. He made his figurative language intensify an auditor's response to particular situations and also used it to create and indi-

10 The term is used by Frederick Pottle in his *The Idiom of Poetry* (1946), p. 99.

vidualize his characters. The great dramatist's view of life was complex, and he often enhances and deepens our understanding of human nature by presenting conflicting emotions in the same character.¹¹ For example, he develops in Cleopatra the two apparently incompatible traits of undying love and surface volatility. To attain this end he uses various and oblique means. Not only his images and other verbal aspects of his poetry but also his dramatic situations are often paradoxical and ironic. His figurative language is designed to reveal and to intensify the comprehensiveness and complexity of human life, and not to adumbrate a gaunt metaphysical, ethical, or sociological proposition as the scaffolding on which his drama has been built. The neo-Hegelians, in discovering such a substructure and forcing us to regard it as the poetic essence of a play, are only reflecting their own critical preconceptions and compulsions. They lead us, not into the holy of holies of Shakespeare's mind and art, but out into the wasteland of paradox, ambiguity, and esoteric symbolism, where many of the new critics have taken up a permanent abode.¹²

11 Donald Stauffer makes this point in *The Nature of Poetry* (1946).

12 I regret that this essay was completed before I could read Professor Stoll's "Symbolism in Shakespeare," published in the *M.L.R.* for January, 1947 (xlii, 9-23). The views expressed in this essay are similar to his.

SHAKESPEARE ACROSS THE CHANNEL

By CLARA LONGWORTH DE CHAMBRUN

Although many specialists, including Sidney Lee, Jusserand, and Rigal, have treated the subject of Shakespeare's celebrity in France, none of them, strange to say, have considered sufficiently the works of Alexandre Hardy, who was obviously familiar with certain plays of the bard of Avon, and whose own immense theatrical output was published in 1623 at the precise time that Hemings and Condell were bringing out the famous Folio containing the *Comedies, Histories and Tragedies according to the true original copies* of their friend and fellow.

Shakespeare's fame was at its zenith; the actor-poet was himself presenting his dramas at the court of King James, when a French imitator, both actor and dramatist, even more fertile as a producer, entered on his career in Paris and the provinces. Hardy, ten years younger than his English rival, has to his credit some hundred and sixty comedies, tragedies, interludes and pastorals. He showed by his selection of subjects such scorn of classic unities, such excessive taste for action, and such a naturalistic turn to be found in France only in his plays, that he must have been conversant with the creations of *Hamlet* and *Othello*.

Hardy's romantic comedy, *Felismene*, treats the same subject as the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. The same episode borrowed by Shakespeare from George de Montemayor's *Diana* figures also in this play. Like Shakespeare too, in his *Winter's Tale*, Hardy had recourse to Robert Greene for the plot of his pastoral and spectacular *Pandosto*. Though the full text of this play has disappeared, the descriptive title and a scenario prepared by the author as a guide to his scene-painter are enough to show the essential analogies between the French and English spectacles.

As to tragedy, Hardy staged a *Coriolanus* adapted from Plutarch at the very time that Shakespeare was composing his Roman drama *Coriolanus*, which may be authoritatively placed before *Antony and Cleopatra*.

The influence of the author of *Othello* is apparent in the treatment of the passion of jealousy when Hardy, in his tragedy *Herod and*

Mariamne, shows how Salome plays on the frantic suspicions of her brother in much the same diabolical manner as is used by Iago to ruin Desdemona.

But there is a still more striking indication that there was no real artistic barrier between the players in England and their comrades in France, especially when their spectacles were produced at Court.

We find in the diary of the dauphin's tutor and physician¹ not only that an English troupe was acting in Paris immediately after Elizabeth's demise, but that they were invited to perform before King Henri IV, Marie de Medicis and the young dauphin, the future Louis XIII, on the 18th of September 1604, at the very same time that *Measure for Measure* was being produced at the Court of King James under Shakespeare's own auspices.

We learn from the pedagogue that his charge, although hardly five years old, was much impressed by what he saw. Louis listened gravely at first until the precise moment when, in the heat of simulated battle, one of the actors feigned to sever the head of a fallen foe. Then, indeed, the little prince became so excited that for three whole weeks he thought and talked about little except the English comedians. He insisted on "dressing up" and imitating their performance for the benefit of his parents. What a pity that Dr. Heroard did not give a fuller de-

¹ *Journal de Jean Héroard sur l'Enfance et la Jeunesse de Louis XIII (1601-1628)*, ed. Eud. Soulié et Ed. de Barthélemy, i, 88-9, 91, and 92. The relevant entries are given below:

[18 Sept. 1604] A trois heures et demie goûté; mené en la grande salle neuve ouïr une tragédie représentée par des Anglois; il les écoute avec froideur, gravité et patience jusques à ce qu'il fallut couper la tête à un des personnages.

[28 Sept.] . . . Il se fait habiller en masque, son tablier sur sa tête et une écharpe de gaze blanche, imite les comédiens anglois qui étoient à la Cour et qu'il avoit vu jouer.

[29 Sept.] Il dit qu'il veut jouer la comédie; "Monsieur, dis-je, comment direz-vous?" Il répond: *Tiph, toph*, en grossissant sa voix. A six heures et demie soupé; il va en sa chambre, se fait habiller pour masquer et dit: *Allons voir maman, nous sommes des comédiens*.

[3 Oct.] Il dit: *Habillons-nous en comédiens*, on lui met son tablier coiffé sur la tête; il se prend à parler, disant: *Tiph, toph, milord*, et marchant à grands pas.

Attention was first directed to Héroard's *Diary* by "S." in the 1 June 1864 issue of *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs et Curieux* (i, col. 85), who inquired about the identity of the actors and the play. C. Coste conjectured it to be *Henry IV*, *ibid.* ii (25 Feb. 1865), col. 105-06. The correspondence includes a reference to the appearance at the Hôtel de Bourgoyne as early as 25 May 1598 of a troupe headed by "Jehan Schais" (? = John Shaw).

scription of the original drama; but perhaps he tells enough about the childish impersonation to allow the reader to guess that the piece presented at Fontainebleau was one of Shakespeare's own historical dramas. The child trotted into the great hall just newly constructed, announcing "We are the English comedians." Then with his tiny legs he imitated the strutting walk of the actor and vociferated as loud as the compass of his little voice permitted, the following words: "Tiph toph Milord!"

What was the play he had witnessed? After eliminating the impossible and meditating over the bits of information we possess, we need only seek among the major successes of the epoch. For no English players would have presented anything second rate at the Court of France.

We have to guide us, first a battle scene, then a characteristic bit of dialogue. Having proceeded thus far we may recall that Falstaff had met with such universal favour that the original play of *Henry IV*, parts first and second, had been reduced into its comic elements in order to stress the character of the Fat Knight. The Folger Library possesses a contemporary manuscript prepared for Sir Edward Dering to be acted by an amateur company. The same sort of version may well have been used in France. If so, the Battle scene was no other than Shrewsbury. The impersonator of Falstaff may have allowed himself, as actors will, to exaggerate his gesture and, instead of giving Hotspur the *coup de grâce* with his dagger, pretended to sever his head. Later, when he recalls the harsh language used towards him by the Chief Justice and tries to make all square between them he uses this duelist jargon: "This is the right fencing grace my lord; tap for tap, and so part fair." This may easily be construed into the phrase which the little prince rendered in his French baby-talk: "Tiph Toph Milord . . ."

Louis XIII is not the only member of the French royal family who could boast of early initiation into Shakespearian drama. His sister, the greatly misunderstood Henrietta Maria, on becoming the consort of Charles I did almost as much as that sovereign himself to keep the cult of Shakespeare alive in England. She it was who took under her immediate protection Sir William d'Avenant, the poet's godson, and created him her official laureate after Ben Jonson's death. In this capacity he sang her praises many times in verses full of grace and charm. When

civil troubles threatened d'Avenant rushed into the mêlée, distinguished himself as Captain of Artillery, and drew in his wake four actors of his company: John Lacy and Charles Hart served as lieutenants in Prince Rupert's cavalry; Mohun attained the rank of captain; and William Robins, a left-over from Shakespeare's own troupe, met death at the hands of the regicide General Harrison. D'Avenant himself was taken prisoner and was vilified as a superstitious groom, papist, and Roman dog: nevertheless he escaped to France, where he joined Charles II. After re-publishing his early poems, among them his "Ode on the Remembrance of Mr. William Shakespire," much appreciated among the refugees of St. Germain, he set out for America but was captured and returned to England a prisoner. Thanks probably to the intervention of the Puritanical Milton, he escaped execution in the Tower and was eventually released. At the first opportunity, he gathered together what was left of the old theatrical company.

At that time when comedies and tragedies were strictly debarred from presentation, he managed, under color of patriotic shows, to produce *The First Dayes Entertainment at Rutland House*, the musical and spectacular *Siege of Rhodes*, and *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*, to which the epithet *Oratorio* or *Opera Stilo Recitativo* was given.

With the restoration of Charles II the legitimate drama once more came into its own and was again patronized by the Queen-Mother on her visits to her son.

MIRROR-SCENES IN SHAKESPEARE

By HEREWARD T. PRICE

As is well known, the three Quartos of *Titus Andronicus* lack III, ii, which appears for the first time in the Folio. The scene describes the frantic grief of Titus and his family. When Marcus kills a fly with his knife, Titus remonstrates:

But? How: if that Flie had a father and mother?
How would he hang his slender gilded wings
And buz lamenting doings in the ayer,
Poore harmelesse Fly,
That with his pretty buzzing melody,
Came heere to make vs merry,
And thou hast kil'd him.

However, when Marcus points out that the fly like Aaron is black, Titus exclaims that he has done a charitable deed. Seizing the knife, Titus stabs twice at the fly, once for Aaron, and once for Tamora.

The incident shows how sorrow and rage are bringing Titus near to madness. At the same time, it expresses in symbol the contradictory elements in his character—the tenderness of his love for Lavinia, and his unrelenting cruelty towards Aaron and Tamora. Through the play of these opposites Shakespeare creates whatever fine dramatic irony there is in *Titus Andronicus*.

The scene, while intensifying the mood, adds nothing to the action. That is to say, if it were cut in performance, the audience would not notice a yawning gap. For theatrical purposes the play can very well go on from III, i to IV, i. On the other hand, III, ii certainly leads up to IV, i. Titus in the course of it speaks of wresting an alphabet from the actions of Lavinia, and he ends the scene by going out to read with her and young Lucius

Sad stories, chanced in the times of old.

Immediately afterwards in IV, i Lucius, his books under his arm, comes running on to the stage with Lavinia in pursuit. Titus and Marcus follow, and gradually Marcus gets her to construct an alphabet by means of

which her story is spelled out. All this makes it probable that III, ii was in the play from the first. Such a conclusion would be strengthened by a passage in V, i where Aaron says:

But (*So Q1, Q2. Tut*) I haue done a thousand dreadfull things,
As willingly as one would kill a flie. (V, i, 141-42)

This clear echo in Q1 of the incident with the fly makes it certain that III, ii is not a later addition. Probably III, ii was marked in the printer's copy to be cut for performance, and the compositor setting up Q1 thought that the marks were an indication for him to omit the scene.

However I wish to discuss here not bibliography but the question of Shakespeare's authorship. I should like to look at this scene from two points of view, first, whether we may expect to find this "sort of thing" in Shakespeare, and, if so, what that would tell us about Shakespeare's form.

This "sort of thing" can be briefly defined. The scene has little or nothing to do with the plot: that is to say, if cut, it will not be missed, nor does it add much to those elements of excitement such as hope, suspense, or anxiety which are stimulated by the plot. On the other hand, it enlarges our knowledge of the problem which is the core of the work, and in this way *Titus* gains in depth and perspective. It brings everything into focus. The chief issues of *Titus* are there, and it may be said to mirror the play. Shakespeare invents such a scene, concentrating significant incidents into a symbol, in order to shed light upon his central thought.

Apparently loose detachable scenes, so-called episodes, are frequent in Shakespeare. They vary in function as well as in technique, but certain features tend to recur. Many of them are, as in *Titus*, mirror-scenes, reflecting in one picture either the main theme or some important aspect of the drama. Others offer some kind of contrast to the general run of the action, making it stand out more prominently by a certain difference of tone or implication. Others again affect the plot by keying up or keying down the suspense. Moreover in presenting the scenes Shakespeare may invent special characters for this occasion only. Sometimes, as in *Titus*, he invents a special symbol, arranging round it the more important characters of the play. The symbol often stands for immense

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forces, cosmic or supernatural, which according to the mood of the drama may save man or engulf him.

Examples of Shakespeare's method can be found in all the periods of his work. The Histories are the most useful plays to begin with, because they are obviously constructed to illustrate some thesis, and, as they are early work, they reveal to us the ideas of form with which Shakespeare started out.

1 Henry VI is quite plainly written to show that disunion brings catastrophe. The exposition in Act I is clear and well controlled, "tight," in modern slang, a masterly piece of work. But then in Act II Shakespeare appears to lose control. It is as if he does not quite know what to do; he zigzags, mixing one scene with another, inventing some incidents for their value as good theatre, and others to illustrate some idea. The first and second scenes are good theatre. Then comes the incident of the Countess of Auvergne, sheer episode apparently, which, if cut, would not be missed. However it tells us two important things, that there are other Frenchwomen besides Joan of Arc ready to fight the English, and that Talbot is not to be caught in any French trap. The fourth scene lays the foundation for the whole tetralogy; it shows Lancaster and York picking the red and white roses as the emblems of their quarrel. It crops up quite suddenly, without preparation. In the fifth scene, Shakespeare creates a new character, of whom we know nothing, the ailing Mortimer, to tell us the source of the quarrel. Having served this purpose, Mortimer dies. Here then, we have the invention of special characters for single scenes, and the invention of a symbol round which many characters are grouped. The act seems to be a hodgepodge of incident. However, it is in his apparent failure that we see most clearly the principle of Shakespeare's form. At this early stage it is the parallel advancement of plot and idea. Later, these two were fused into one, but never so intimately as to prevent Shakespeare from inventing scenes, when need was, outside the plot in order to bolster up or throw into relief some aspect of the theme in the play.

In II, 1 of *2 Henry VI* we have a classical example of Shakespeare's method. The scene falls into three parts. The first shows the King and his court flying their hawks, the second brings the incident of the bogus miracle, and the third the arrest of the Duchess of Gloucester.

The different hawks swooping on their prey are made an emblem of court life. When the Duchess is arrested, it is as if the hawks had brought down their prey and were now ready to look for more game, for Gloucester himself. In the middle of the scene Shakespeare invents the incident of the bogus miracle, of the man who pretends to have been born blind, and to have miraculously received his sight at the shrine of St. Albans. He occurs in this incident only. The scene is characteristic in that it might be lifted clear out of the play and nobody would notice its absence. However Shakespeare assembles the chief characters round the miracle, and uses it as a touchstone to try their quality. We see Henry's simple faith based on an unquestioning mind, Gloucester's scepticism and quick penetration, the Queen's cruel laughter at the horrible punishments inflicted, and in those things, too, we see the fifteenth century itself, its very "form and pressure." Again Shakespeare steps outside his plot in order to show the deeper undercurrents in the society he is depicting.

In 3 *Henry VI* Shakespeare invents a scene (II, v) where Henry soliloquizes in the middle of the battle and then watches a Son dragging in the dead body of his Father whom he has killed, and after that a Father dragging in the dead body of his Son whom he has killed. Again, this Son and this Father appear only in this scene. We do not learn their names or know anything more about them. Their obvious function is to drive home the horrors of civil war. It is the same technique of illustrating the main theme of the play from outside the plot.

In *Richard II* we have the incident of the gardeners (III, iv, 29-107). Here Shakespeare invents both symbol (the garden) and character (the gardeners). The garden is a picture of the evil state to which Richard has reduced England, the work of the gardeners shows us what Bolingbroke will have to do to create order.

Our Sea-walled Garden, the whole Land,
Is full of Weedes, her fairest Flowers choakt up . . . (II. 43-4)

Richard III is designed with careful and elaborate symmetry. All the way through part answers to part and incident to incident. Yet even in this well made play Shakespeare inserts two scenes (II, iii; III, vi) which do not belong to the action. I have never seen them performed on the

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stage. In II, iii Shakespeare introduces certain citizens, numbered but nameless, in order that they may reflect on the state of the country. Through their speeches Shakespeare brings the issues of the action into focus and the scene becomes a mirror of the play. In III, vi the scrivener who has just drawn the indictment of Hastings appears *solus* from nowhere in order to comment about what he sees going on. He ends:

Bad is the World, and all will come to nought,
When such ill dealing must be seene in thought.

Henry V is usually regarded as an epic rather than as a drama. The dramatic theme is the conquest of France, but Shakespeare's real subject is the character of Henry. He was therefore obliged to write I, i in order to show that the madcap prince had become a thing of the past. But II, ii was not required by any legacy of the past. Three traitors, one of royal blood, another, Henry's most intimate friend, have been seduced by the gold of France to plot Henry's death. Shakespeare creates them for this scene only. The traitor of royal blood is the direct ancestor of the Yorkists, and so this scene points forward to the Wars of the Roses. But it has a greater importance. It shows that the King can trust no one, no member of his family and no friend. Act II, ii of *Henry V* carries on from II, ii, 1-74 of *2 Henry IV*, where Henry tests Poins, trying to discover what Poins thinks of him. Poins thinks nothing of him. Neither at court nor at the tavern does Henry find a friend. The King must live alone.

Again the incident of the four captains (III, ii, 58-153) of *Henry V* is sheer episode. A Welsh, Irish, Scotch, and English captain come together and wrangle. With the exception of Fluellen, the captains have little to do with the plot. Shakespeare brings together the four races of the British Isles under one leader. Their wrangling shows the necessity of a government united and strong. Thus the scene bodies forth the form of something as yet unknown but which Shakespeare very much desired to become a concrete reality.

The Comedies offer a problem of their own in that several of them were written to order. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *As You Like It*, and *The Tempest* were obviously commissioned for weddings, and everybody agrees that *Love's Labour's Lost* was written for some special

occasion. In *As You Like It* and *The Tempest* Shakespeare inserted masques in honor of the marriage-feast. The characters, mostly supernatural figures, appear nowhere else in the play. Hence the masques are usually cut, but for Shakespeare's audience they were probably the climax of the performance. The whole reason of the play was in them. The clowns' play-within-the-play in *Love's Labour's Lost* and the *Dream* also performs functions outside the action. It provides the rollicking fun demanded by the festive occasion. Besides in both cases the clowns' play caricatures leading ideas in the main work, in *Love's Labour's Lost* the affectations of the learned, in the *Dream* the dangers which threaten young love. Like the mirrors in the Palace of Fun they exaggerate grotesquely. In these plays all is interconnected and there are no loose ends.

It is impossible to say anything new about the marvelous opening of the fifth act in the *Merchant of Venice*. In order to clear from our minds the evil passions of the trial-scene, Shakespeare evokes for us the beauty of a summer night in an Italian garden. It is the superb climax of that opposition of Belmont to Venice, of light to dark, of love to hate, which is the subject of the play. And when Lorenzo summons music and points to the smallest of the stars as singing in its motion like an angel, the Elizabethan audience would not fail to catch his meaning. The harmony of the spheres, the music that binds the universe together now symbolizes that harmony, that law of love upon which life is based. This incident has its function in the staging of the play, and it is therefore not an episode in the strict sense. But the technique is the same as in the episodes. Shakespeare invents something unique in order to form an incident which will mirror the whole play.

In *Measure for Measure* Shakespeare inserts II, iii as a buffer between two scenes charged with high emotion. That is his technical purpose, but in choosing what scene to write, he brings Juliet on the stage as a speaking character, we may say, for the first and last time. Again a character is impressed to serve in a special episode. This time, the scene, besides acting as a buffer, also rounds out the treatment of a particular theme in the play. In *Measure for Measure*, Shakespeare deals with the whole range of attitudes towards sexual passion, and to make this complete, he gives us a brief but profound study of Juliet. She is the counterpart of Claudio, the woman who has sinned, set over against the man who

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has sinned, and in her attitude Shakespeare shows pure womanliness, love, repentance, patience, and entire submission. The Duke asks her whether she repents out of fear, with sorrow towards herself, or as she loves heaven. Juliet answers:

I doe repent me, as it is an euill,
And take the shame with ioy.

And then she passes to horror at the thought of life without Claudio. Irving, probably considering the scene not necessary to the plot, cut it out, but in so doing threw away the immense contribution it makes to our understanding of the problem in the play.

Similarly, in *Troilus and Cressida*, Shakespeare intends the audience to know the real character of that Helena for whom two nations are at war. He therefore introduces a scene (III, i), in which he sketches her character shortly and swiftly, but adequately for his special purposes in the play. It is this woman, bawdier than the bawdiest, for whom so many men are daily being killed and on whose account Troy is to be ruined. Shakespeare gives Helena nothing to say of importance elsewhere, and the scene does not advance the plot, but typically it adds enormously to our understanding of the theme.

In Shakespeare's last comedies there are two scenes that deserve especial attention: III, i of the *Winter's Tale* and V, iv of *Cymbeline*. They raise the fundamental question of meaning in Shakespeare. They both stress the beneficent intervention of the supernatural in human affairs. The scene in the *Winter's Tale* is the most "episodic," that is to say, it has no mechanical connection with the plot at all. The masque (V, iv) in *Cymbeline* is intimately connected with the plot since the document which Posthumus receives during the vision clears up the mystery of his parentage.

Cleomenes and Dion, the only two characters in III, i of the *Winter's Tale*, have nothing to say in the rest of the play. They appear again only to hand over to the court the sealed judgment of the oracle. Their scene is a splendid example of Shakespeare's power to recall for us the life of a remote age. No other English writer has represented with such overwhelming force the deep thrill that a pagan experienced in his worship at the altar. Shakespeare makes us feel so convincingly the immense awe

that possessed Cleomenes and Dion in the temple because he wishes to invest with the utmost authority the twofold function of the gods. They save Hermione and they decree the punishment Leontes is to suffer before he can be purged of his crimes.

In *Cymbeline*, too, the gods interfere both to save and cross. Pope roundly denounced the masque "as apparently not of Shakespeare," and most modern scholars would support him. However, for all Pope's strictures it bears the hallmark of Shakespeare. While loosely connected, it illustrates forces at work behind the action, shaping life. In effect, both these scenes exalt the gods.

Episodes are most numerous in the tragedies. This may mean that in tragedy Shakespeare was especially concerned with significant form. Many of these episodes appear superfluous to actor-managers, and audiences rarely have a chance of seeing them. Thus, as the Variorum edition shows, Goethe rewrote *Romeo and Juliet*, omitting what he considered the irrelevancies. By removing the episodes Goethe has knocked the stuffing out of the play. He cuts, for instance, the musicians' scene (IV, v, 102-50). Most managers drop this scene, but when it is performed, the effect is to increase the terror and suspense. The main action shows Romeo and Juliet being carried swiftly to destruction, and then Shakespeare holds up the plot for a while to give us a vignette of quite commonplace musicians, making bad jokes, careless and unconcerned as they pack up their music. In the theatre it seems incredible that the world of disaster should exist with a world of such security. At a good performance we get the feeling that we are viewing hell from a ringside seat.

In *Julius Caesar* Shakespeare writes III, iii to have Cinna the poet murdered for no reason at all but that his name is Cinna. He is invented for one scene to show the brutal excesses inevitably following on Brutus's murder of Caesar. Besides, III, iii has another function; it allows the high excitement of the first movement in the play to taper off before Shakespeare begins the second movement.

In *Hamlet* Shakespeare invents for the graveyard scene both symbol (the grave) and character (the gravediggers). The conversation of the gravediggers with Hamlet is about death, and their bitter jokes only deepen the mood of tragedy. Shakespeare then groups the important

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characters of the play round this grave and its skulls—to this favour all of them will soon come. Maurice Evans cut the scene for the "G.I." performance, and no doubt so far as plot is concerned, it would not be missed. But what a powerful introduction to the climax:

O, proud death
What feast is toward in thine eternal cell,
That thou so many Princes at a shot
So bloudily hast strook?

In *Othello* we have the storm which, like the graveyard in *Hamlet*, brings all the chief characters of the play together in the same predicament. They have all escaped the storm at sea, and landed safely. The symbol is there of nature that can destroy, even if, for the moment, she withholds her power. By an especial subtlety the danger of the situation is driven home by several touches of dramatic irony.

Oh let the Heauens
Giue him defence against the Elements,
For I haue lost him on a dangerous Sea (44-6)
If after euery Tempest, come such Calmes,
May the windes blow, till they haue waken'd death. (187-8)

Macbeth, of course, has the much disputed witch scenes. To those, as too contentious, we give the go-by. But in II, iii, 1-46, Shakespeare invents the porter for this crisis only. Since the knocking on the door raises the excitement of the drama to an almost intolerable height, it cannot be regarded as unconnected with the plot. It shows the finest sense of the theatre. But the nameless Porter, whom Shakespeare so suddenly brings in from nowhere, is obviously just as important as a symbol. The knocking on the door meant for the Elizabethans the coming of death, hence terror and symbol reinforce one another.

Shakespeare creates the typical mirror-scene in II, iv of *Macbeth*. Again he brings in a character from the void—the nameless Old Man. This new person exchanges with Ross tidings of the unnatural happenings that have followed upon the murder of Duncan. Order has been broken in the state, and offended nature reacts in sympathy. The suggestion is of immense forces let loose. It is as if Macbeth had dropped a match and started a forest-fire from which he cannot escape. The

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scene, moreover, has another function. Shakespeare imparts his information soberly, almost dryly, and his style allows the great excitement of Act II to die away. With Act III a new wave of action begins and the audience is ready to start afresh.

Antony and Cleopatra is Shakespeare's most episodic work. Some episodes have the function of enforcing a contrast of character in action, as for instance the episode of Pompey, the man who believes:

If the great Gods be iust, they shall assist
The deeds of iustest men. (II, i, 1-2)

He is easily killed, the first to fall. Three scenes are especially characteristic of Shakespeare's technique, II, vii, III, i, IV, iii. The first of these scenes brings all the important characters together and subjects them to the same test of how to carry their wine. It makes little contribution to the plot, its chief function being to throw light upon character. III, i immediately succeeds it. Ventidius, again a nonce-character created for this one occasion, manifests in victory a moderation and prudence unknown to Antony. The plot is not advanced, but Ventidius's fear of arousing Antony's jealousy throws a sharp light on the quality of the men who rule the world.

In IV, iii we have another detachable scene for which Shakespeare has created character (the soldiers known only by number) and symbol (the music of the god Hercules deserting Antony). It is superb beyond praise, perhaps the finest example of Shakespeare's skill in using music to create a dramatic image. It is not necessary for the plot, but if we take it out, even this rich play is impoverished. Again, as in the *Winter's Tale* and *Cymbeline*, Shakespeare invents a special symbol in a special scene in order to represent the actions of the gods. When Shakespeare adds one such scene to another, his principle of construction becomes clear. Meaning is all important to him. He is building up not so much suspense or excitement as those situations which show what stuff we are made of, or what powers rule our lives.

Coriolanus has at least one mirror-scene, IV, iii. Here Shakespeare invents two nonce-characters for this occasion only. This scene, like II, iv of *Macbeth*, lowers the pitch of excitement before the next great action

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starts. Besides, the Roman spy who glories in the prospect of his country's defeat gives us a measure of the depravity to which Coriolanus will descend. It is not the scene that a dramatist writes who thinks only of plot or theatrical entertainment.

It is by now evident that III, ii of *Titus* is characteristic of Shakespeare. We have no reason to suppose that he did not write it, nor need we assume that he inserted it at some time later than the Quarto. It is a normal scene such as we expect to find occurring every now and then in Shakespeare.

All these scenes are "episodic," but while some are so detachable that they are hardly ever performed, others no actor will sacrifice. But even if they may be cut without the audience noticing their absence, in every case the play will be a poorer thing for their loss. It would lack substance, and so really become "thin." A consideration of the technique used in building up drama from such scenes suggests that what we badly need is a new investigation of Shakespeare's art.

Whatever theory we have about the episodes must clearly start from the principle that Shakespeare wrote for the theatre and can therefore be fully understood only through the theatre and by scholars who love the theatre. I know of no play by Shakespeare, not even *Troilus and Cressida*, *Measure for Measure*, or *Lear*, that is not made to be acted and that does not gain immeasurably by being seen on the stage for which it was intended. The full *Hamlet*, given with every single one of its supposed irrelevancies and episodes, holds the audience spellbound for five hours. The episodes come to life, if the manager will only give them a chance.

Shakespeare has himself defined "the purpose of playing . . . which end . . . is to hold the mirror up to nature; to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure." Shakespeare reveals so sharply the darkest secrets of the individual mind that we sometimes forget that he makes no character stand alone. All his persons are shown in the society to which they belong, and they and the society are shown in relation to the immense forces that shape our lives. Accordingly, as Goethe says in *Shakespeare und Kein Ende*, there is in the center of the play an idea, around which

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Shakespeare arranges his scenes. Of course he takes a burning interest in how his character thinks and feels but he must also give us scenes that are a dramatic picture of the character's whole world and of all the issues that are in conflict round and about him.

The pregnant dramatic picture that holds the mirror up to nature or that shows the very body of the time is an essential part of Shakespeare's technique. When Antony is fighting Octavius, Shakespeare shows the very nature of the struggle by inventing scenes illustrating the many different principles of conduct that are in conflict. When Caesar is to be assassinated, Shakespeare invents a storm, running through many scenes, in the first place as a symbol of an order about to be broken up. But he also uses the storm to reveal to us the character and the religion of all the important characters in the play, in effect, of the whole class who at that time governed Rome. Everywhere we find the incident as symbol, the incident that bears the same relation to the truth of the play as any other symbol in art does to truth. Gloucester is blinded and for the first time in his life he sees. "I stumbled when I saw." Lear goes mad and for the first time in his life he judges clearly. Shakespeare's art is Gothic; he has his vast central plan and round about a garland of side-chapels subtly grouped in reference to one another and to the whole.

But we can only accept these mirror-scenes if they are effective in the theatre. So far as my observation goes, they capture the attention of the audience. Shakespeare's technique is to construct a play by joining incident to incident. Each incident is a miniature play, in which Shakespeare engages our interest at the beginning, and then works up to a climax. The mirror-scenes fit into this plan perfectly. They attack the feelings of the spectators as effectively as a normal scene. Their appeal is strengthened by the power of the symbol, by rich revelation of character, or by the sheer curiosity of the audience about the new personages appearing on the stage. Mirror-scenes must of course be written with discretion; they must be neither too long nor too numerous. The last word may be left to Herder:

Jene [Greeks] ohne Episoden: hier [Shakespeare] kann Alle Episode aus aller Welt Ende vorgetragen werden, so Disparat sie sey, wenn sie nur zur Bewürkung der Hauptbegebenheit einfließt. Oft ist gleichsam Alles Episode, es

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versammeln sich Gewitterwolken aus allen Enden des Himmels, bis plötzlich der Schlag erfolgt.¹

1 Herder, *Von Deutscher Art und Kunst*, II, "Shakespeare" (*Sämmtliche Werke*, hrg. von Bernhard Suphan, Berlin (1891), v, 245-6). I should further like to acknowledge my great indebtedness to Friedrich Gundolf, *Shakespeare. Sein Wesen und sein Werk* (Berlin, 1928, 2 vols.).

Since writing the above, I have discovered that Creizenach has treated these scenes, explaining them as "Szenen des Stillstands" (*Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, Halle, 1909, iv, 303-04).

THE GOD OF HIS IDOLATRY

Garrick's Theory of Acting and Dramatic Composition
with Especial Reference to Shakespeare

By GEORGE WINCHESTER STONE, JR.

In June 1765 Garrick wrote to Suard, editor of the *Gazette Littéraire de l'Europe*,

I will not despair of seeing you in my temple of Shakespeare confessing your infidelity and bowing your head to the *God of my Idolatry*, as he himself so well expresses it.¹

The reference is partly to the outbuilding on Garrick's Hampton estate dedicated as his Temple of Shakespeare, but more significantly to Garrick's dramatic faith in the Elizabethan as the standard in dramatic composition, theory and practice.

Garrick biographers and critics for the past two centuries have tended somewhat to disparage his reliance upon Shakespeare by contrasting isolated remarks of the actor with his stage presentations to show discrepancies between his preaching and his practice. Nineteenth-century critics in particular have created an impression that Garrick protested too much and rendered Shakespeare mouth honor, breath rather than faithful, understanding praise.

For a number of years I have been examining this implied discrepancy by studying Garrick's presentation of Shakespeare's texts and have noted a remarkably consistent attempt on the actor's part to restore accurate readings to stage versions.² In this year which marks the two-hundredth anniversary of the opening of Drury Lane Theatre under his management, and in this volume which commemorates one of the wisest Shakespearian scholars of our age, it seems appropriate to throw

1 14 June 1765 See *New Monthly Magazine*, Dec. 1819, xii, 534, and MS. of Garrick Letters soon to be published by Dr. D. M. Little, Harvard, Section VII.

2 "Garrick's Long Lost Alteration of *Hamlet*," *P.M.L.A.*, xlix, Sept. 1934; "Garrick's Handling of *Antony and Cleopatra*," *R.E.S.*, xii, Jan. 1937; "*A Midsummer Night's Dream* in the Hands of Garrick and Colman," *P.M.L.A.*, liv, June 1939; "Garrick and an Unknown Operatic Version of *Love's Labors Lost*," *R.E.S.*, xv, July 1939; "Garrick's Handling of *Macbeth*," *S.P.*, Oct. 1941.

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into focus Garrick's many statements on acting, dramatic composition, and Shakespeare in order to test the consistency of his theory on these subjects. Chronological assembly can show more than isolated quotation.

That one may expect to find abundant comment on Shakespeare in Garrick's letters appears from an early one to the Countess of Burlington, 26 August 1749:

I am afraid my madness about Shakespeare is become very troublesome, for I question whether I have written a single letter without bringing him in, head and shoulders.³

His prologues, epilogues, journals, and miscellaneous jottings, as well as testimony from his intimate friends, round out our knowledge of his general attitude toward all three subjects.

As early as the summer of 1746 he showed interest in Shakespeare beyond the staging of his plays, for he then encouraged Frank Hayman, the painter, to continue illustrating Shakespeare's dramas. His letter suggests that the two had talked of a plan many times before:

The last time I saw you the scheme of the six prints from Shakespeare seem'd resolv'd upon: In my opinion (which stands as nothing) you cannot possibly spend your time better. Profit and reputation must be the consequence and the sooner you begin the better. You have often flattered me by approving of some notions of mine upon the affair, you shall command me whenever you please (bodily and mentally) and nothing will give me so much satisfaction as contributing my mite to so agreeable an undertaking . . .⁴

Four years later, when Londoners conceded that Drury Lane was done for because the principal actors had deserted to the other house, he announced that Shakespeare was to be his bulwark:

Sacred to Shakespeare was this spot design'd
To pierce the heart and humanize the mind.⁵

After his fashion as an enlightened eighteenth-century Shakespearian he lived up to his announced policy. Yet he placed responsibility for good entertainment squarely on the shoulders of his audience, as Dr.

³ Folger Shakespeare Library, Case II, Folder 1, MS. 1048¹¹.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Case II, Folder 6, MS. 746.

⁵ Spoken at the opening of the theatre, 1750.

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Johnson had done three years before, and as Defoe had done half a century earlier:

But if an empty house, the actor's curse,
Shows us our Lears and Hamlets lose their force;
Unwilling we must change the noble scene,
And in our turn present you Harlequin . . .
If want comes on importance must retreat,
Our first great ruling passion is to eat.
To keep the field all methods we'll pursue,
The cause is glorious! for we fight for you.⁶

About a dozen times during the decade of pantomimes, 1750-60, Garrick chided public taste which demanded them, and rang changes upon Shakespeare's name in opposition to them. He did it so often, and yet with the aid of Woodward continued himself to produce them, that one might wonder at the sincerity of his deference to Shakespeare. Wonder ceases, however, when one realizes how much Shakespeare Garrick also produced at the same time.⁷ The sincerity of his interest in Shakespeare breaks through even the conventional formula of the eighteenth-century prologue as he chides public taste in terms of the saucepan:

I as your cat'rer would provide you dishes,
Dress'd to your palate, season'd to your wishes—
Say but you're tir'd with boil'd roast at home,
We too can send for nicities from Rome:
To please your tastes we'll spare nor pains nor money,
Discard sirloins, and get you macaroni.
Whate'er new *Gusto* for a time may reign,
Shakespeare and beef must have their turn again.⁸

6 *The Poetical Works of David Garrick, Esq.*, ed. by George Kearsley, London, 1785, 1, 103. Compare Dr. Johnson's "Prologue at the Opening of the Theatre," 1747:

The stage but echoes back the public voice
The drama's laws the drama's patrons give
For we that live to please must please to live.

Compare Defoe, *Weekly Review of the Affairs of France*, 3 May 1705: "But Gentlemen and Ladies, if you would have a Reformation in the Playhouse, you must reform your taste and wit, and let the poet see you can relish a play tho' there be neither Bawdry nor Blasphemy in it. . . . In short the errors of the stage lie all in the auditory . . . the actors and the poets are their humble servants."

7 A total of 527 performances of Shakespeare's plays, or 30% of the total Drury Lane production for that decade.

8 Prologue to "*Virginia, A Tragedy* by Mr. Crisp," 1754, Kearsley, *op. cit.*, i, 120.

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His ironical lines in the Epilogue to *Barbarossa* during the same year enforce his scorn for the run of operas and raree shows which were becoming popular at Covent Garden:

I therefore now propose by your command,
That tragedies no more shall cloud the land;
Send o'er your Shakespeare to the sons of France,
Let *them* grow grave—let *us* begin to dance . . .⁹

Possibly at this time Garrick jotted down a brief paragraph entitled "Miscellaneous thoughts upon the stage, authors, actors, &c," which appears among the unpublished manuscripts in the Folger Shakespeare Library. "There are no hopes," he wrote,

of seeing a perfect stage, till the public as well as the Managers get rid of their errors and prejudices—the reformation must begin with the first. When the taste of the public is right the Managers and Actors must follow it or starve. I speak of those who understand something of their business—there are and have been Managers & Actors who are so naturally blind that they cannot find the right way tho' the finger of y^e Publick point it out ever so strongly to 'Em.¹⁰

Awareness of the shifts in public taste was constantly in Garrick's mind throughout his career. As manager, responsible for the success of the theatre, he could not neglect this awareness. His Epilogue to Browne's *Athelstan* neatly presents the manager's problem in following the currents and eddies of it.

The Greek-read Critic, as his Mistress holds her [Tragedy],
And having little love, for trifles scolds her:
Excuses want of spirit, beauty, grace,
But ne'er forgives her failing *time* and *place*.
How do our sex of taste and judgment vary?
Miss 'Bell adores, what's loath'd by Lady Mary:
The first in tenderness a very dove,
Melts like the feather'd snow, at Juliet's love:
Then sighing, turns to Romeo by her side,
"Can you believe that men for love have dy'd?"
Her ladyship, who vaults the courser's back,

⁹ "A Tragedy by Dr. Browne," Kearsley, *op. cit.*, i, 128-9.

¹⁰ Pasted in vol. i, p. i, of Knight's *Life of Garrick*, extra illustrated and extended to four volumes.

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Leaps the barr'd gate, and calls you Tom and Jack;
Detests these whinings, like a true virago;
She's all for daggers! blood! blood! blood! Iago!
A third, whose heart defies all perturbations,
Yet dies for triumphs, funerals, coronations!
Ne'er asks what tragedies succeed, or fail,
But whose procession has the longest tail.
The youths, to whom France gives a new belief,
Who look with horror on a rump of beef,
On Shakespeare's plays, with shrugg'd-up shoulders stare.
"These plays? They're bloody murders, *O barbare!*
And yet the man has merit—*Entre nous*
He'd been damn'd clever, had he read Bossu."
Shakespeare read French! roars out the surly cit:
When Shakespeare wrote our valor match'd our wit:
Had Britons then been fops, Queen Bess had hang'd 'em;
Those days they never read the French, they bang'd 'em.

The following piece of salutary advice concludes the epilogue:

If taste evaporates by too high breeding,
And eke is overlaid by too much reading;
Lest, then, in search of this, you lose your feeling,
And barter native sense in foreign dealing;
Be this neglected truth to Britons known,
No taste, no modes become you, but your own.¹¹

As France dominated eighteenth-century culture in the western world in general, so Diderot's ideas dominated the theory of acting during the latter half of the period. In his earlier years Diderot believed a great actor was one possessing an unusual amount of sympathetic understanding yet able to lose self-consciousness completely in the passions of the character he was portraying. After seeing Garrick act, however, he developed a new theory based upon what he observed in the English model. He seemed to see in Garrick one who studied his rôle well, yet while playing never lost control of himself. His art lay in the perfection of this control, so that he was able to make the audience believe he became the character he was portraying. The paradox of the actor, wrote Diderot, is that in touching or amusing scenes he must be devoid of feeling; while he must appear to suffer, he must not suffer; whilst

¹¹ Kearsley, *op. cit.*, i, 150 ff.

seeming to grow excited, he must remain cool. He must possess such judgment that he carries within himself an unmoved disinterested onlooker. He must have penetration and no sensibility, the art of mimicking everything, the art of rendering so exactly the outward signs of feeling that the audience falls into the trap.¹²

Evidence of the acuteness of Diderot's observations with respect to Garrick would seem to be given by Noverre's account of the way in which Garrick customarily prepared his rôles:

. . . He studied the characters of his personages, and still more their passions. Strongly attached to his profession, he shut himself up and would see no one on the days he played important parts. His genius raised him to the rank of the prince he must portray, he assumed all his virtues and frailties, he assimilated the character and its foibles, and was a man transformed. It was no longer Garrick whom one heard; the change once effected, the actor disappeared and the hero was revealed; and the actor did not become his natural self until his task was done. . . . There is no man more sprightly than he the day he is to act a poet, a tradesman, a character in low life, a newsmonger. . . .¹³

Noverre, writing in 1760, was recalling what he knew of Garrick from intimate acquaintance five years earlier.

With such zeal for portraying characters accurately it is little wonder that Garrick wrote in disgust to his brother Peter, 6 November 1762, concerning a travelling company of players he had seen in Lichfield:

I don't know how it is, but, the Strollers are a hundred years behind hand—we in Town are Endeavouring to bring the Sock & Buskin down to Nature, but *they* still keep to their Strutting, Bouncing, and Mouthing, that with whiskers on, they put me in mind of y^e late Czar of Russia who was both an Idiot & a Madman.

Considering Garrick's care in studying human nature to portray his characters, the sincerity of a further remark in his letter to Peter is clear:

I have made an observation, which has been confirm'd by Every Example in my knowledge, that conceit utterly destroys all feeling and it is . . . impossible to be an actor with a grain of it in y^e composition.¹⁴

¹² *Paradoxe Sur Le Comédien*, 1770.

¹³ *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, trans. Cyril Beaumont, pp. 82–5, also *The Lady's Magazine*, January 1785.

¹⁴ Little MS., Section VI, hitherto unpublished.

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But we cannot saddle Diderot's theory of acting upon Garrick without qualification, for Garrick's own strictures upon the French actress, Madame Clairon, show that in theory he believed a truly great actor snatched a grace beyond the reach of art and did possess keen sensibility:

She has everything that art and a good understanding, with great natural spirit, can give her. But then I fear (and I only tell you my fears to open my soul to you) the heart has none of those instantaneous feelings, that life-blood, that keen sensibility, that bursts at once from genius, and like electrical fire, shoots through the veins, marrow, bones and all, of every spectator. Madame Clairon is so conscious and certain of what she can do, that she never I believe, had the feelings on an instant come upon her unexpectedly, but I pronounce that the greatest strokes of genius have been unknown to the actor himself, till circumstances, and the warmth of the scene has sprung the mine as it were, as much to his own surprise, as that of the audience. Thus I make a great difference between a great genius and a good actor. The first will always realize the feelings of his character, and be transported beyond himself; while the other, with great powers and good sense, will give great pleasure to an audience, but never—

Pectus inaniter angit
Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
Ut magus.¹⁵

Garrick's introduction of a natural style of acting in opposition to the declamatory style in vogue when he appeared on the stage is well known to every student of eighteenth-century drama, especially from Cumberland's account of Garrick *versus* Quin in the production of Rowe's *Fair Penitent*.¹⁶ Of vital importance to the fine delineation of

¹⁵ *Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, James Boaden (1831), i, 359, in a letter probably to Sturz.

¹⁶ "Quin presented himself upon the rising of the curtain in a green velvet coat, embroidered down the seams, an enormous full bottomed periwig, rolled stockings and high heeled square-toed shoes; with very little variation of cadence, and in a deep full tone, accompanied by a sawing kind of action, which had more of the senate than the stage in it, he rolled out his heroics with an air of dignified indifference that seemed to disdain the plaudits that were bestowed upon him. . . . But when after long expectation I first beheld little Garrick, then young and light and alive in every muscle and in every feature, come bounding on the stage . . . heavens what a transition! It seemed as if a whole century had been stepped over in the transition of a single scene: Old things were done away, and a new order at once brought forward, bright and luminous, and clearly destined to dispel the barbarisms and bigotry of a tasteless age too long attached to the prejudices of custom, and superstitiously devoted to the illusions of imposing declamation." See Percy Fitzgerald, *A New History of the Stage* (1882), ii, 124.

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character he wished to present by his natural style was the removal from the stage of gentlemen loungers. This removal he finally accomplished in 1762. Then with a quiet stage and a relatively small house his piercing eyes, his mobile features, and his slightest gesture could count as they never counted before in character presentation.

As manager, he was interested in the perfect performance of his whole company, not merely of himself. Testimony as to the way in which he communicated to fellow actors his enthusiasm for a play is given by Davies, who as a member of the company had opportunity to observe it:

The frequent rehearsal of [*Every Man in His Humour*] was a convincing proof of Garrick's great anxiety for its public approbation. As no man more perfectly knew the various characters of the drama than himself, his reading a new or revived piece was a matter of instruction, as well as entertainment to the players. He generally seasoned the dry part of the lecture with acute remarks, shrewd applications to the company present, or some gay jokes, which the comedians of the theatre who survive their old master will recollect with pleasure.¹⁷

During his Grand Tour of France, Italy and Germany, 1763-5, Garrick jotted down his thoughts on acting and the drama, leveling a particularly critical eye upon the actors of the Comédie Française:

I saw Mad^{le} Duminile in ye Gouvernante—She has certainly expression in her face, & some other requisites, but she is made up of trick; looks too much upon the ground & makes use of little startings & twitchings which are visibly artificial, and the mere mimicry of the free simple Noble workings of the passions . . .

The first time I saw Préville, I thought he was a great Comedian & he certainly has comic powers—but the 2nd & 3rd time I did not see ye variety I expected—he has ye same looks in Ev'ry part I saw him act & throws a kind of drunken folly into his eyes which in some parts would have a fine Effect, but to be used continually is a proof of confin'd talents.¹⁸

At Lyons he made an acute remark concerning French standards of drama relative to the neo-classical rule of decorum:

I must only Mention one thing, a Criminal was broke upon ye wheel three Days before our Arrival & he was upon ye rack for twelve hours before he dy'd & all his Crime was robbing a Smith of 7 livres—the French can't bear

¹⁷ *Dramatic Miscellanies*, ii, 43.

¹⁸ *The Journal of David Garrick, 1763*, ed. G. W. Stone, Jr., pp. 7, 8.

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Murder upon ye Stage but rack criminals for small thefts, we can bear any butchery upon ye Stage and hang only for ye greatest Thefts & Murder. The French delicacy & Sensibility extends only to Dramatic Executions.¹⁹

Voltaire extended him a warm invitation to visit him. Garrick intended to do so, but wrote his brother George, "I am rather angry with him for saying in his last thing, that tho' Shakespeare is surprising, there is more *Barbarism* than *Genius* in his works. O! the damn'd fellow!"²⁰ He wrote to Voltaire:

. . . I should with great pleasure have exerted what little talents I have, and could I have been the means of bringing our Shakespeare into some favour with M. de Voltaire I should have been happy indeed. No enthusiastic missionary who had converted the Emperor of China to his religion would have been prouder than I, could I have reconcil'd the first genius of Europe to our dramatic faith. . . . P.S. Tho' I have call'd Shakespeare our dramatic faith, yet I must do my countrymen the justice to declare, that notwithstanding their deserved admiration of his astonishing powers, they are not bigoted to his errors, as some French journalists have so confidently affirmed.²¹

Twelve years later after Voltaire had attacked Shakespeare in his *Letter to The French Academy*, Garrick complimented Mrs. Montague (who was present at the occasion of Voltaire's delivery) for her expression of contempt for the "malevolent nonsense upon our belov'd & immortal Shakespeare."²²

From France Garrick learned of the success with which Powell was filling his place at Drury Lane, so wrote him a kindly letter of advice commending to Powell the close and careful reading of Shakespeare. "Study hard, my friend, for seven years, and you may play the rest of

19 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

20 *David Garrick and His French Friends*, F. A. Hedgcock (1912), pp. 168 ff, letter dated 10 October 1763.

21 September or October, 1764, Boaden, *op. cit.*, ii, 362.

22 26 October [1776], Blunt, *Mrs. Montagu*, i, 362: "could anything possibly add to my admiration of Mrs. Montagu, it was the expression of contempt and astonishment which I hear you put on, at hearing the weak and impotent ravings of Age, Envy, hatred and malice—it rejoices me much to hear that this unchristian attack upon Genius had not a favorable reception even from his own friends." See also unpublished letter 10 November 1776, Folger Shakespeare Library, to Madam Necker: "I have left no room for Voltaire and Shakespeare—there are rods preparing for the Old Gentleman by several English wits—his letter to the French Academy is no addition to his genius or generosity & his errors are without end—I pity his ill-placed anger."

your life. I would advise you to read at your leisure other books besides plays in which you are concerned. . . . But above all, never let your *Shakespeare* be out of your hands, or your pockets; keep him about you as a charm; the more you read him the more you will like him, and the better you will act him." He closed with advice upon careful artistry and the value of leadership in acting.

Although Garrick realized the force of public taste in demanding certain types of plays, he also knew that an actor could do much in any play to give significance to the portrayal of any part, and by that portrayal could help shape taste. Maupassant in his Introduction to *Pierre et Jean* distinguishes between the critic who says, "Make me something fine according to your temperament," and the populace who cry, "Move me, terrify me, make me weep." Garrick had the essential distinction in mind, but drawn obviously from Shakespeare, when he wrote to Powell, "One thing more, and then I will finish my preaching; guard against *the splitting the ears of the groundlings, who are capable of nothing but dumb show and noise*—do not sacrifice your taste and feelings to the applause of the multitude; a true genius will convert an audience to his manner, rather than be converted by them to what is false and unnatural:—*be not too tame neither*."²³ Referring to this letter a month later, Garrick wrote to James Love, "I shall be glad to know if [Powell] takes what I said to him in good part. . . . I spoke my real thoughts to him."²⁴

For Garrick a good actor had first of all to be a well-rounded man, possessed of imagination, understanding and discernment. He had to be more than a good mimic. Garrick's random thoughts on the subject were noted in a *Journal* of his for 1767. They appear to be notes for a talk which he might have given to his company in the Green Room:

is a kind

The clapping of hands in an audience, <has the effect> of Dram-Drinking
he is

—the Actor's Spirits are rais'd for ye present & if <they are> not very

²³ 12 December 1764, Boaden, *op. cit.*, i, 177 ff. He wrote a similar letter of advice to Henderson, 5 January 1773 (Boaden, i, 509) in which he emphasized his belief that a good actor must be a well-rounded man.

²⁴ 27 January 1765, *Cornhill Magazine*, March 1929, pp. 291 ff., Little MS., Sec. VII.

prejudices blind them from seeing, or the ignorance of our language & manners will ever make them incapable of tasting—I will venture to prove that there is not one French Author, from their highest *Voltaire*, down to their lowest *Abbé le Blanc*²⁹ who understands accurately any three speeches together of Shakespeare—and yet these are the gentlemen from whom the nation in general take their ideas of our theatre—The absurd blunders of the Abbé are not worthy of criticism, but it will be much to the honor of Shakespeare & to our stage in general that the willfull & other mistakes of such a genius as Voltaire should be publish'd, and I will not rest in my bed till his Injustice & want of Candour be expos'd.³⁰

Despite his brave statement, however, Garrick's exposé of Voltaire never appeared. It is doubtful that he wished publicly to incur the wrath of the French satirist, especially as the English stage was doing remarkably well in spite of what French critics said or wrote. These thoughts, however, were still in his mind when he composed a *Farewell Epilogue for Mrs. Pritchard*, who quit the stage at the close of the 1767-8 season:

And may the stage to please each virtuous mind
Grow ev'ry day more pure and more refin'd,
Refin'd from Grossness, not by foreign skill,
Weed out the poyson, but be *English* still.
Merits you have, to other realms unknown;
With all their boastings Shakespeare is your own!³¹

Garrick watched with interest the endeavors of Jean Francis Ducis, who was adapting Shakespeare to the French stage. In an unpublished letter in the Folger Shakespeare Library he compliments the Frenchman on his attempt, but wishes he might come to England, learn the idiom, and see some tragedies performed. He offers him entree to Drury Lane if he will do so.³²

French criticism damned the structure of Shakespeare's plays but admitted the sublimity of a few isolated words or speeches. Garrick challenged this basis for the appreciation of Shakespeare. He knew it was not Shakespeare's "beauties" that counted in the theatre, but the

29 Author of *Lettres d'un Française à Londres*.

30 *New Monthly Magazine*, Dec. 1819, xii, 532, Little MS., Sec. VII.

31 *Pineapples of Finest Flavor*, ed. D. M. Little, p. 57.

32 21 January [1770], Little MS., Sec. X. "Je serai charmé de vous voir ici et de pouvoir vous témoigner combien je suis, votre très humble &c. . . ."

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characterization throughout the whole play. He wrote with some exasperation to Morellet, 1773, "the Genius of Shakespeare does not lie *dans un mot Sublime*, which are the very words of Mons. de la Harpe."³³

Garrick worked ceaselessly to make the English theatre the finest in Europe. The most revealing statement concerning his efforts comes from his most temperamental actress, Kitty Clive. When she heard Garrick was about to leave the stage she wrote from retirement, 23 January 1776:

Is it really true that you have put an end to the glory of Drury Lane Theatre? *if it is so* let me congratulate my dear Mr. and Mrs. Garrick on their approaching happiness. . . . In the height of the public admiration for you, when you were never mentioned with any other appellation but the Garrick, the charming man, the fine fellow . . . when they were admiring everything you did, and everything you scribbled,—at this very time, I . . . was a living witness that they did not know, nor could not be sensible, of half your perfections. I have seen you with your magical hammer in your hand, endeavouring to beat your ideas into the heads of creatures who had none of their own—I have seen you, with lamb-like patience, endeavouring to make them comprehend you; and I have seen you, when that could not be done—I have seen your lamb turned into a lion: by this your great labour and pains the public was entertained; *they* thought they all acted very fine,—they did not see *you* pull the wires.³⁴

Garrick had a care, then, for Shakespeare which was the guiding force in his whole career. It prompted him to talk and write about the dramatist from his earliest letters to the end of his life. Shakespeare dominated his theorizing and acting. Shakespeare dominated his sense of dramatic values. He was accustomed to evaluate new plays submitted to him as manager by the measure of Shakespeare's plays.³⁵ Fully cog-

33 4 January 1773. Unpublished, Folger Shakespeare Library. The reference is to De la Harpe's *Éloge sur Racine*, 1772, in which he constantly attacked the construction of Shakespeare's plays: "ne les croyez pas ceux qui vantent, sans cesse la nature brute . . . ceux qui préfèrent *un mot sublime* de Shakespeare aux vers de Phédre et de Mérope: Shakespeare est la poète du peuple, Phédre et Mérope sont les délicates des hommes instruits" (*Oeuvres*, Paris, 1778, II, 207).

34 Boaden, *op. cit.*, II, 128.

35 In analyzing John Home's *Agis* Garrick wrote 5 November 1757, "you have written some passages in these three acts more like Shakespeare than any other author ever did." See H. Mackenzie, *Life of Home*, Edinburgh, 1822, pp. 84 ff. See also Garrick's letter to

nizant of the changing taste of his age he strove with remarkable consistency to mold dramatic taste more and more towards Shakespeare—authentic Shakespeare. He used the dramatist to quicken national pride, especially where the French were concerned.

Garrick's statements on drama and acting show Shakespeare's influence. His practices relative to Shakespearian drama show how he relied upon the Elizabethan as the backbone of his theatre. During his twenty-nine-year term of management it was customary to present about 175 performances of plays each year. Garrick averaged 44 Shakespearian performances yearly at Drury Lane.³⁶ During the whole period he presented twenty-eight different Shakespeare plays with texts that approached authenticity more closely than those of any previous manager since the closing of the theatres. He himself assumed eighteen different Shakespearian rôles, each of which stamped indelibly upon the minds of his audiences a living, moving Shakespeare character. This fact gave credibility to the increasing contention of late eighteenth-century critics that dramatic greatness centered not, as Aristotle had suggested, about the pole of plot structure, but about the pole of character delineation.

Colman 31 July 1775, "D--n all tragedies, the modern ones I mean, they are such ill made matters that I sick[en] at ye sight of 'em . . ." Little MS., Sec. XV.

36 Figures from the Winston MS. Folger Shakespeare Library.

THE PRECISE ANGELO

By DONALD J. MCGINN

The confusion among the critics of *Measure for Measure* has led Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch to conclude that something must be wrong with the play itself, perhaps as a result of Shakespeare's additions to and alterations of the original plot as set forth by Giraldi Cinthio and George Whetstone. These additions and alterations, as Quiller-Couch notes them, are as follows: first, Isabella's failure to sacrifice her honor to save her brother's life and her use of Mariana as a substitute; secondly, the great prominence given the character of the Duke; thirdly, Isabella's marriage to the Duke instead of to the man who has wronged her; and finally, the cheapening of mercy by the Duke, who all the time knows that Claudio is alive.¹ In selecting these particular changes, however, Quiller-Couch focuses on the sources rather than on *Measure for Measure*. In other words, instead of inquiring why the changes were made he sets up the original plot as a standard from which any deviation is to be considered an imperfection.

Professor R. W. Chambers, on the contrary, maintains that Shakespeare has removed the "morbid details" of the old story, has harmonized its crudities, has given humanity and humor to its low characters, and has turned it into "a consistent tale of intercession for sin, repentance from and forgiveness of crime."² Accordingly, since the play obviously is concerned with religious and ethical concepts, I should like to examine those parts of it which are undoubtedly Shakespeare's in the light of sixteenth-century religious thought. Using this approach I discover a slightly different set of additions and alterations from those mentioned by Quiller-Couch. The chief differences between Shakespeare and his sources, as I see them, appear, first, in his characterization of Angelo; secondly, in his treatment of the theme of adultery; thirdly, in the quality—not the size—of the part played by the Duke and also by Isabella; and fourthly, in the moral of the play. And though

¹ Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and J. Dover Wilson, eds., *Measure for Measure* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. xiii-xvi. Professor W. W. Lawrence points out substantially the same four changes—*Shakespeare's Problem Comedies* (1931), pp. 91-4.

² *The Jacobean Shakespeare and "Measure for Measure"* (1937), p. 56.

Chambers would "deprecate attempts to define Shakespeare's theological beliefs or unbeliefs,"³ the analysis of these essentially Shakespearian elements convinces me that in this play in a sort of allegory Shakespeare with his customary gentleness is commenting on the theological arguments of his day. Living in a time when religion was as much talked about and written about as politics is today, he could scarcely have been untouched by the religious ferment about him. Surely he must have read the pamphlets of the Marprelate Controversy, which, if we may trust Thomas Nashe,⁴ were among the most popular literature of the day. In these pamphlets the Puritans attacked both the Church of England and the Church of Rome. Shakespeare's additions and alterations in *Measure for Measure* reveal his distaste for Puritanism and his sympathy with the Old Faith.

When we examine what has been written about Shakespeare's religion, we understand why Chambers carefully avoids becoming involved. Either from evidence supposedly in the plays and poems or from other relevant data, the playwright has been identified with each of the three main religious groups in Elizabethan England—the Roman Catholics,⁵ the Anglicans,⁶ and the Puritans.⁷ Between the two extremes of Puritanism and Roman Catholicism Dr. John H. de Groot, the most recent and most thorough investigator of the playwright's religion, offers a reasonable compromise. From a study of John Shakespeare's last will and testament Dr. de Groot concludes that the poet's father "was a Catholic throughout his life and that his household was infused with the spirit of the Old Faith."⁸ And Dr. de Groot presents the following

3 *Ibid.*, p. 60.

4 R. B. McKerrow, *The Works of Thomas Nashe* (1904-10), iii, 315. See also my article "Nashe's Share in the Marprelate Controversy" for a possible allusion in the *Comedy of Errors* to Nashe's anti-Martinist pamphlet *An Almond for a Parrat—PMLA*, lix (1944), 956-8.

5 Cf. Thomas Carlyle, "On Heroes and Hero Worship," *The Works of Thomas Carlyle* (1898), v, 102; Clara L. de Chambrun, *Shakespeare Actor-Poet* (1927), pp. 275-6; and *My Shakespeare, Rise!* (1935).

6 Cf. T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Petty School* (1943), pp. 216-24; J. H. de Groot, *The Shakespeares and "The Old Faith"* (1946).

7 Cf. Thomas Carter, *Shakespeare Puritan and Recusant* (1897); E. I. Fripp, *Shakespeare: Man and Artist* (1938).

8 *The Shak. and "The Old Faith,"* p. 110.

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explanation for Shakespeare's evident sympathy with Roman Catholicism:

There is nothing contrary to the Catholic spirit in Shakespeare's use of the Bible, but . . . there are some indications of his using the Bible as an enlightened Catholic would; . . . in the works of Shakespeare there is positive evidence to suggest the promptings of a Catholic consciousness to the creative imagination of the artist. . . . The evidence . . . does not warrant the conclusion that Shakespeare was himself a Catholic. But it does supply grounds for the opinion that the poet absorbed more of Catholicism in the course of his development than is generally believed and that throughout his mature years he retained a genuine esteem for certain aspects of the Old Faith.⁹

In short, Dr. de Groot would place Shakespeare in that group today known as Anglo-Catholic.

The additions and alterations in *Measure for Measure*, which I have indicated, generally substantiate Dr. de Groot's conclusions. In considering the first of these, the characterization of the villainous deputy, we notice that his counterpart in the earlier plot is not depicted as unusually austere. In Shakespeare's play, however, this seducer is transformed into a Puritan. The Duke describes him as follows:

Lord Angelo is *precise*,
Stands at a guard with envy, scarce confesses
That his blood flows, or that his appetite
Is more to bread than stone.

(I, iii, 50-3)¹⁰

In the Elizabethan vernacular the word *precise*, which in the preceding passage I have italicized, always meant puritanical. Furthermore, though in the original text of the play in the First Folio *precise* only once appears, from this one instance and from the context of the passage in which Isabella and Claudio are discussing Angelo's sanctimonious nature I have concluded that the meaningless word *prenzie*, twice applied to Angelo, is a misreading for *precise*:

The *prenzie* Angelo!

(III, i, 94)

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 223-4.

¹⁰ The text used throughout this study is that of the New Cambridge edition by W. A. Neilson and C. J. Hill (1942).

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O, 'tis the cunning livery of hell,
The damned'st body to invest and cover
In *prenzie* guards!

(III, i, 95-7)

Sir E. M. Thompson suggests that if we re-write doubtful or incoherent passages in Shakespeare's plays in "the common clerical hand, the 'secretary' hand of the scriveners" we may re-view them as the printer saw them and thus emend with more certainty than we might otherwise expect.¹¹ When *precise* is turned into even as awkward a secretary hand as I myself write, it is at once evident that it could be mistaken for *prenzie* by the unimaginative printer of the First Folio.

This emendation, if correct, would indicate that by the repetition of the adjective Shakespeare wishes to impress upon his audience the puritanical character of the deputy.¹² Moreover, the playwright gives Angelo the traits of character popularly associated with the typical Puritan. In the pamphlets of the day the Puritan, or Precisian, was usually described as a hypocrite. Nashe, for example, gives the following picture:

A common practise it is now adaies, which breedes our common calamitie, that the cloake of zeale, shoulde be vnto an hypocrite in steed of a coate of Maile; a pretence of puritie, a pentisse for iniquitie; a glose of godlines, a couert for all naughtines. . . . It is not the writhing of the face, the heauing vppe of the eyes to heauen, that shall keepe these men, from hauing their portion in hell. Might they be saued by their booke, they haue the Bible alwaies in their bosome, and so had the Pharises the Lawe embroidered in their garments. . . . These they be that publicly pretende a more regenerate holines, beeing in their priuate Chambers the expresse imitation of Howliglasse. . . . You know them without my discourse, and can describe their hypocrisie.¹³

Angelo's hypocrisy is revealed through the introduction of Mariana, a character nowhere to be found in the sources of the play. The Duke

¹¹ *Shakespeare's England* (1916), i, 299.

¹² Several emendations for *prenzie* have been made. The most popular are *princely* in the Second Folio and *priestly* by Warburton. Only Tieck suggests *precise*, which Charles Knight defends on the basis that it "has a much closer resemblance to *prenzie* than either of the others"—*The Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakespeare, Comedies* (1870), ii, 261. The definitions of *prenzie* are likewise numerous.

¹³ *The Anatomie of Absurditie*, in *Wks.*, ed. McKerrow, i, 22.

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knows that his deputy has broken his troth to Mariana and informs Isabella:

[Mariana] should this Angelo have married; was affianced to her by oath, and the nuptial appointed; between which time of the contract and limit of the solemnity, her brother Frederick was wreck'd at sea, having in that perished vessel the dowry of his sister. But mark how heavily this befell to the poor gentlewoman. There she lost a noble and renowned brother, in his love toward her ever most kind and natural; with him, the portion and sinew of her fortune, her marriage-dowry; with both, her combinate husband, this well-seeming Angelo.

(III, i, 221-32)

In other words, Angelo's love for Mariana extends only as far as her dowry. His outward sanctity, "the cunning livery of hell," as Isabella terms it (III, i, 95), conceals his infidelity, and he well deserves her epithet "hypocrite" (V, i, 41).

Angelo's puritanism is further accentuated by his revival of the old law against adultery. Perhaps this incident, taken over from Whetstone's alteration of Cinthio, may have reminded Shakespeare of the repeated demands by Puritan leaders that the laws against adultery in the Old Testament be revived. The zealous Puritan, Philip Stubbes, for example, utters the following sentiment:

I would wish that the Man or Woman, who are certenlye knowen, without all scruple or doubte to haue committed the horryble fact of . . . adulterie . . . should drinke a full draught of Moyses cuppe, that is, tast of present death (as Gods word doth commaunde, and good policie allowe).¹⁴

And Thomas Cartwright, the "chief exponent of Presbyterianism in England" in the sixteenth century,¹⁵ proclaims capital punishment for adultery as an essential part of Puritan dogma:

For the crime off adulterie/it is to be considered/that yt is a breach off the most holy/and auncient both institution/and solemne couenant off the Lord. . . . Whereby all men may clearly see the perpetuall equitie off the lawe off God in the reuengement off this sinne by death.¹⁶

¹⁴ Phillip Stubbes's *Anatomy of the Abuses in England in Shakspeare's Youth*, A. D. 1583, *New Shakspeare Society Ser. vi*, No. 6, Part I, ed. F. J. Furnivall (1877-9), p. 99.

¹⁵ A. F. Scott Pearson, *Church and State: Political Aspects of Sixteenth Century Puritanism* (1928), p. 139.

¹⁶ *Second Replie* (1575), pp. 100-01.

In order to justify his severity Cartwright goes to the Old Law of the Hebrews:

Forsomuch as we have the same laws to direct us in the service of God which they had, beside that, a noble addition of the new testament to make things more manifest, and to bring greater light unto the old testament, we have also precise direction of our religion as they had; and therefore those places of Deuteronomy stand in as great force now, touching the government of the church, as they did then.¹⁷

In other words, regarding the New Testament merely as an "addition" to the Old, Cartwright wishes to revive the old laws of Deuteronomy.

His great antagonist, John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury from 1583 until his death in 1604, counters with the statement that as far as the judicial and ceremonial laws are concerned the New Testament has abrogated the Old:

Where you say that "we have the same laws to direct us in the service of God that they had" . . . if you mean the same ceremonial laws . . . then do you *Judaizare*, "play the Jew." And certainly I marvel what you mean by this saying . . . especially seeing that their ceremonial law is utterly abolished. . . . If you mean that the new testament is added to the ceremonial law, that cannot be so, for it is the end of the ceremonial law, and doth utterly abrogate it. . . . Christ is the end of the law. . . . If you mean that it is added to the moral law, that is also untrue; for it only explaineth it, it addeth nothing to it. . . .

And even now do you enter into a strange and dangerous opinion in my judgment; for you would have the civil magistrate bound to observe all the judicial laws of Moses. . . .

Besides all those places of scripture which make generally for the abrogation of the whole law, we have especial places for the judicial law, and namely those where Christ maketh laws of divorcement for adultery, Matt. v. and xix., which were altogether needless, if she that is taken in adultery would of necessity be stoned to death according to the law of Moses.¹⁸

To this philosophy of Scripture, supported by both Anglican and Roman Catholic, Cartwright turns a deaf ear:

¹⁷ John Ayre, ed., *The Works of John Whitgift, D.D.* (Parker Society, 1851), i, 270.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, i, 271-3.

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To say that any magistrate can save the life of blasphemous, contemptuous and stubborn idolaters, murderers, adulterers, incestuous persons, and such like, which God by his judicial law hath commanded to be put to death, I do utterly deny, and am ready to prove.¹⁹

Thus he and Angelo are in full agreement in their insistence upon the death penalty for adultery. Perhaps Shakespeare in his deputy is giving Elizabethan London a picture of what they might expect if the Puritans were to wrench the sceptre from the hand of the civil magistrate.²⁰

As if to make doubly sure that no one in his audience would miss the allusion to Puritan intolerance, Shakespeare qualifies the theme of adultery by introducing the betrothal ceremony, or the pre-contract, which, although distasteful to the Puritans,²¹ was generally considered as binding as the marriage ceremony.²² In Whetstone's play no reference is made to a betrothal, but in *Measure for Measure* it has especial significance. First, it is offered as extenuation for Claudio's relations with Juliet. As he is being dragged off to prison, the young man tells his friend:

Upon a true contract
I got possession of Julietta's bed.
You know the lady; she is fast my wife,
Save that we do the denunciation lack
Of outward order.

(I, ii, 149-53)

Secondly, in the Duke's comforting words to Mariana before she takes Isabella's place in Angelo's bed—an incident which Quiller-Couch bitterly deplores²³—Shakespeare again emphasizes the legality of the pre-contract:

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, i, 270.

²⁰ Whitgift in 1574 had warned the English people that Cartwright's words contained "the overthrow of the prince's authority both in ecclesiastical and civil matters." *Ibid.*, iii, 189-90. Pearson declares that Whitgift was correct. *Op. cit.*, p. 115.

²¹ Fripp, *Shak.: Man and Artist*, ii, 613.

²² Arthur Underhill, in *Shakespeare's England*, i, 407. Cf. also J. Q. Adams, *Life of Shakespeare* (1925), pp. 68-9; W. W. Lawrence, *Shak. Prob. Com.*, pp. 95-8; Chambers, *Jacobean Shak. and "M. for M."*, p. 34.

²³ Quiller-Couch and Wilson, eds., *M. for M.*, p. xxx. Of Isabella Quiller-Couch writes: "It has to be admitted that she is something rancid in her chastity; and, on top of this, not by any means such a saint as she looks. To put it nakedly, she is all for saving her own soul, and she saves it by turning, of a sudden, into a bare procuress."

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Nor, gentle daughter, fear you not at all.
He is your husband on a pre-contract:
To bring you thus together, 'tis no sin,
Sith that the justice of your title to him
Doth flourish the deceit.

(IV, i, 71-5)

To Shakespeare's audience, then, Claudio and Juliet were man and wife; likewise were Angelo and Mariana. Accordingly, the imprisonment of Claudio was flagrantly unjust. And since the deputy has broken his troth to Mariana and, in addition, has attempted to seduce Isabella, he is the real adulterer. Thus the pre-contract renders Claudio's offense venial, and at the same time the breach of it makes Angelo a villain.

In contrast, the hero and the heroine of the play are associated with the religious orders of Catholicism. The Duke, disguised as a friar, is able to observe the conditions of his state. As Professor W. W. Lawrence expresses it, he combines in his person the functions of both state and church, the two agencies which in the plays written before *Measure for Measure* stand out prominently in straightening out complications of plot.²⁴ Similarly, he reminds Chambers of the "ways of Providence."²⁵ In the sources of the play, however, he has no such part. And Isabella is a novice in the Convent of the Poor Clares—another Shakespearian addition. Quiller-Couch's complaint that "for a Duke she will throw her novitiate head-dress over the mill"²⁶ is sufficiently answered by Lawrence, who points out the obvious fact that a Roman Catholic novice who has not yet taken the vows of the order may forsake the religious life and marry.²⁷ Moreover, we must observe that in the play she never actually consents to the Duke's proposal. No writer with Puritan sympathies would thus go out of his way to dignify the religious orders of the Old Faith. Cartwright, for example, refers to monks as "vermin raised from hell."²⁸ Without exception, indeed, all Puritan writers condemn voluntary celibacy from religious conviction. Hence, the benevolent rôles played by the Catholic Duke and Isabella could not be the products of a mind hostile to Roman Catholicism.

²⁴ *Shak. Prob. Com.*, p. 103.

²⁵ *Jacobean Shak. and "M. for M."* p. 50. ²⁶ *M. for M.*, p. xxxi.

²⁷ *Shak. Prob. Com.*, p. 120. Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-7.

²⁸ *Second Replie*, p. 505.

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In the conflict between Isabella and the Duke, on the one hand, and Angelo, on the other, Shakespeare seems to reproduce the controversy between the Anglican or Roman Catholic advocates of the Christian law of love as opposed to the Puritans who wished to revive the harsh Mosaic laws. Indeed, the very title of the play, "Measure for Measure," taken from Luke vi: 18, gives evidence that Shakespeare has this contrast in mind. Yet the significance of this allusion to the New Testament seems generally ignored. Lawrence, for example, assumes that the title means merely "the balancing of the penalty which Angelo meted out to Claudio for violation of chastity by a similar penalty against Angelo himself for a fault which he is supposed to have committed—'An Angelo for Claudio, death for death'"; in other words, the Mosaic definition of justice.²⁹ Lawrence therefore feels that "the title 'Measure for Measure' is . . . contradicted by the final decisions of the Duke, who concludes that mercy should temper justice, and that the strict letter of the law should not be enforced."³⁰ Neilson and Hill likewise state that "*in spite of the title* the moral of the play is that justice should be tempered with mercy."³¹

On the contrary, it would seem more suitable to write that *because of the title* the moral of the play is that justice should be tempered with mercy. Indeed, the warning that "with the same measure that ye mete withal it shall be measured to you again" is an exhortation to be merciful. Accordingly, Isabella's decision to intercede for her enemy Angelo represents the triumph of Christian virtue. Chambers calls it "a test of her sincerity."³² Earlier in the play, pleading for her brother's life, she sets forth the beauties of mercy:

Believe this,
No ceremony that to great ones longs,
Not the king's crown, nor the deputed sword,
The marshal's truncheon, nor the judge's robe,
Become them with one half so good a grace,
As mercy does.

(II, ii, 58-63)

²⁹ *Shak. Prob. Com.*, p. 114.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 391. The italics are mine.

³² *Jacobean Shak. and "M. for M."*, p. 51.

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Again, in words resembling those of Christ to the mob about to stone the adulteress, "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her,"³³ she reminds Angelo that he, too, is human:

Go to your bosom;
Knock there, and ask your heart what it doth know
That's like my brother's fault. If it confess
A natural guiltiness such as is his,
Let it not sound a thought upon your tongue
Against my brother's life.

(II, ii, 136-41)

Finally, when Angelo is in her power, we ask ourselves, "Will she practice the Christian charity that she has preached to him?" Putting her to the supreme test, the Duke presents the dilemma—justice or mercy—and forces her to choose. With intentional irony he states the case against Angelo in words that echo the Old Law of "eye for eye, tooth for tooth," which the deputy has exalted:

The very mercy of the law cries out
Most audible, even from his proper tongue,
"An Angelo for Claudio, death for death!"
Haste still pays haste, and leisure answers leisure;
Like doth quit like, and *Measure* still for *Measure*.

(V, i, 412-16)

By thus juxtaposing the phrases "the very mercy of the law," or justice, and "Measure still for Measure," which in terms of the Old Law could also mean justice but which according to the Christian interpretation signifies mercy, the Duke makes Isabella's trial the more difficult so that in the end her faith may shine forth with greater splendor. And

³³ John viii: 7. Isabella's advice to Angelo and his coolness to it may reflect another point of controversy between the Anglicans and the Puritans. When the Anglican Whitgift reminds the Puritan Cartwright that Christ absolved the adulteress, Cartwright calls upon Calvin as authority: "[Calvin] calleth it the Popishe diuinitie, that the sentence off our Sau[iour] Christe/in the eighth off John/brought any grace to adulterers/as towch-ing the ciuill punishment. And in an other place he saithe/that yt is the common right, or lawe of all nations, that adulterers should be put to death . . . and that yt is a sottishe imitation off our Sau[iour], and proceeding from a grosse ignorance: Under colour off the place in S. John/8 to release the punishment of adulterers/prescribed in the lawe"—*Second Replie*, p. 106.

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when Mariana appeals for her husband's life, the Duke again reminds Isabella of her great wrongs:

Should she kneel down in mercy of this fact,
Her brother's ghost his paved bed would break,
And take her hence in horror.

(V, i, 439-41)

Nevertheless her charity is stronger than her detestation for her enemy, and she follows the command of Christ, also in Luke vi, "Love ye your enemies. . . . Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful." In the spirit of the New Testament she is generous with her "measure" so that facing the Divine Tribunal she may hope to receive the same merciful treatment. Through her intercession in the face of the Duke's stern demands for justice Angelo's life is spared. In this last powerful scene Shakespeare puts the finishing touches on his contrast between the vindictiveness of Angelo and the loving-kindness of Isabella, between the Old Law and the New, between Puritanism and the Old Faith.

Considered as a defense of Christian charity against the intolerance of the Puritans, *Measure for Measure* presents none of the problems that critics have hitherto found in it. Shakespeare's sympathy with Roman Catholic institutions and ideas enabled him to understand Isabella's refusal to sacrifice her honor in order to save her brother's life. About to consecrate her own life to God, she believes her immortal soul, her "eternal jewel," more valuable than Claudio's body. She therefore is entitled to use her wits in order to seek a way out. The substitution of Mariana, Angelo's betrothed, was not at all offensive in a day when the betrothal ceremony was held to be as binding as marriage. And instead of cheapening mercy, the Duke gives Isabella the opportunity to show her Christianity by forgiving her enemy. His benevolent presence in his friar's habit, turning evil into good, righting wrongs, completes this sympathetic picture of the religious of the Old Faith. Thus Shakespeare's additions and alterations, considered in their relation to the religious ideas of the sixteenth century, reveal the playwright's own religious philosophy and help solve the problems of the play.

RESPICE FINEM: RESPICE FUNEM

By T. W. BALDWIN

"Mistress, 'respice finem,' respect your end; or rather, the prophecy like the parrot, 'beware the rope's end.'"¹ Here meet numerous Renaissance threads, each of which must be untangled in order to put Shakespeare's passage into its proper perspective. It has been customary to trace Shakespeare's phrase, *respice finem*, to a moral proverb. "In *N. & Q.* 5th S. viii. 74, E. Marshall pointed out that the line 'Quicquid agas, prudenter agas, et respice finem' appears in the *Gesta Romanorum*, cap. 103 (ed. Oesterley, p. 431): see also *N. & Q.* 5th S. vi. 313."² This maxim in *Gesta* is adapted from the *Turkish Tales*. There it is the sole maxim, instead of one of three as in *Gesta Romanorum*, and has been translated into English as, "Never begin any thing till you have reflected what will be the end of it."³ In the *Gesta* version, this becomes, "Quicquid agas, prudenter agas, et respice finem," which Swan translates into English as, "Whatever you do, do wisely; and think of the consequences."⁴ This version in the *Gesta* gives the thought but not the form of the original maxim in the *Turkish Tales*.

It would seem clear that this particular maxim has been reshaped in form and phraseology for the *Gesta* under the influence of another from the Vulgate of Ecclesiasticus vii: 40, as the following scheme will show:

<i>Vulgate</i>	In omnibus operibus tuis	memorare nouissima tua
	Quicquid facies	respice mortem
<i>Gesta</i>	Quicquid agas prudenter agas	et respice finem

The end emphasized by the Bible was death, but that of the *Gesta* was merely the consequences of any given action. So *finem* has been substituted for *mortem*. It would seem clear also that the second form in our

1 *C. of E.*, IV, iv, 44-6.

2 Thomas Nashe, *Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (1910), iv, 162.

3 *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Charles Swan (1824), ii, 411.

4 *Ibid.*, ii, 71. Unfortunately this story is not in the English MSS. (S. J. H. Herrtage, *The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum* (E. E. T. S., Extra Series, No. XXXIII, p. 522). So we do not get a contemporary English translation. Herrtage translates, "Before you do anything, think of the consequences."

scheme above is the intermediary between the Vulgate and *Gesta*. That intermediate form appears in the *Polyanthea*, and is there attributed to St. Jerome. "Nihil aeque tibi proficiet ad temperantiam omnium rerum, quam frequens cogitatio brevis aevi: & huius incerti: Quicquid facies: respice mortem."⁵ Incidentally, this total *sententia* has been shrunk into a motto for Maximilian I, A.D. 1493-1519, "Tene mensuram et respice finem."⁶ It will be seen that the *Quicquid* part of the quotation from *Polyanthea* has exactly the same over-all rhetorical form and *sententia* as the proverb. *Quicquid facies* corresponds to *Quicquid agas*; *respice mortem* to *respice finem*; and *prudenter agas* is then inserted. It looks as if the proverb has been trimmed up from the passage which in the *Polyanthea* is attributed to St. Jerome. At least, the proverb and the passage attributed to St. Jerome are not independent.

But I have not been able to find the passage at the reference given in St. Jerome, nor elsewhere in that author. The same passage except for an *ad* inserted between *respice* and *finem* had already appeared in Thomas (Palmer), *Hibernicus*, also under *Mors*, and is there attributed to Seneca, Epistle XXV.⁷ But while there is a similar sentiment in Seneca's Epistle XXV, this phraseology is not there, nor elsewhere in Seneca.⁸ The passage could have served as a heading for that epistle, but I have not found it so used in any edition accessible to me. Incidentally, by the seventeenth century the *Hibernicus* had inserted the passage from the *Polyanthea*; while the *Polyanthea* in turn had added the passage from the *Hibernicus*, so that both collections have the passage twice under *Mors*, once attributed to St. Jerome and once to Seneca, both attributions being wrong it appears. But whence is the passage? The most I can say is that the *Quicquid* part seems to be probably earlier than the *Gesta Romanorum*.

In its Latin form as shaped by the *Gesta Romanorum*, the maxim

⁵ Nannus Mirabellus, *Polyanthea* (Venice, 1503), under *Mors*, giving as reference "Hieronymus in epistola ad Heliodorum."

⁶ E. Marshall, *N. & Q.*, 5th Ser., vi (1876), 314, giving as reference, Prideaux, *Introd. to Hist.* (Oxf., 1682), p. 243.

⁷ *Incipit manipulus florum cōpilatus a magistro Thoma de hibernia ordinis predicatorum* (Placentia, 1483), 04^v (bn).

⁸ My late lamented colleague, Professor W. A. Oldfather, was of the opinion that it is not in Seneca.

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occurs regularly. "Cf. Richard Hill's *Commonplace-Book* (ca.1536, ed. R. Dyboski, E. E. T. S., 1907, p. 131), 'Quicquid agas, prudenter agas, et respice finem, When thou doste any thyng, think on the ende.'"⁹ "It is in the last line but one of the fable 'De Accipitre et Columbis,' in 'Anonymi Fabulae Aesopicae,' *Fabulae Variorum Auctorum* (Francof., 1560, p. 503):—

Si quid agas prudenter agas, et respice finem,
Ferre minora volo, ne graviora feram."¹⁰

"The line (with 'sapienter' for 'prudenter') occurs in *Carminum Proverbialium loci communes* (Lond., 1579), p. 181."¹¹ The sub-title of this collection of H. Germbergius, *Loci Communes, in Gratiam iuuentutis selecti*, shows that it was intended for school use,¹² and there is some evidence that Shakespeare had himself used the collection. Thus the proverbial form in Latin from the *Gesta Romanorum* had very wide currency.

There is also a form of the maxim closely akin in expression to this one, but tracing directly from the Apochrypha. "Hazlitt's *Proverbs*, p. 413 (from a fifteenth-century MS.), 'Think on the end ere you begin, and you will never be thrall to sin.'"¹³ This is Ecclesiasticus vii:40, which is given in *Polyanthea* thus, "In omnibus operibus tuis memorare nouissima tua: et in aeternum non peccabis,"¹⁴ which is St. Jerome's vulgate. The passage which we have been examining above as attributed to St. Jerome but not found in him is only a different translation of part of this verse from Ecclesiasticus. It would thus seem clear that the form of the *Gesta* maxim is descended ultimately from the passage in Ecclesiasticus, though its matter is proximately from the *Turkish Tales*.

But the phrase *respice finem* from this maxim also became entangled

⁹ *Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, ed. H. E. Rollins (1926), p. 196

¹⁰ Marshall, N. & Q., 5th Ser., vi (1876), 313.

¹¹ *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, ed. G. C. M. Smith (1913), p. 283. In Philippus Garnerius's, *Thesaurus Adagiorum Gallico-Latinorum Redditorum In Usum Utriusque Linguae Studiosorum* (Frankfort, 1625), p. 317, it is given with *prudenter*.

¹² T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, i, 525-6; ii, 353-4.

¹³ Rollins, *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 196.

¹⁴ Nannus Mirabellius, *Polyanthea* (Venice, 1503), under *Mors*.

in a tradition from the classics. In an epigram of the *Greek Anthology*, the fundamental teachings of the Seven Sages are summed up, a line to each; and the line upon Solon¹⁵ has helped to propagate our particular phrase of *respice finem*.

366.—ΑΔΗΛΟΝ

Ἀποφθέγματα τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν
Ἑπτὰ σοφῶν ἐρέω κατ' ἔπος πόλιν, οὔνομα, φωνήν.
Μέτρον μὲν κλεόβουλος ὁ Λίνδιος εἶπεν ἄριστον·
Χίλων δ' ἐν κοίλῃ Λακεδαιμόνι, Γνώθι σεαυτόν.
ὃς δὲ Κόρινθον ἔναιε Χόλου κρατέειν Περίανδρος.
Πιττακός, Οὐδὲν ἄγαν, ὃς ἔην γένος ἐκ Μυτιλήνης.
Τέρμα δ' ὄραν βιότοις, Σόλων ἱεραῖς ἐν Ἀθήναις.
Τοὺς πλέονας κακίους δὲ βίας ἀπέφηνε Πριηνεύς.
Ἐγγύην φεύγειν δὲ Θάλῃς Μιλήσιος ἠῦδα.

336.—Anonymous

Sayings of the Seven Sages

I will tell you in verse the cities, names, and sayings of the seven sages. Cleobulus of Lindus said that measure was best; Chilon in hollow Lacedaemon said "Know thyself"; and Periander, who dwelt in Corinth, "Master anger"; Pittacus, who was from Mytilene, said "Naught in excess"; and Solon, in holy Athens, "Look at the end of life"; Bias of Priene declared that most men are evil, and Thales of Miletus said "Shun suretyship."¹⁶

Timothy Kendall in 1577 presents a translation of this "epigram" into English "Ovt of Greek."

The seven sages names, sayynges, and
countryes, in seven verses.

The Cittyes 7. whereas the 7. wise masters rare
Were borne, their names, and sayyngs 7. 7. verses shall declare.
Cleobulus of Lindia said, a meane doth all excell.
Wise Pittacus of Mittelen, said, measure beares the bell.
Chilon of Lacedemon said, take heede thy selfe to know.
Of Corinth Periander said, to anger be thou slowe.
Sage Solon the Athenian said, for ay respect the ende.

¹⁵ For a summary of occurrences of this *sententia* in the classics, tracing from Aeschylus and Solon, see R. C. Jebb, *Sophocles* (1887), Part I, pp. 199–200. For the sixteenth-century forms, see Erasmus, *Adagia* (Basle, 1574), Pt. I, pp. 89–90; Pt. II, p. 310.

¹⁶ W. R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology* (1916–8), iii, 198–201.

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Wise Thales of Miliesium said, nought promise to thy frende.
Last, Bias of Priaenium said, all thinges to mischeffe bende.¹⁷

Now Kendall's translation of the Greek verb ὀράω in Solon's saying as "respect" is quite peculiar. For Stephanus gives the Latin equivalents for its literal meaning as "Video, Cerno, Aspicio," and for its metaphorical as "Animaduerto, Intelligo, Attēdo, Considero . . . Expendo, Examino . . . Considera, & Specta . . . Do operam, Prouideo" (pp. 1416-7). But R. Constantinus points out also "pro caueo in sacris literis, & respicio, id est, faueo," though even this is not Kendall's translation of *respice*. For it is evidently the Latin word *respicio* which has begotten Kendall's "respect." So we suspect immediately that Kendall may have had a Latin translation along with the Greek.

A Latin translation attributed to "Georg. Hermonymus" gives the line as "Cerne Solon vitae finem, sacris in Athenis," and one attributed to "Herm. A Noua Aquila Co." reads "Atticus hinc Solon (vitae, inquit respice finem)."¹⁸ It will be noticed that this second translation brings in *respice finem*.¹⁹ It was apparently Juvenal who furnished the verb for this phrase in the Latin translation.

Et Croesum, quem vox iusti facunda Solonis
RESPICERE AD longae iussit spacia vltima vitae.²⁰

A sketchy comparison appears to show clearly that Kendall has translated his Greek epigrams as a collection with the aid of the parallel Latin versions from this particular collection by Ianus Cornarius. The reason for Kendall's translation as "respect the ende" is evident; he was translating *respice finem*.

The Greek Anthology has another bridge in Ausonius, with his Latin translation of these sayings of the Seven Sages. Ausonius translates the Solon line into Latin as

Expectare Solon finem docet, ortus Athenis.²¹

¹⁷ Timothy Kendall, *Flowers of Epigrammes* (1577), fol. 63^r.

¹⁸ I. Cornarius, *Selecta Epigrammata Graeca Latine Versa* (Basle, 1529), p. 135.

¹⁹ Thomas Farnaby, in *Florilegium Epigrammatum Graecorum* (1629), includes this epigram with a Latin translation by Iustus Otho, in which the Solon line runs, "Atticus atque Solon, *Vitae modo respice finem*" (p. 108).

²⁰ E. Lubin, *Juvenal* (Hannoviae, 1619), p. 441; X, 274-5.

²¹ Ausonius (Lyons, 1575), p. 120.

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Consequently, he also represents Solon as saying

Spectare vitae iubeo cunctos terminum.²²

Dico tunc beatam vitam, quum peracta facta sint.²³

This last phraseology appears among the *Dicta Sapientum* attached to the school *Cato* as

Dico tunc vitam beatam, fata cum peracta sunt.

Nemo beatus, nisi qui feliciter obierit diem.²⁴

In some forms of *Cato* appear *Aliquot Sententiae insignes*, the Solon group containing *Vitae finem spectato*. The second verse of the first passage from *Cato* above is an adaptation of Ovid, who had said,

... beatus

Ante obitum nemo, supremaq; funera debet.²⁵

Regius called attention, of course, to the fact that this *sententia* belonged to Solon,²⁶ and every little boy is certain to have been forced at this passage to learn more about Solon's sentiment.

The resultant distich in "Cato" was Englished by Alexander Neville in his translation of Seneca's *Oedipus* (1563). In half a dozen lines which have no original in Seneca he says:

And thou that subiect art to death. Regard thy latter day.

Thinke no man blest before his ende. Advise thee well and stay.

Be sure his lyfe, and death, and all, be quight exempt from mysery:

Ere thou do once presume to say: this man is blest and happy.²⁷

The first line of this passage is *respice finem*, the following three the *Cato* distich, though Taverner translates the phrase as if it were the distich: "Prayse no man for blessed and happy tyll thou se the ende of hys lyfe."²⁸

These sayings of the Seven Sages also came into English in full form

²² *Ibid.*, p. 112.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

²⁴ *Cato* (Paris, 1527), fol. 66^r.

²⁵ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, iii, 136-7 (Venice, 1574), p. 63.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Seneca (1581), *Oedipus*, Act V, chorus between first and second scenes, fol. 92^v. I suppose this is the passage to which Professor Rollins (*Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 196) refers as in Act IV.

²⁸ R. Traverer, *The Flowers of Sencies* (1574), A6^v, (S.T.C. 10446).

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through Alciat, who phrases the Solon saying as "Respexisse Solon finem iubet."²⁹ Minois quotes the Greek, and the Latin version which we found in the background of Kendall, the Solon line being

Atticus hinc Solon, vitae, inquit, respice finem.³⁰

Incidentally, the "Respexisse . . . finem" of Alciat shows that he was paraphrasing this same Latin version. Whitney in 1586 used the 1581 Plantin edition of this form of Alciat,³¹ translating the Solon line into English as

And solon sai'd, *Remember still thy ende.*³²

It will be seen that Whitney is in this line translating from the Latin version of the Greek rather than from Alciat himself. So Kendall, Alciat, and Whitney have all shown the influence of this Latin version with its *respice finem*. But Whitney translates *respice* as remember, not as respect as do Kendall and Shakespeare.

Detached uses of the phrase *respice finem* belong to these various traditions. "*Respice finem* is of frequent occurrence, at least from 1550, at which date it is used, as if a well-known Latin tag, in Latimer's *Sermon at Stamford*, towards end."³³ The passage from Latimer is "Well, let them rayle, let them doo what they canne agaynste the truth, *Respice finem*: marke the ende."³⁴ It seems most likely that Latimer is thinking in terms of the maxim from *Gesta Romanorum*.

Professor Tilley adds a few instances of this English phraseology of *Mark the end*. "Florio, *First Fruites*, 33: Mark the end.—Marlowe, *Edward the Second* (II. 1. 16) in Neilson's *The Chief Elizabethan Dramatists*, 130: But he is banish'd; there's small hope of him . . . Ay, for a while; but, Baldock, mark the end.—Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Loyal Subject*, II. vi: They must now grace him . . . Mark but the end."³⁵ The reference in Florio should be 32^v, and the Italian is "*Riguarda il fine*," which is a translation of *Respice finem*.

29 *Omnia Andreae Alciati V. C. Emblemata* (Amsterdam, 1573), p. 475 (Emblem 186).

30 *Ibid.*, p. 476. Minois refers also to Ausonius.

31 Henry Green, *Whitney's "Choice of Emblemes"* (1866), pp. 244-6.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 130.

33 McKerrow, *Nashe*, iv, 162.

34 H. Latimer, *Certain Godly Sermons* (1562), Pt. I, fol. 102^v; *Sermon at Stamford*, October 9, 1550, morning, toward end of sermon.

35 M. P. Tilley, *Elizabethan Proverb Lore*, p. 136.

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Three instances in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, all noted by Rollins, are in the *Cato* tradition. Poem 22 (1576) is headed *Respice finem*, and begins

To be as wyse as CATO was,
Or ritch as CRESVS in his life.³⁶

This is clearly the Solon tradition, as is shown by the mention of Cato and Croesus. It was to Croesus that Solon, according to one story, had given this advice,³⁷ and as we have seen, the sayings of Solon were attached to the school *Cato*.

Another use of the phrase in the *Paradise* also belongs to the *Cato* tradition. Among the additional poems in the edition of 1578 is one by "G. Whetstones" entitled "Verses written of 20. good precepts, at the request of his Especiall good freend & kinseman, M. Robart Cudden of Grayes Inne." Cudden had assigned him twenty themes upon which to write a stanza each. The twentieth, appropriately enough, is

Thinke on thy end. the tyde for none doth waight,
Euen so pale death, for no mans wil doth stay:
Then while thou mayst thy worldly reckning straight,
Least when thou wouldest Death doth goodwil dismay.³⁸

Professor Rollins has pointed out that "most of those precepts . . . come either from Dionysius Cato's distichs or from the brief sentences that precede them."³⁹ As we have seen, this twentieth precept belongs to the matter attached to, and all going under the name of, *Cato* in the school editions of the sixteenth century; and the other unallocated themes could probably also be found in these school editions. Every schoolmaster set such themes for verse efforts.

A third instance appears in *Golden precepts*, among the additions of 1585.

Ere thou doest promise make, consider well the ende.⁴⁰

Professor Rollins notes that this poem "borrows considerably from

36 *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, ed. H. E. Rollins (1927), p. 17; cf. p. 199.

37 See, for instance, Cooper's *Thesaurus*, under *Croesus*, with cross-reference from *Solon*.

38 Rollins, *Paradise*, p. 111.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 260.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 127.

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themes in Cato's distichs,"⁴¹ and gives details. Thus all three instances in *The Paradise* have *Cato* connections, the statements in *Cato* themselves stemming from Ausonius.

Collier has pointed out that Ulpian Fulwell in *The First part of the eight liberale science; Entitled Ars Adulandi* (1576) ends his fourth dialogue with *Respice finem*, and in the margin of the edition of 1579 parallels with "All's Well That Ends Well." Here is a companion proverb, also used by Shakespeare, whose proverb in turn brings along a companion.

ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL: still the fine's the crown;
Whate'er the course, the end is the renown.⁴²

So Shakespeare brings in *finis coronat opus* in double translation, and equates it with "All's well that ends well," which Fulwell had paralleled with *respice finem*, which Shakespeare also uses. The *finis coronat opus* is used in *Troilus and Cressida* also:

the end crowns all,
And that old common arbitrator, Time,
Will one day end it.⁴³

This passage Professor Rollins quotes in parallel to "The end of eu'ry worke doth crowne the same."⁴⁴ The proverb is quoted in French, "La fin couronne les oeuvres," in 2 *Henry VI*, V, ii, 28; and Professor Tilley would add, "Let the end try the man" in 2 *Henry IV*, II, ii, 50.⁴⁵

There is also an instance in *A Gorgeous Gallery* (1578), where *Respice finem* serves as the title of a poem, and *Mors omnibus communis* as an ending, with fitting sentiments between.⁴⁶ The English translation is not literal.

Lo here the state of euery mortall wight,
See here, the fine, of all their gallant ioyes.

This is the interpretation put upon the saying of Solon. Incidentally, Shakespeare echoes also *Mors omnibus communis*.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 267.

42 *All's W.*, IV, iv, 35-6.

43 *Troilus*, IV, v, 224-6.

44 *The Phoenix Nest*, ed. H. E. Rollins (1931), p. 202.

45 Tilley, *Proverb Lore*, p. 136. For a list of cognates, see R. Jente, *The Proverbs of Shakespeare* (1926), p. 414.

46 Rollins, *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 99.

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Thou know'st 'tis common; all that lives must die,
Passing through nature to eternity.
Ay, madam, it is common.⁴⁷

In their translation of *respice* as "respect" Kendall and Shakespeare are joined by one G. C., who has a poem on this theme in *A Pitious platforme of an oppressed mynde, set downe by the extreme surmyzes of sundrye distressed meditations by G. C.*,⁴⁸ undated but 1576-77. G. C. had recently set himself "to write these verses a newe" and to publish them. They are mostly upon "themes," as he himself recognizes in an effort upon *Audaces fortuna uiuat*, to which he refers thus:

And yet my theame saith, fortune helps the bold.

Many of his themes are from the Psalms. His first poem, "the Tree of his estate," ends thus:

Voutchsafe in weale my silly Soule to wrap,
In thy sweete armes lorde let me clasped be. *Amen.*
Nemo ante obitum beatus.

This Latin *sententia*, shaped from Ovid, is repeated at the end of another poem toward the last of his pamphlet.

In his poem upon the theme of *Respice finem*, the first stanza closes:

But what thou dost respect thy ende.

The second,

Is, what thou dost respect thy end.

The third,

In what thou dost respect the end.

The fourth,

In what thou dost respect the end.

The fifth,

But what thou dost respect thy ende.

Ne immemor sis mortis

n'oublie pas mors

*Finis. quod. G. C.*⁴⁹

⁴⁷ *Ham.*, I, ii, 72 ff.; Rollins, *Gorgeous Gallery*, p. 196.

⁴⁸ University Microfilm 11377, from Huntington copy.

⁴⁹ Reprinted in E. Farr, *Select Poetry* (Parker Society, 1845), ii, 266; referred to by Rollins, *Paradise*, p. 199.

This poem is built squarely on the proverb, and G. C. has twice used the trimmed-up statement from Ovid; but his English translation of *respice finem* is the same as Kendall's, and this phraseology Shakespeare is later to use.

Who borrowed from whom? Kendall's work was entered February 25, 1577, and bears that year upon its title-page. G. C. speaks of the time "When I was beginning to write these verses a newe," evidently for publication, which occurred at some time in 1576-77. So the time of publication as well as the coincidence in phraseology of the English translation shows that G. C. and Kendall are not independent. If the connection occurred from print, it would then seem the more probable that Kendall was the borrower, as would also be indicated by the fact that G. C. had written his poems as a collection some time before they came to print. The *respice finem* belongs squarely to the proverb tradition and is backed up elsewhere by the *sententia* from Ovid. G. C. does not reflect the direct tradition from the Greek Anthology, while Kendall reflects only that tradition. The common bond is the phrase *respice finem*, translated by Kendall as "respect the end," and by G. C. thrice as "respect thy end," twice as "respect the end." But both G. C. and Kendall may, of course, have had some as yet undiscovered common source for their English translation.

It is also clear that Shakespeare, with his "respect your end" had from some source the same English translation. He could have had both the Latin phrase and his English translation, with *your* substituted for *thy*, from G. C., where both are emphasized. On the other hand, memorizing the Latin statement on the Seven Sages and Kendall's English translation would give the Latin phrase and his English translation of it except *your* substituted for *the*. In this method the phrase would be even more emphasized as the quintessence of Solon's teaching. Shakespeare's English phraseology is perhaps a bit closer to that of G. C. As to probability between Kendall and G. C., it would be the merest accident if Shakespeare ever happened upon the work of G. C., and that work, including this particular poem, is not the kind of thing which is known to have impressed Shakespeare. It is only the phrase that he reflects. That was much more likely to have been thrust upon him as a statement of Solon's fundamental doctrine. Shakespeare reflects some form of cer-

tain other of these sentiments, as for instance that of Cleobulus concerning the mean;⁵⁰ but not in such a way as to make it certain that he knew the stanza.

There is a direct reference to Solon's sentiment in *Titus Andronicus*:

But safer triumph is this funeral pomp,
That hath aspired to Solon's happiness
And triumphs over chance in honour's bed.⁵¹

Malone points out, "the maxim of Solon here alluded to is, that no man can be pronounced to be happy before his death:

. . . ultima semper
Expectanda dies homini; dicique beatus
Ante obitum nemo, supremaque funera, debet. *Ovid*."⁵²

It will be remembered that Regius was always at the reader's elbow to remind him that this is Solon's sentiment. So the author of these lines in a play of doubtful authorship knew Solon's sentiment as phrased by Ovid, but does not reflect *respice finem*.

We must also remember always that there are certain to be other as yet undiscovered places where this Latin phrase and English translation of it occur in print. The instances which never saw print or even writing must have been legion. It was everywhere. So while we cannot be certain of Shakespeare's exact source, yet it is at least clear that Shakespeare fits into this particular tradition.

Here, then, we have had a brief sketch of the background for *respice finem* as a single phrase. But Shakespeare reflects a still further complication. For he puns *respice finem* with *respice funem*. As Warburton noted long since, "These words [of Shakespeare's] seem to allude to a famous pamphlet of that time, wrote by *Buchanan* against the Lord of *Liddington*; which ends with these words, *Respice finem, respice funem*. But to what purpose, unless our Author would shew that he could quibble as well in *English*, as the other in *Latin*, I confess I know not."⁵³

It is not likely, however, that Shakespeare is referring directly to the

⁵⁰ Cf. *Merch.*, I, ii, 8, where it is recognized as a "good sentence."

⁵¹ *Titus*, I, i, 176-8.

⁵² Shakespeare, *Plays and Poems*, ed. Boswell-Malone (Variorum, 1821), xxi, 271.

⁵³ Shakespeare, *Works*, ed. W. Warburton (1747), iii, 253-4.

pamphlet, which seems not to have attained print till the eighteenth century. But the instance does show that the pun had been perpetrated by 1570. Shakespeare gives a construe with translation, grammar school style, of this punned form, "Mistress, *respice finem*, respect your end; or rather . . . [*respice funem*] beware the rope's end." Like a parrot, Dromio prophesies a rope's end for his mistress, and warns her accordingly to watch out for her own end, where the rope's end would be vigorously applied. For to that end Dromio had been sent by his master to buy a rope's end. It was this actual rope's end which had dragged in *respice funem*, beware the rope's end, and had then obfuscated into its companion pun *respice finem*, with its consequent *double entendre*, respect your end. It is thus evident that Shakespeare already knew the pun, and that the rope's end business merely induced it, with consequent developments in application.

Thomas Nashe in 1592 applied the second half of this pun, *respice funem*, to the rope-making activities of Gabriel Harvey's father. Nashe in an answer to Harvey had early said, "Penurie not long tarries after pride; pray all the ropes in *Saffron Walden* that I do not prophesie."⁵⁴ Harvey had already resented an earlier reminder of the Saffron Walden ropes, "Somewhat hee mutters of *defamation and iust commendation*, & what a hell it is for him, that hath built his heauen in vaine-glory, to bee puld by the sleeue and bidde *Respice funem*, looke backe to his Fathers house."⁵⁵ Nashe has translated *respice* literally as "looke backe to." The *funem*, rope, he has expanded figuratively as "his Father's house," referring to the rope-making activities thereof, whereof Harvey found it a hell to be reminded. So Nashe uses only one half of the pun to taunt Harvey with a rope.⁵⁶

Decker in 1601 also approaches from the rope's end, as noted by Steevens, "but come: *Respice funem*; looke, thou seest."⁵⁷ Tucca is challenging Asinius Bubo, and exhibits some instrument of offense as he desires him to look upon his death.

Shakespeare adds yet another complication by connecting the parrot

⁵⁴ McKerrow, *Nashe*, i, 267.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 268.

⁵⁶ It is thus clear that Shakespeare cannot possibly be dependent on Nashe in this passage, since the latter had only *respice funem*, but not *respice finem*, etc.; see Donald J. McGinn, "Nashe's Share in the Marprelate Controversy," *PMLA*, lix (1944), 956-8.

⁵⁷ H. Scherer, *Satiromastix* (1907), p. 49.

with the rope business. Here John Lyly will explain the allusion. In *Mother Bombie* we have

Rix. . . .

The goose does hisse, the duck cries quack;

A Rope the Parrot, that holds tack.

The Pages. The parrat and the rope be thine

Rix. The hanging yours, but the hempe mine.⁵⁸

Again in *Midas*

Licio. Well, she hath the tongue of a Parrat.

Pet. Thats a leaden dagger in a veluette sheath, to haue a black tongue in a faire mouth.

Licio. Tush, it is not for the blacknesse, but for the babling, for euerie houre she wil crie "walk knaue, walke."

Pet. Then will I mutter, "a rope for Parrat, a rope."

Licio. So maist thou be hanged, not by the lippes, but by the neck.⁵⁹

So on the authority of Lyly, parrots were taught to say "walk knaue, walk," and to call for a rope. The knave had to "walk" in order to make the rope in the first place, with which he would be hanged in the second.

John Taylor, the water poet, confirms Lyly in both particulars, and hints at still others.

Why doth the parrat cry, a rope, a rope?
Because hee's cag'd in prison out of hope.
Why doth the parrat call, a boate, a boate?
It is the humour of his idle note.
O pretty Pall, take heed, beware the cat;
Let watermen alone, no more of that.
Since I so idly heard the parrat talke,
In his owne language I say, Walke, knave, walke.⁶⁰

Thus Shakespeare has bestowed upon Dromio the parrot's privilege of prophesying concerning ropes, though he does not allude to other items in the parrot's repertoire. Since Dromio had bought that rope, he very well might prophesy to his mistress as to its intended use and warn

⁵⁸ *Mother Bombie*, III, iv, 56-9. Shakespeare borrowed the name Dromio from this play (Baldwin, *Five-Act Structure*, p. 700).

⁵⁹ *Midas*, I, ii, 40-6.

⁶⁰ Shakespeare, *Works*, ed. Halliwell (1853-6), iii, 420. As Warburton noted, Butler in *Hudibras* also has the parrot call for a rope and walking.

her to avoid it. And we must not forget that it was an actual rope's end which had induced all this rope complex.

It will be seen that most of the materials for this passage would come to Shakespeare out of the very air, as it were. But the fundamental element, *respice finem*, "respect your end," has a specific form. In that combination it does not belong to the *Gesta* proverb, nor to the Ausonius-Cato tradition, but to the direct line from the Greek Anthology. It is the *respice finem* of the old Latin translation and the "respect the end" of Timothy Kendall's English translation from the Greek as influenced by that translation. As we have seen, however, G. C. has also the English phraseology. The fairly strong probability is that Shakespeare had at some time memorized the Latin translation of this Greek epigram summarizing the sayings of the Seven Sages, and along with it Timothy Kendall's English translation of the epigram. This is exactly the kind of passage any teacher of the time would have forced a pupil to memorize for content, and he would have forced him to memorize it in the Latin and English, if not also in the Greek. Further, Kendall's version appeared in 1577, when Shakespeare should in school have been a shining mark for just such a process. It could have been done merely in the interest of moral information; but it could also have been done in the interests of his "lesse Greeke." The most that we can say, however, is that it represents good grammar school procedure and consequently that it was probably acquired in grammar school. There is nothing to indicate with any degree of definiteness whence Shakespeare had the pun *respice funem*. But any grammar school boy was certain to have a sardonic appreciation of that grim reminder to respect his end. Dromio expects all Ephesus; that is, London, to understand and appreciate the pun.

"THIS STRANGE EVENTFUL HISTORY"¹

By SAMUEL C. CHEW

Three hundred and eighty-three years ago today an infant, destined to become one of the greatest and most illustrious of men, set out upon the adventurous journey of human life. Some three-and-thirty years later, Shakespeare, then *nel mezzo del cammin*, composed the familiar account of one such strange eventful history.

All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players;
They have their exits and their entrances,
And one man in his time plays many parts,
His acts being seven ages.

The lines are spoken by Jaques; and they are spoken in character. It is always a mistake to seek for the poet's own opinions in the words of his *dramatis personae*; and it is particularly erroneous to do so when the opinions are put into the mouth of a jaded libertine, an affected mal-content, a comic character. The theatrical tradition is quite mistaken which permits the actor to deliver these sententious commonplaces as though they were a profound epitome of human experience.² In his description of the Seven Ages Jaques seems to be elaborating upon his own report (two scenes earlier) of Touchstone's words:

And thus from hour to hour we ripe, and ripe,
And then from hour to hour we rot, and rot.

"And thereby," he adds cryptically, "hangs a tale." Is not that "tale" the "history" subsequently narrated? For all his experience of foreign lands, for all his sophistication, Jaques' knowledge of life was limited. The seven parts played by man upon the great stage of the world are, according to him, the mewling and puking infant, the whining school-

¹ In a form adapted to an "understanding auditory"—that is, with lantern-slides and without footnotes—this article was an address at the Folger Shakespeare Library, April 23, 1947, on the occasion of the annual celebration of Shakespeare's birthday. The text is here printed as then delivered, but it has been buttressed with footnotes—references and amplifications. Even so, the space-factor now, as the time-factor then, has made exhaustive treatment impossible.

² See John Palmer, *Comic Characters in Shakespeare* (1946), pp. 50-1.

boy, the sighing lover, the boastful soldier, the prosing justice, the shrinking pantaloons, and the decrepit old man. There are no toys in infancy; no playmates in boyhood; no hunting or hawking or jousting in youth; no commerce or industry in middle-life; no "honour, love, obedience, troops of friends" such as should accompany old age. There is no companion on the journey through the years. The schoolboy trudges to school alone. The lover is not in his sweetheart's company. Who harkened to the soldier's oaths or to the wise saws of the justice? Who ministered to the wants of the old man? Nowhere (as the late John Palmer remarked) is there any indication that "anyone has truly striven, aspired, suffered, meditated, or seen beyond the end of his nose." Plainly, this is Jaques speaking; this is not Shakespeare's reading of life.

Here as everywhere in the plays the commentators have busied themselves with *quellenstudien*.³ But to conduct this audience upon a source-hunting expedition would be a poor and pedantic way to celebrate the poet's birthday, even if the quest were not futile, as I believe it is. No convincingly precise source of Jaques' speech has ever been found. Shakespeare was doubtless acquainted with various renderings—in poetry, in prose, and in the arts of design—of the great traditional theme of the Ages of Human Life; and once that assumption is made, surely we may attribute to his own powers of observation the knowledge that babies mewl and puke, that boys go unwillingly to school, that lovers are wont to express their passion in verse, that soldiers—some soldiers—swear, that justices—some justices—are pompous and rotund, that elderly folk like slippered ease, and that the very aged lose their memory and their teeth. He did not need to consult solemn and bulky treatises to assemble such information.

3 See the commentators on the passage in *A Y. L. L.*, especially in the Halliwell-Phillipps, New Variorum, Arden, and Kittredge editions. Important older studies are J. W. Jones, "Observations on the Origin of the Division of Man's Life into Stages," *Archaeologia*, xxxv (1853), 167-89; and J. G. Waller, "Christian Iconography and Legendary Art: The Wheel of Human Life, or the Seven Ages," *Gentleman's Magazine*, xxxix (1853), 494-502. Recently the quest of Shakespeare's "source" has been renewed. See J. W. Draper, "Jaques' 'Seven Ages' and Bartholomew Anglicus," *M.L.N.*, liv (1939), 273-6; A. H. Gilbert, "Jaques' 'Seven Ages' and Censorius," *M.L.N.*, lv (1940), 103-05; D. C. Allen, "Jaques' 'Seven Ages' and Pedro Mexia," *M.L.N.*, lvi (1941), 601-03; J. W. Bennett, "Jaques' Seven Ages," *The Shak. Assoc. Bull.*, xviii (1943), 168-74. In the opinion of the present writer all four discussions fail to carry conviction.

But he must have had some knowledge of contemporary discussions of the physiological, psychological, astrological, and metaphysical aspects of the problem of the division of man's life-span. Did he rely upon his hearers sharing in that knowledge? The "spontaneity of response" which he sought always to evoke from his audience came, in the case of Jaques' speech as in so many other incidents in the plays, not from the pleasure of surprise but from the pleasure of recognition. There were probably among the spectators at the Globe some—the very ignorant and the very young—who had never heard of the problem of the Ages; groundlings whose ears were tickled by mere novelty. But Shakespeare did not aim to please only the groundlings. There were the wiser sort who would catch overtones of association and would recognize, as they listened to Jaques, that here was something that had oft been thought but ne'er so well expressed. Some of them may have seen the Ages depicted in stained-glass windows or in frescoes or in engravings. Others may have been reminded of morality plays patterned upon the scheme of the Ages. Others may have recalled the learned writers who discussed the problem of the proper number of the Ages; their division into periods of years; the number of years included in each period; the characteristic indications of demarcation between each and the next following; the physiological and psychological mutations; the control exercised by the four seasons or the seven planets; and so forth. Learned inquirers and theorists appealed to the authority of antiquity.⁴ Aristotle had made three divisions; Pythagoras, Horace, and Ovid, four; Marcus Varro, five; Solon, St. Augustine, Avicenna, Isidore of Seville, and the Venerable Bede, six; Hippocrates, the famous seven. Galen, Proclus,

⁴ Many authorities are cited in Pedro Mexia (Mejia), *Silva de varia leccion* (Seville, 1542) of which an English translation of parts, from the French version by Claude Grugnet (1552), was made by Thomas Fortesque, entitled *The Foreste or Collection of Histories, no lesse profitable, then pleasant and necessarie* (1571; reprinted by John Daye, 1576). Of this Book I, chapter 17 is on "The distinction of the Age of Man, accordinge to the opinion of most Astrologians." It includes the opinions of many others besides "astrologians." The material reappears in the great miscellany of erudition which was made for William Jaggard, probably by Thomas Milles, from Mexia and other continental writers, and published as *The Treasurie of Auncient and Moderne Times* (1613). See Book IV, chapter 15, pp. 336-9. From resemblances between part of Mexia's discussion of the Ages and Jaques' speech Professor Allen has argued that Shakespeare must either have known the French version of Mexia or else have seen Milles' translation in manuscript. Neither hypothesis is necessary, for two editions of Fortesque's version were accessible.

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Philo Judaeus, and other writers—philosophers, astronomers, physicians, poets—were cited in support of this, that, or the other opinion. Mediaeval England had not neglected the problem.⁵ Analogies had been found in the apocalyptic divisions of world-history;⁶ in the parable of the workers in the vineyard;⁷ in the steps or stages of the education of the young. The subject might be associated with some other traditional motif in literature and the fine arts.

The pseudo-sciences of the Renaissance are today discredited; but the theme of the Ages remains attractive because it is an easily apprehensible generalization from an experience that is at once individual and universal. If we live long enough we grow up, and if we live longer we grow old. We have an advantage over the first audience at the Globe—the accumulated advantage of three and a half centuries. The passage of time has enriched the associations attaching to Jaques' speech. That audience could be reminded only of earlier versions of the theme, but we may remind ourselves of what has followed after; and to us (not to mention the parallels in literature) the lines suggest associations stretching from the carved portal of the Baptistery in Parma to the mosaics in the most beautiful of modern buildings, the Town Hall in Stockholm. The Swedish artist of our own day was well versed in traditional iconography, and his designs are representative of the subject's norm. In

5 For example, the fourteenth-century *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, and (much more elaborately) the fifteenth-century *Ratis Raving*.

6 Following St. Augustine and Bede and in line with the custom of paralleling the macrocosm and the microcosm, writers frequently bring together the two sequences of the Ages of the World and the Ages of Man. In accordance with the belief that the Seventh Age of the World will be ushered in at the Last Judgment, the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (ed. Albert Way, Camden Society, xxv, 7) assigns only six Ages to this transitory life of man because, as in sequences of history, "Septem erit in resurrectione finali." This is echoed by John Swan, in his *Speculum Mundi* (1635), pp. 15-8, where, following Du Bartas, he asserts: "The seventh age shall begin at the resurrection."

7 The whole of life is passed in swift review in the reliefs on the right-hand door-post of the West portal of the Baptistery in Parma (thirteenth century). These are based upon St. Augustine's exposition of the parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard (Matt. 20) in terms of the Six Periods of World History and Six Ages of Human Life. The parable mentions the early morning, the third hour, the sixth, the ninth, and the eleventh. The Vine meanders up the door-post. The several episodes are not well differentiated, but inscriptions enable us to interpret them. At the bottom one reads "Prima etas Seculi," corresponding to Infancy. Then come "Hora Tercia: Puericia"; "Hora Sexta: Adulescentia"; "Hora Nona: Iuventus"; and then Gravitas and Senectus share the eleventh hour between them. At the top the Master of the Vineyard, called "Pater Familias," is paying the laborers their wages.

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the great room called the "Golden Hall" (which rivals Monreale in glistening, subdued splendor) the Ages of Human Life form one of many symbolic, stylized representations of ideas. First, an infant is shown in its cradle; then come children playing, one of them chasing a butterfly; then a youth rides on horseback while another youth makes love to a young woman; then an older man is shown bowed down with the weight of responsibilities symbolized by a rock upon his shoulders, and leading a child by the hand; then an aged man and woman hobble on crutches through the last years of life; and finally a hearse is drawn by black horses. We shall meet with sequences of earlier date in which the Ages, whatever their number, are followed by this inevitable *coda*.

Just as Mr. Carpenter has composed his ingenious and charming piece of program-music, "The Seven Ages of Man," in seven separate movements, so the illustrators of Jaques' speech have often made sequences of seven separate designs. Many such series are here in the Folger Shakespeare Library; and you all know the great stained-glass window which dominates the reading-room. Other artists have grouped the Seven into one company, as in William Mulready's painting in the Victoria and Albert Museum which shows a chaotic variety of incidents—from suckling an infant to ministering to the dying—all going on at the same time in the same place.⁸ In the *Punch* Almanack for 1896 a scion of the royal house is the mewling infant, Mr. Gladstone is the lean and slippered pantaloon, and Mr. Punch plays the part of Jaques. Some of you may have seen those models of Shakespeare's birthplace which tourists in Victorian days could purchase at Stratford and in which little figurines representing the Ages are assembled together on a lawn in front of the house. Our concern, however, is not with these and other kinds of parasitic growths upon Shakespeare's fame but with the great tradition of which his lines form a part.

In the simplest renderings of the theme the Ages may be designated merely by numerals without differentiated types of humanity for each period along the way. Thus, in a fifteenth-century German woodcut⁹

⁸ Reproduced in color in *Shakespeare in Pictorial Art* (Special Spring Number of *The Studio*, 1916), p. 99.

⁹ This print is dated ca. 1488. It is reproduced in W. L. Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1927), iv, no. 1861 (with label in

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Life is represented as a bridge. A Pilgrim is crossing it; a fiend clutches at him from behind; and Death awaits him at the farther end. The bridge rises to the middle and then declines again, according to the pattern of life; and its planks are numbered by half-decades from five to ninety-five. Here the motif of the Ages is obviously conflated with the motif of the Pilgrimage of Human Life, much as it appears in some of the morality plays. In *The Castle of Perseverance* the protagonist, Humanum Genus, first enters as an infant, announcing that "this night I was of my mother born." Later on, his age is twice specified; at one point he is forty years old and at another, sixty.¹⁰ In *Mundus et Infans*, another morality, the protagonist does not possess throughout life a single generic name such as Humanum Genus or Mankind or Everyman, but has different names during different stages of his pilgrimage. His mother named him Daliance, but when he was six years old the World named him Wanton. At fourteen his name was changed to Love-Lust-Liking, and at twenty-one to Manhood. Later, Folly imposed upon him the name of Shame; and in old age Conscience bestowed upon him the name Repentance. In this text, then, the two themes—the Ages and the Pilgrimage—are completely fused.

The rising and falling pattern made by the humped bridge in the German woodcut and suggested in the morality plays is frequently found in designs of the Ages. In the upper semicircle of a round window in the cathedral of Amiens there are seventeen figures (the number has no significance), undifferentiated except that those on the upward slope are young and beardless and those on the downward are old and bearded. The scheme is related to, but independent of, the well-known windows illustrating the Wheel of Fortune at Basle and Verona. A rising and declining stairway is so obvious and impressive an image for the course of Life that it remained popular from the sixteenth century till the nineteenth. The earliest example of this arrangement seems to be a *Memento Mori* print, dated 1540, by Jörg Breu the Younger.¹¹

German) and no. 1861a (with label in Latin). It is called the "Spiegel der vernunft" or "Speculum rationis." In my description I have disregarded some subsidiary symbols such as the Tables of the Law and a clock which is depicted above the figure of Death.

¹⁰ *The Castle of Perseverance*, lines 276, 419, 1578, and 2483 f.

¹¹ Passavant, *Le Peintre-Graveur*, iii, 381, 31. Reproduced in Raimond Van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane*, ii (The Hague, 1932), p. 164, fig. 189. Breu does not indicate

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Human life proceeds from babyhood to extreme old age, upward to the topmost step (the fifth) where stands a stalwart man in his prime, and then downward to extreme age. At the top, behind the central figure, Death threatens, and beneath the central arch the Last Judgment is depicted. The abrupt, unmodulated change from infancy to young manhood is in contrast to the usual elaborate attention devoted to early years. The infant's hand, raised in aspiration,¹² should be remarked; we shall meet with this symbolic gesture again. At the knees of the oldest man is another infant, perhaps representative of "second childishness" but also, perhaps, representative of the next generation, just as when, in *The Castle of Perseverance*, Death comes to Humanum Genus, he is accompanied by Garcio. In recesses beneath the human figures are nine animals, each emblematic of an Age. It must suffice to note the lion of pride for the fourth Age and the dozing cat and stupid ass of the last two Ages. The convention of these animals was never firmly established, and their appropriateness is not always evident. In different versions we find them shifted about; the cat, for example, is sometimes emblematic of childhood because it likes to play and sometimes of old age because it likes to doze by the fire. Animals are, as you know, often attached to the Deadly Sins; and in turn each Sin may be associated with a particular Age: Gluttony with childhood; Lechery with youth; Wrath and Pride with manhood; Avarice with old age; and so forth. But over these points, as over many other matters, there is not time to linger. Note, finally, that Breu balances the cradle before the first Age with the bier that follows the last.

the number of years in each Age, as do some analogous prints. The emblematic animals are a kid, calf, ox, lion, fox, wolf, poodle, cat, and ass. See further *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Vervielfältigende Kunst* (1909), p. 8, no. 63. Thomas Bancroft had Breu's design, or a similar one, in mind when he wrote his poem entitled "Man's Gradation" which likens the pattern of life to an ascending and declining stairway. See Bancroft's *Two Bookes of Epigrammes and Epitaphs* (1639), Book I, no. 201.

12 Many variations are played upon this motif. In Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (1586), p. 152, we have a man with a winged right hand and a left hand tied to a weight. This represents Desire *vs.* Necessity, or, as Whitney phrases it, "Wish and Will" against "Want and Woe." Compare Mathias Holzward, *Emblematum Tyrocinia: sive Picta Poesis latino-germanica* (Strassburg, 1581), no. 47. In Father Hermann Hugo's *Pia Desideria Emblematis* (Antwerp, 1624), Book III, no. 39, Psyche (the Soul) is chained by the heel to the world (a sphere) but lifts her arms in aspiration. Again, Heavenly Love has his right arm raised while Earthly Love is bound by her ankle (Quarles, *Emblemes*, Bk. II, no. 4). See also Jean Baudoin, *Recueil d'Emblems Divers* (Paris, 1638), i, 610.

In a version of this design by Christoforo Bertello (or Bertelli)¹³ the man of eighty has one foot in the coffin which is antithetical to the cradle of infancy. In addition to the appropriate beasts there are here subsidiary emblems: the God of Love appears at twenty; the column of Fortitude at forty; the ominous hourglass at fifty; and so on. Bertello did a companion print of the Nine Ages of Woman,¹⁴ with birds instead of four-footed creatures as emblems. Obvious to the point of sentimentality is the hen with her chicks at the age of motherhood. The peacock takes the place of the lion as an emblem of the pride of maturity; and the goose the place of the ass in extreme old age.

The stairway of the Ages remained for long a characteristic motif in folk art, edifying and cautionary, sometimes with, but generally without, satiric intent. Of the later seventeenth century is a fine Dutch print of the Ages of Woman,¹⁵ where though only nine Ages are numbered there are actually twelve, for the first is sub-divided into three—a babe in swaddling clothes, a tiny tot learning to walk, and a girl-child with an embroidery-frame under her arm; and at the other end of the sequence, beyond the tottering old woman who, as the numeral indicates, is the ninth Age, there is an unnumbered figure, a helpless old woman who, lying upon pillows, balances the cradled infant at the beginning of life. The antithesis is further developed in the figures of Love and Death in the foreground, and in the two trees which frame the central composition, the one in full leaf, the other dry and withered. The stairway design reappears in the eighteenth century.¹⁶ In the early nineteenth century it was used in a popular colored lithograph in France,¹⁷ in which a man and a woman are companions upon the journey through life.

13 Reproduced in A. Bertarelli, *L'Imagerie populaire italienne* (Paris, 1929), p. 35.

14 Reproduced in *ibid.*, p. 33, and in Van Marle, *Iconographie*, p. 165, fig. 190.

15 I know this only from an impression in the extra-illustrated "Gibbs" or "Kitto" Bible in the Henry E. Huntington Library, vol. i, folio 167^r.

16 For a late eighteenth-century example, Italian but with texts in Spanish (for exportation), see Bertarelli, *L'Imag. pop. ital.*, p. 71.

17 This is by l'Humble Georgin and was published by Martin-Delahaye, Lille, ca. 1820. Reproduced in Lucien Descaves, *L'Humble Georgin, Imagier d'Epinal* (Paris, 1932), following p. 18. See also Louis Duchartre and Rene Saulnier, *L'Imagerie populaire* (Paris, 1925), p. 11. For another French example of the early nineteenth century see Meyer Schapiro, "Courbet and Popular Imagery," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, iv (1940), 167 and plate 39d.

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Not long afterwards the pattern crossed the Atlantic, to be exploited by Currier and Ives. It is of some iconographical interest to note that the same popular American artists used an analogous design to portray the Stages of Drunkenness—a theme for which I could cite seventeenth-century English precedents. But that subject is off our path.

We return to the Renaissance to note a *Memento Mori* print by Hans Schäußelein, Dürer's assistant.¹⁸ This employs the attractive motif, so conspicuously lacking in Jaques' lines, of the companionship of two friends through life. The composition is circular, clockwise from the bottom. At the start of their pilgrimage they have not been drawn closely together but are indistinguishable in a group of five children of various stages of growth. Presently this group is reduced to three. Then we have two boys, spinning tops. In the fourth Age one of the friends devotes himself to bodily labor (the *Vita Activa*) and the other to study (the *Vita Contemplativa*). Then both become warriors. Then, elderly, they enjoy together a quiet game of backgammon. In the next scene they are older; in the next, bowed down with years; and in the last scene of all one watches by the other's death-bed. In the center of Schäußelein's print a company of Deaths is destroying representatives of poor humanity. Here the circular pattern moves counter-clockwise, in the direction opposite to that in which the history of the two friends is recorded. The contrast between the serenity of the peripheral episodes and the violence of this central scene is noteworthy.

This appropriate circular or cyclical pattern appears in other sequences. It is approximated in one of the finest and most familiar of all the versions, in a compartment of the marvelous Cosmati-work pavement in the cathedral of Siena (1476).¹⁹ It is familiar to Shakespearean scholars because it has been used more than once to illustrate the passage in *As You Like It*; and it is, I venture to assert, finer than it because it has not been contaminated by the dramatic necessity to suggest an unpleasant character. Infantia rides a cock-horse; Pueritia has caught a bird; Iuventus has a falcon on his wrist; Senectus carries a rosary; Decrepitas, at the entrance to a tomb, anticipates one of the most famous of all of

¹⁸ There is an example of this print in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

¹⁹ Often reproduced; e.g., in E. I. Fripp, *Shakespeare: Man and Artist* (1938), ii, opp. p. 133.

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Blake's designs. The design is remarkable for its simplicity in a milieu and at a time when we should expect the introduction of astrological and other recondite notions. The emphasis is upon the years of growth which take up four of the seven episodes; and in this respect it is suggestive of those humanistic interludes in which the journey is not from the cradle to the grave but from Ignorance to Education.²⁰ A stylized and more complex circle has been noted by some of the commentators on Shakespeare; it is one of the miniatures in a famous illuminated manuscript, Arundel 83.²¹ In a great circle there are ten small tondi which enclose in a central tondo the head of Christ. In the four corners beyond the circumference are the Four Ages; Infantia with his aspiring hand; Iuventus, crowned and sceptered; Senectus, leaning upon a staff; and Decrepitas, reclining. Episodes in the small tondi subdivide these four into eight characteristic scenes. A nurse sitting before a fire holds an infant. A frivolous youth gazes into a mirror as he combs his hair. Then he holds a pair of balances, probably to indicate that he has begun to acquire judgment. Then he enjoys life to the full, riding and hawking. Then he is at the top and pride of life, boasting: "Rex sum;

20 In these cases we have a panorama not of life but of the preparation for living. This preliminary adventure is sometimes symbolized as the steps or several storeys of the Tower of Learning—the *Graduus ad Parnassum*. See the well-known woodcut in Gregorius Reisch, *Margarita Philosophica* (Freiburg, 1503), folio 3^r, which has often been reproduced. The progress may even be limited to the first steps upon that ascent, as in an engraving of the "Tower of Grammar" by Heinrich Vogtherr (1548), where the child climbs steps labeled alphabet, syllabary, and so forth, and so ascends a tower whose storeys are named for the parts of speech. But the progress may be a succession of episodes from childhood to early manhood. Thus, in the thirteenth-century sculptures on the external face of the first architrave of the Porta Principale of San Marco in Venice we observe the contrast between "Savage Education" and "Gentle Education." In the first sequence the woman at the bottom sitting upon a lion symbolizes untamed nature. Above her, children rob a bird's nest and quarrel with one another. Then a boy shoots with a bow and arrow. Then a young man spears a boar. Then a grown man attacks a lion with a sword. Savage Education is complete. On the opposite side Gentle Breeding is symbolized by a boy sitting upon an ox, a domesticated animal. Above him, a child is receiving instruction from a patient tutor—a charming scene. Then a bearded father sends his son forth into the world. Then we see him setting out "on his own." Two episodes in the next roundel illustrate honest business (above) and dishonest, furtive transactions (below). The final roundel is a warning of the perils of life from which even a proper education cannot insure you: our hero is being attacked by an evil-doer who creeps up upon him from behind. The contrast is thus complete: the savage man attacks a beast but the gentle man is attacked by a beastly savage. See *Basilica di San Marco in Venezia*, ed. Ferdinand Ongania, vi, plates 128, 128 a, b, c.

21 Reproduced, from a tracing of the original, in Shakespeare, *Works*, ed. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps (1853-65), vi, opp. p. 154.

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rego seculum; mundus meus totus." In the sixth tondo he is in the garb of a religious, having withdrawn from the world. Then the younger generation appears, for Decrepitas leans upon a boy's shoulder, and the lad's gesture is perhaps in mockery of his elder. Then there is a death-bed with a physician in attendance. But the story is carried further, and in two more tondi we see the funeral rites and a tomb.

In the designs discussed so far the theme of the Ages is, as it were, isolated, "pure," uncontaminated by other motifs. But it easily lends itself to that process of conflation and interpenetration which is familiar to students of iconography. When the figures are ranged in a circle it approximates the Wheel of Fortune. In an anonymous fifteenth-century print the two concepts are identified, for it bears a label reading: "The Wheel of Life which is called Fortune."²² Notwithstanding this label, the design is not identical with the conventional image of Fortune's Wheel. Round the rim runs an inscription which may be translated: "Thus adorned, they are born into this mortal life. Life decaying, they glide like water away." The cycle proceeds from Generation to Corruption: the swaddled infant and the child learning to walk; the boy with a toy wind-mill and a pet dog; the adolescent, hawking; young manhood, jousting astraddle the wheel at its top; mature virility in the countinghouse; old age leaning upon a staff; and "Decrepitas usque ad mortem," represented by a corpse. In the center of the design a figure manipulating the wheel is suggestive in its starkness and masculinity of a personification of Death rather than of Fortune.

But Lady Fortune appears unmistakably and in regal dignity in a miniature from a thirteenth-century English manuscript. This leaf is known, from the artist's name, as the "De Brailes Wheel of Fortune."²³ She is seated behind her wheel. Small semi-tondi within the large circle illustrate the story of Theophilus, perhaps because it presents a famous example of the reversal of Fortune through the intervention of Our Lady. The rim of the main roundel is cut at intervals of ninety degrees by small circles, four in number. Between each pair of these are three

²² Reproduced, *ibid.*, opp. p. 126, and in Schreiber, *Handbuch* (note 9, above), no. 1883a.

²³ Reproduced in *The Illustrated London News*, May 28, 1932. Many of the episodes have interpretative scrolls.

semi-tondi. The entire series of four plus twelve makes up a pageant of sixteen Ages of Human Life. But the four principal members of the series are distinguished from the rest in that they represent the rise and fall of a king or magistrate—the normal subject of Fortune's incalculable activities. The sequence runs clockwise from the lowest semi-tondo on the left to the fourth complete circlet at the very bottom of the design. A baby; a little child learning to walk; a boy with bow and arrow; a youth climbing to kingship; then three stages of further growth; a king enthroned at the top of the picture; then an elderly man gazing downwards; then in a crouching position; then falling headlong; and thereafter the artist can only devise various tumbling postures of heels over head till the last complete tondo is reached, which encircles a corpse.

The fusion of the theme of the Ages with that of Fortune may be accomplished more simply. Just as in innumerable paintings of the Adoration of the Magi the Three Kings represent not only the three traditional races of mankind but also the three Ages, so the four kings who are Fortune's clients, ascending and descending the wheel, may also represent the four Ages of Human Life. A good example of this is a painting by Hans Schäufelein which has been in England since Tudor times.²⁴ In it the contrasting ages of the kings are conspicuous, and we note particularly the gesture of the youth who is about to mount, with an arm raised in aspiration.

As the Ages are easily conflated with the theme of Fortune, so may they be with equal appropriateness associated with Father Time. In a cynical French print of the seventeenth century Time is the master of woman's fate in love.²⁵ Between fifteen and twenty the lady scorns her

24 Reproduced in S. A. Strong, *Critical Studies* (ed. 1912), opp. p. 90, and in Solomon Reinach, *Répertoire des Peintures*, iv, 626 (the latter in outline). The painting is at Chatsworth.

25 A copy of this print is in the immense collection of Robert Bonnat engravings, *temp.* Louis XIV, in the Pierpont Morgan Library. It is called "Folie du Temps" and bears the inscription: "Le Temps détruit tout, hormis la Folie." The five scenes illustrating woman's love-life are in inset ovals. The Dutch poet and emblemist Jacob Cats presents us with the cycle of a woman's married life. This is set forth in vignettes on the title-page of his *Houwelijk*, in the collected edition of his works (*Alle de Werken*, Amsterdam, 1726, i, 235). The sequence is Maidenhood, Courtship, Bridal, Pregnancy, Parenthood, Widowhood. A concluding vignette shows effigies of husband and wife upon a tomb. In the lower corner of the engraving a little dog symbolizes fidelity. The design symbolizing widow-

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suitors. Between twenty and twenty-five she gives ear to her lover's plea. Between twenty-five and thirty she accepts him gladly. At thirty years of age she takes whom she can find. And at forty she buys a lover. This variation upon our theme is suggestive of the mood of Jaques.

With the passage of Time in mind, Shakespeare, in his seventh sonnet, likens youth, manhood, and old age to the sun at morning, at noon-day, and at evening. The authority of Aristotle, reinforced by universal human experience, made three a favorite number of the Ages, manhood being the Aristotelian mean between the extremes of childhood and old age. The popularity of this simple scheme is attested by many paintings.²⁶ It is easily conflated with the symbolism of Time, as in a tiny design, touching in its naïveté, at the top of a title-page border often used in English books immediately contemporary with Shakespeare, where a naked child goes before Father Time, Time leads a stalwart man, and an old man follows after.²⁷

As Time conducts the Three Ages, so he may conduct the Four, as in

hood shows the husband departing while the wife weeps and children cling to him. Compare the fine design in Otho Van Veen, *Quinti Horatii Flacci Emblemata* (Antwerp, 1612), p. 197, of Death conducting a husband away from wife and children.

26 Titian's version in the Palazzo Doria in Rome is perhaps the best known; it represents two children asleep; a pair of lovers near-by; and in the background an old man meditating upon bones and skulls. A similar sequence by Dosso Dossi is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In a fresco by Giulio Romano in the Palazzo del Tè at Mantua are depicted the successive stages of Birth, the Age of Love, and the Decline of Life. With terrible force and candor Hans Baldung delineated the Three Ages in a picture now in the Prado: upon the ground a child is asleep; near-by stands a buxom, young, naked woman; and beside her is a hideous, withered, old crone. Behind this group is the figure of Death with scythe and hourglass. See Van Marle, *Iconographie*, figs. 184 and 185, and for a sequence at Foligno, *ibid.*, figs. 186 and 187. Cesare Ripa (*Iconologia*, ed. 1630, p. 224) directs that the Three Ages shall be represented in art as a woman whose dress is of three colors: changeable, because youth is unstable; golden, to indicate the perfection of strength and reason in maturity; and the color of faded leaves about to fall. This is very academic and theoretical; I have not found that any artist followed Ripa's directions. The preference was always for separate personifications or types, not an amalgam of all into one figure. Ripa also discusses divisions into four, five, six, and seven Ages. The Earl of Surrey has a poem (*Poems*, ed. F. M. Padelford, 1928, pp. 95-6) in which the little boy wishes to be a tall man so that he may escape the rod; the man, feeling in his bones the pains of toil, wishes to be a rich old man; and the old man, seeing his end draw nigh, wishes to be a boy again.

27 The border containing this vignette first appeared in William Cunningham's *Cosmographical Glasse* (1559) and reappears in some seventeen books of later date, among them Thomas Campion's *Booke of Ayres* (1601). See R. B. McKerrow and F. S. Ferguson, *Title-page Borders* (1932), no. 99, where the design in question is incorrectly described as "Time bringing Truth and Antiquity to light."

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a beautiful plate in Otho Van Veen's Horatian Emblem,²⁸ where Time—not the familiar, aged, paternal figure with his scythe, but a sprite with butterfly wings to signify his ephemerality—leads forth the Seasons. The four figures wear or carry emblems that are seasonal, but they are also clearly representative of the four periods of life—the child with hopefully outstretched arms; the debonair youth; the sturdy bearded man; and the muffled elder with his staff. This seasonal motif, which of course derives from Ovid, is found in many places in Renaissance literature.²⁹ And the pattern of four may be very complex, as in the now destroyed frescoes in the cathedral of Anagni south of Rome which exhibited in a complexity of quartettes the seasons, the elements, and the cardinal humours, all fused with the Ages. Childhood was related to air, to the sanguine temperament, and to spring; youth to fire, to

²⁸ Otho Van Veen, *Horat. Flac. Emblemata*, p. 207.

²⁹ In Thomas Tusser's *Five hundred pointes of good Husbandrie* (1573; ed. W. Payne and S. J. Herrtage, English Dialect Society, 1878, pp. 65-6) there is a quatrain entitled "A Description of Time and the Seasons." It runs:

The yeere I compare, as I find for a truth,
The Spring unto childhood, the Sommer to youth,
The Harvest to manhood, the Winter to age:
All quickly forgot as a play on the stage.

This is found transcribed in the Jacobean commonplace-book probably made by Thomas Trevelyon (now in the Folger Shakespeare Library), folio 19^r. From Clement Marot, Spenser took the passage in the December Eclogue of *The Shepherds' Calendar* which associates the Seasons and the Ages. Visual and verbal imagery are combined in Robert Farley's *Kalendarium Humanae Vitae* (1638), a series of poems with accompanying woodcuts by Robert Vaughan. In the history of pastoral poetry Farley is an intermediary between Spenser and Thomson, and it is of some interest to note that the tradition of the Ages and Seasons lingered on to find a place in the poetry of Thomson, Wordsworth, and Keats. Farley divides each season into its three months; and beginning with March the life of man is traced to December. Thus the basic pattern of four is expanded to ten. January ("Mors Janua Vitae") is a meditation upon death, and February is devoted to "Epitaphs on the Dead." Vaughan's crude and hearty illustrations show Spring, the time of budding; Summer, the seed-time, hopeful of the harvest; Autumn, the harvest of ripened years; and Winter, the time of chilly old age. The masque-like play, *The Sun's Darling*, written by Thomas Dekker and afterwards revised by John Ford, is constructed upon this theme. A curious and amusing variation is played upon the motif of the Seasons and the Ages in *Theatrum Temporaneum Aeternitati Caesaris Montii* (Milan, 1636). When Cardinal Monti was consecrated Archbishop of Milan, Ottavio Boldoni published in his honor this series of four engravings. The Seasons here emblemize the four stages in Monti's ecclesiastical advancement—nuncio, patriarch, cardinal, and archbishop. It strikes one as not a little strange and silly to see Autumn holding his grapes in one hand and a cardinal's hat in the other, or Winter with his brazier of coals, wearing a mitre and grasping a crozier. Yet the intention seems to have been entirely serious. The only copy I know of this series is in the Library of Congress.

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the choleric temperament, and to summer; manhood to earth, to the melancholy temperament, and to autumn; and old age to water, to the phlegmatic temperament, and to winter.³⁰

The Four Ages might, however, be represented without any suggestion of seasonal analogies. I wish it were possible to show you the painted cloths which Sir Thomas More designed for his father's house in London; but they have long since vanished, and we have only descriptions of them.³¹ They represented a curious conflation of the motif of the Ages with that of the Petrarchian *Trionfi*, apparently of More's own invention and so far as I know unique.³² Each of these "nyne pageauntes" had accompanying verses written by More. The scheme which painters, tapestry-weavers, and engravers expanded from Petrarch's vision of the Chariot of Cupid, whereby all six personifications (Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, Time, and Eternity) are pictured in triumphal cars, was not followed by More, but in its place there was the pattern, familiar from imagery of the conflict of the Virtues and Deadly Sins, of one type or abstraction lying beneath the feet of another who is the conqueror. This pattern was adhered to in all More's pageants save the first and last. The first showed a boy whipping a top. In the second a youth appeared on horseback, with hawk and hounds; and the boy of the first episode lay under the horse's feet. Into the third design the

30 See Pietro Toesca, "Gli Affreschi della Cattedrale di Anagni," *Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane*, v (1902), 129 f. Toesca shows that these paintings derive from the system of Honorius of Autun (twelfth century) who, developing the theme of the Microcosm ("Homo est minor mundus"), had declared that not only do the four cardinal humors of the human body come from the four elements but within this life man passes through the four seasons of the year. Dürer represents St. John the Evangelist, St. Mark, St. Paul, and St. Peter (in the so-called "Four Apostles") in accordance with the criteria of the four temperaments and the corresponding Ages of Human Life. See Erwin Panofsky, Albrecht Dürer (1945), i, 235. The Four Ages are also associated with the riddle which the Sphinx propounded to Oedipus. See, for example, *A Helpe to Discourse or a Miscellany of Merriment*. By W.B. and E.P. (1610), p. 192.

31 Sir Thomas More, *Workes . . . in the Englysh tonge* (1557), sigs. 2¶2^v-4^r.

32 C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (1934), p. 296, note, remarks upon the resemblance of More's fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth pageants to the impressive final episodes in Stephen Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure*—the visions of Death, Fame, Time, and Eternity; but he does not recognize the indebtedness of both More and Hawes to Petrarch. The nearest parallel I have noted to More's conflation of the Ages and the Triumphs (a parallel very succinct and not very close) is in *Batman uppon Bartholome* (1582), folio 142^r, where Petrarch's personal story of his love for Laura is broadened and generalized into a history of human life.

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Petrarchian theme intruded, for this was a Triumph of Love: the goodly young man now lay prone and upon him stood Venus and Cupid. With a reversion to the Ages, the fourth episode showed a sage old man, with Venus and Cupid beneath his feet. Therafter the series developed along Petrarch's lines, with Triumphs of Death, Fame, Time, and Eternity. More thus interwove two originally quite separate subjects into a beautiful composition.

As the Four Ages are found associated with Lady Fortune and Father Time, so may they be with Death and the theme of the Danse Macabre, for Death, which strikes every type of humanity, strikes also every age. There is an anonymous early-sixteenth-century English poem in which Death addresses each of the four Ages in turn, warning and threatening.³³ Upon the title-page of J. J. Boissard's *Theatrum Vitae Humanae* (1596) are four vignettes showing Death striking an infant in its cradle, tapping a bridegroom upon his shoulder, creeping up upon a middle-aged merchant engaged in enterprise, and digging a grave for an old man. From this fine design we may descend to the lowest level of folk art, to note an English broadside woodcut of the late seventeenth century, where Death threatens with his dart the four Ages, the while he exclaims: "I kill you all!"³⁴ Or he may appear, more mercifully, only to the last Age. A fine series of baroque designs by Martin de Vos have pleasantly jingling titles: "Adolescentia Amori," "Iuventus Labori," "Virilitas Honori," and "Senectus Dolori."³⁵ In the first, Cupid shoots his arrow at a young couple. Minerva is the patroness of the second; she stands by a man who holds instruments of labor and science. In the third, Fame places a crown upon the head of a richly dressed man. In the fourth, Time stands behind an old man who is contemplating a picture of the Triumph of Death.

In the sequences I have described and in others I have had to pass over there is poetic feeling or admonitory purpose. The contrast is extreme—

33 Balliol MS. 354; published in *Songs, Carols, and Other Miscellaneous Poems*, ed. Roman Dyborski, E.E.T.S., Extra Ser., ci, 93.

34 *The Sinner's Care*, in *The Bagford Ballads*, ed. Ebsworth, i, 160.

35 De Vos's designs were engraved by Crispin Van de Passe the Elder (1596). For a more detailed description see D. Franken, *L'Œuvre gravé des Van de Passe* (Amsterdam and Paris, 1881), nos. 1087-90. Doubtfully ascribed to one of the Van de Passe is a series of six Ages (*ibid.*, no. 1091) entitled *Ætates Hominum secundum Anni Tempora* (1599) in which the first five are associated with animals but the last with a figure of Death.

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and I think Jaques would have appreciated it—when we turn to the cynical, satirical worldliness of four French engravings (late seventeenth century) which are, I think you will agree, among the most memorable of all renderings of our theme.³⁶ In each print the figure stands in a formal center from which several paths radiate. On all sides of the boy there is laborious effort—"De Tout Côté Peine." Paths lead to the Church, the Law, the Sciences, War, Commerce, and so on. The boy's fingers are being rapped, his ear pinched, and his bottom birched. In the background a lesson is drawn from the old emblem of the spinning top: the more you whip it the faster it goes. Then, on every side of the young man is expense—"De Tout Côté Dépence." He spills rivulets of coin on the paths leading to Love, Fashion, Gaming, Debauchery, Equipage, and Crime. The middle-aged man bears an hourglass on his head (he is conscious of the passage of Time) and a house upon his shoulder (he is burdened with an establishment). "De Tout Côté Chagrin," anxiety—Debts, Lawsuits, Bankruptcy, "la Marmite" (keeping the pot boiling), Marriage, and the Misbehavior of his children. One of his feet is winged (the old emblem of the desire to escape), but the other is chained to his wife and children. In the last stage of all, on every side is fear—"De Tout Côté Peur." The old man has a treasure-chest under his arm, for Avarice is the sin of old age; and the paths now lead to Fear of Heat, of Cold, of Robbery, of Poverty, of Sickness, and of Death. With the third Age, the Age of Anxiety, in this French series we may compare an early-eighteenth-century Italian version of the same subject.³⁷ The man has a long ass's ear (he must listen to his wife's behest), and to his other ear is attached a bell (he must keep his appointments). Children clinging to his knee thwart the desire to escape symbolized by the winged foot. Time points to an open grave.

Another traditional subject to which the Ages may be joined is that of the Labors of the Months. Appropriate quatrains appear in the margins of the Calendar in various French Books of Hours, especially in those published by Thielman Kerver.³⁸ The verses are a condensed popular

36 Examples are in the Robert Bonnat collection in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

37 Reproduced in Bertarelli, *L'Imag. pop. ital.* (note 13, above), p. 69.

38 See Félix Soleil, *Les Heures gothiques* (Paris, 1882), pp. 31-7 and 158; Paul Lacombe, *Livres d'Heures imprimés au XV^e et au XVI^e siècles conservés dans les biblio-*

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redaction of a fourteenth-century poem. In the original poem each Age is said to last six years—seventy-two in all. But of these, thirty-six pass in sleep (men must have slept long in the Middle Ages!); fifteen are wasted in childhood; and sickness and imprisonment account for five more. Consequently we can count on only about fifteen years for productive labor. After this somewhat melancholy prologue the poem proceeds to link each Age with a month; and it is this portion that we find condensed in the Calendars of some *Horae*. Not all the *Horae* have congruous woodcuts or engravings; but when these appear they are as follows: January—children's games; February—a schoolroom scene; March—hunting in a forest; April—lovers' promenade; May—lovers on a horse, the girl riding *en croupe*; June—a wedding; July—a family: father, mother, and children; August—a prosperous farmer paying a laborer after the harvest; September—an improvident farmer with empty barns and barrels; October—the man of property dines with his family; November—he is ill, seated in an armchair with a physician in attendance; December—he is dying, with a priest and weeping women nearby. The conflation with the Labors of the Months makes this a pleasant hybrid; but more remarkable is the introduction (at the month of September) of the theme of Industry *vs.* Idleness. For this we are unprepared by what has gone before, and we hear nothing more of it in what follows after; but the protagonist's story is really in eleven stages, not twelve, since one month is devoted to a second, contrasting person. Though based squarely upon the Months, this is, then, a pattern of Eleven Ages.³⁹

We have examined sequences of various numbers. Before closing, let us look a little more particularly at the Seven Ages, to which a peculiar prestige attaches not only because Shakespeare adopted it but on other

thèques publiques de Paris (Paris, 1907), p. lxii; Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux en France* (ed. 1925), iii, 303.

39 Thomas Tusser's poem entitled "Mans age devided into twelve seavens" (*Five hundred pointes of good Husbandrie* (n. 29 above), p. 138) is based rather pointlessly upon the idea of seven-year apprenticeships and suggests neither the months nor their labors—which is surprising considering Tusser's special interests. The complete scheme of twelve is suggested simply and beautifully in an emblem entitled "Omnium rerum vicissitudo," where the Ages are conflated with the Wheel of Life. This wheel has twelve spokes, and to the rim at equal distances are attached twelve roses, from earliest bud through full bloom to falling petals and desiccated remains. See J. J. Boissard, *Emblemata* (1584), no. 22.

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grounds as well. Employing the familiar metaphor of life as a theatre, Shakespeare likened the Ages to the seven acts of a play, thus starting the source-hunters on a wild-goose chase after dramas in seven acts. In some fine lines formerly attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh the figure is handled better, for birth is the Prologue to the play and death the Epilogue, and between them come the five acts of the tragedy.⁴⁰ But Shakespeare was not thinking of any seven-act drama; he was yielding to the pull of the mystic number seven, associated with so many matters of doctrine and morality, and with the seven planets. The influence of the planets upon the Ages was the subject of the now destroyed monochrome frescoes by Guariento di Arpo in the church of the Eremitani

40

Man's life's a tragedy: his mother's womb,
From which he enters, is his tiring-room;
This spacious earth the theatre; and the stage
That country which he lives in: passions, rage,
Folly, and vice are actors: the first cry
The prologue to the ensuing tragedy.
The former act consisteth of dumb-shows;
The second, he to more perfection grows;
I' th' third he is a man, and doth begin
To nurture vice, and act the deeds of sin:
I' th' fourth declines; i' th' fifth diseases clog
And trouble him; then death's his epilogue.

(Raleigh, *Works*, ed. 1829, viii, 704-05.) Apart from this piece I have found no evidence that the sequence of five exerted any influence upon imaginative writers and I know of no example in the arts of design. But the theorists discuss it. Five is the basis of the pattern adopted by Pier Angelo Manzoli (Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus) in the sixth book (Virgo) of his *Zodiacus Vitae* (Venice, ca. 1531), a poetical inquiry into the *summum bonum* whose intricacies are involved in astrological speculation and a fantastic allegory. This had a great reputation in Protestant countries, partly because of its attacks upon clericalism (it was put upon the Index). In England it was used as a text in schools, and nine editions of the Latin text were published there between 1572 and 1639. Barnabe Googe's translation, *The Zodiac of Life*, appeared in 1560, and of this the fifth, and latest, edition, appeared in 1588. The description of the Five Ages may be found on pp. 99-100 of the edition of 1588. Of an account so widely circulated it may be said that, though the popularity of the theme cannot be ascribed to any one version, this treatment of it must have introduced the idea to many young minds. For other five-fold schemes see Pedro Mexia's *Silva* (1542), Fortescue's version, *The Foreste* (1571), Part II, chapter 17, and in the Milles-Jaggard *Treasure* (1613), Book IV, chapter 15, pp. 336-9; the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus* (1592), pp. 46-8; Thomas Heywood, *The Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels* (1635), pp. 164-5; Ripa, *Iconologia* (ed. 1630), p. 224. Precise as to the number of years embraced by each of the five Ages and the supposed bodily temperature of each is the astrological treatise called *The most excellent, profitable and pleasant book of the famous Doctor and expert Astrologian Arcandam* of which the English version (from the French) by William Warde went through seven editions between 1560 or thereabouts and 1632. See ed. 1592, Sigs. M2^r&v.

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in Padua.⁴¹ What was probably the most elaborate of all versions of the Ages in the arts of design was the long-since-vanished fresco on the exterior wall of a house in Florence, painted in 1554 from designs by Giorgio Vasari. Vasari, who was proud of this work, describes it in detail⁴² because, as he says, "it may not enjoy a long life, being in an exposed position, and it was scarcely finished before it suffered serious damage by a heavy rain and hail." The artist's forebodings were justified. In this fresco each Age was associated with a planet, with one of the Seven Liberal Arts,⁴³ one of the Seven Virtues, one of the Seven Deadly Sins, and with a miscellaneous assortment of other personified abstractions.⁴⁴ In comparison with its intricacies Shakespeare's lines seem

41 In these frescoes the planets were personified, and each was accompanied by two human beings, boy and girl, swain and sweetheart, man and wife, and so on.

42 Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, translated by G. Du C. De Vere (1912-4), vii, 131-7; Everyman's Library ed., iii, 227-31.

43 For a series of the Seven Ages associated with the Seven Liberal Arts see Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 1882.

44 Though Vasari's text is easily accessible it may be worth while summarizing his description, with a few added comments.—*Infancy* was represented by a woman in child-bed, with nurses near. The goddess Diana represented the Moon. Charity suckled her infants. Grammar taught children to read. The Human Will was a subsidiary personification.—*Boyhood* showed some children at play and others going to school. Mercury carried his caduceus. Faith baptized a boy. Logic wore a veil and held the serpent of Wisdom. Truth and Falsehood were subsidiary figures.—*Adolescence* was represented by two youths of whom one was climbing a mountain while the other lingered behind and was lured by Fraud towards a precipice. Apollo represented the Sun. Hope, with her anchor, was associated with Work and Sloth. Music was a figure with musical instruments.—*Youth* showed a young man with books and musical instruments, while other young men were engaged at banquets, games, or love-making. Venus was embracing Love (Cupid). Temperance held her bridle. Subsidiary were Self-knowledge and Fraud. Rhetoric was the Art but with no attribute or symbolic attitude described. (The confusion between Music and Rhetoric in the third and fourth parts of the design is obvious; Rhetoric as part of the Trivium should come earlier than Music, part of the Quadrivium. I doubt whether the mistake was perpetrated in the painting; more probably Vasari wrote hastily or else his memory played him false.)—*Manhood* had Memory and Will as his companions. Mars was in armor and displayed trophies of war. Prudence, with her mirror, had as companions Innocence and Hilarity. The Art grouped with this Age was Philosophy. (Properly Philosophy should not appear among the Liberal Arts, being a *Summa*, not one *inter pares*. Here she took the place which should have been occupied by Arithmetic which, unless Vasari's memory again played him false, did not appear in the sequence at all.)—*Old Age* was garbed as a priest and knelt before an altar, accompanied by Compassion and Religion. Jupiter appeared with his eagle. Fortitude, associated with a fragmentary column, was taming a lion. The Art was Astrology.—*Decrepitude* had as his companions Felicity and Immortality. Saturn, in the act of devouring his children, had as an emblem the serpent

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simple to the point of ingenuousness. But the essentials of the planetary pattern can be presented without complexity, as they are in an eloquent passage in Raleigh's *History of the World*:

Our Infancie is compared to the Moon, in which we seem only to live and grow, as plants; the second age to Mercury, wherein we are taught and instructed; our third age to Venus, the days of love, desire, and vanity; the fourth to the Sun, the strong, flourishing, and beautiful age of man's life; the fifth to Mars, in which we seek honor and victory, and in which our thoughts travail to ambitious ends; the sixth age is ascribed to Jupiter, in which we begin to take account of our times, judge of ourselves, and grow to the perfection of our understanding; the last and seventh to Saturn, wherein our days are sad and overcast, and in which we find by dear and lamentable experience, and by the loss which can never be repaired, that of all our vain passions and affections past, the sorrow only abideth.⁴⁵

This grand passage can be illustrated by several sequences in emblem-books.⁴⁶ Guillaume de la Perriere's first seven emblems are on this

with its tail in its mouth, a familiar symbol of Eternity. The Art was Geometry.—On a lower level of the fresco Leah, representing the Active Life, was grouped with various industrious persons, and Rachel, the Contemplative Life, with philosophers and astrologers. The "conclusion of the whole invention" was Death on a lean horse, accompanied by the other three Horsemen of the Apocalypse. Vasari enters into much painstaking detail regarding the arrangement between windows, doors, and so forth of this monumental work. In England vestiges of mural paintings of the Seven Ages are extremely scanty. One is said to be in the nave of Hardham Church, Sussex, but it is described as being in so bad a state of preservation that the subject is doubtful. See C. E. Keyser, *List of Buildings . . . having Mural or Other Painted Decorations* (third ed., 1883), p. 122; *Archaeological Journal*, xxxviii, 82, 95. I have not seen it and do not know its date. Another, dating from the early seventeenth century, is in the upper chamber of the gate-house of West Stow, Suffolk. See *East Anglian Notes and Queries*, i, 7. This, too, I have not seen.

45 Raleigh, *The History of the World* (1614), Bk. I, chap. 2, sec. 5, p. 31 (Sig. D4^r).

46 Ripa's discussion of the influence of the planets upon the Ages follows along much the same lines. See *Iconologia* (ed. 1630), p. 185. In England many readers may have learned of the connection from a popular medical treatise, William Vaughan's *Directions for Health* (1600); see seventh edition (1633), pp. 120-1. A more elaborate discussion is in Henry Cuffe's *Differences of the Ages of Mans Life: Together with the Original Causes, Progresses, and End thereof* (1607). Cuffe first accepts the Aristotelian "tripartite division" which he relates to Spring, Summer and Winter (Autumn is omitted). These three he sub-divides into a total of eight; but then remarks that seven is arrived at by "comprising our Pubertatem and Adolescentiam under one." He is then ready to discuss the association of the Ages and the planets, pp. 117-21. The connection supplies one method of "secret writing" in John Willis' *Art of Stenography* (1602), "Annex," Sig. Gr^v ff. Willis suggests that the sign for each planet may be used to indicate not only an Age of human life but also a day of the week, a metal, a part of the body, a color, a temperament, a

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subject.⁴⁷ One of the most delightful of the few English books of this kind is Francis Quarles' *Hieroglyphikes of the Life of Man* (1638) in which the planetary scheme of the Ages is combined with the motif of the candle of life and with the more or less traditional animals associated with each of the Ages.⁴⁸ Quarles' poems and pithy moralizing sentences accompany the engravings by William Marshall. The candle diminishes with each Age, the point to which it has declined being indicated by a numeral. The Moon governs weak and unstable infancy; the emblems are an embryo, a cradle, a baby's rattle, and a rose-bush in bud. For the second decade the planetary sign is Mercury, and the emblems are a peacock, a prancing horse, flowers in bloom, and a tree in leaf. Venus governs the third decade; the bow, arrows, and quiver of the God of Love are displayed; the grape-vine suggests the association of Venus with Bacchus; and a goat is the emblematic animal. The fourth decade shows Apollo's lyre and baytree; and the emblematic animal is a boar or hog (I don't know why). The fifth decade has the sign of Mars, the lion of pride, and a sword; but the ripe fruit is beginning to fall from

precious stone, a plant, an animal, and a bird. It is not to be supposed that he intends any metaphysical or esoteric connections among all the members of each of these groups; he is merely inculcating a system of shorthand. But some of his connections are traditional, some ingenious, some merely puzzling. Is the owl associated with infancy because it sleeps so much of the day and keeps people awake at night? The yew is a sign for Mars and for "Firmage" probably because bows are made of it. Is the hart associated with old age because it desires the water-brooks as the Soul longs after God? David Person's *Varieties; or a Surveigh of Rare and Excellent Matters* (1635), Bk. V, sec. 6, pp. 11-2 (second pagination), affords another instance of the notion of the planetary influence upon the Ages. But examples could be multiplied; this was a commonplace of astrological, medical, and physiological knowledge.

47 Guillaume de la Perriere, *La Morosophie* (Lyons, 1553), Sig. B5^v ff., emblems 1-7. The usual conventions are followed except in the case of the fifth Age (Mars) where the man led by the planet is distinctly *not* a warrior. All the scenes are laid out of doors except the last, where Saturn and a decrepit old man stand together by a fireplace.

48 The "hieroglyphikes" of the Ages occupy plates 9-15; the first eight plates play other variations upon the motif of the candle. Robert Farley's *Lychnocausia sive moralia facum emblemata. Lights Moral Emblems* is the nearest English analogue to Quarles' series and appeared in the same year, 1638. Among the motifs are: "Better to burn out than to mould away"; "Passing the torch on"; "Lighting others does not make my light less"; "Burning the candle at both ends"; "A candle is no help to a blind man"; Diogenes and his lantern; the woman of the parable searching the house for the lost penny; Leander swimming the Hellespont guided by Hero's candle; and so forth. But Farley does not introduce any sequence of the Ages.

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the tree, and the candle is guttering in the wind. The sixth decade, under the sign of Jupiter, shows an envious snake darting its tongue at the candle-flame; and Death is shaking the leaves from the tree. It is

That time of year . . .
When yellow leaves, or none, or few do hang
Upon those boughs which shake against the cold.

The last decade is governed by Saturn. The sun is setting; the foundations of a house are crumbling; there are faded flowers and a leafless tree with a hollow trunk; and the candle is almost spent. Following the sequence is a picture, ill-drawn but impressive, of Time restraining the hand of Death who essays to extinguish the candle prematurely.⁴⁹

In 1688 a certain Robert Burton published *The Vanity of the Life of Man. Represented in the Seven Several Stages thereof, from his Birth to his Death. With Pictures and Poems exposing the Follies of Every Age*.⁵⁰ The woodblocks for this work were used again in a little book attributed to John Bunyan: *Meditations on the Several Ages of Man's Life: Representing the Vanity of it, from his Cradle to his Grave. Adorned with proper Emblems. To which is added Scriptural Poems* (1701). In an introduction the author discusses the different traditional divisions, the analogy with the seasons, and the association with the planets. Each woodcut is accompanied with some lines of verse and a meditation in prose. The text appeals to the lowest level of literacy, taste, and pietistic morality; and the illustrations expose the degradation of a

49 A title-page which Quarles devised as a tribute to a dead friend, Arthur Warwick, is a sort of supplement to this series. See *Resolved Meditations written by Ar: Warwicke. Libellus posthumous* (1637). A central memorial column is depicted. A guttering candle goes out in smoke while Death with his sickle cuts the faded rose. But, above, the candle-light has become a star, and for the earthly rose there is a heavenly crown of fadeless flowers. One of Farley's plates (no. 57; see previous note) is similar. It shows a skeleton in a coffin. A hand reaching into the picture holds an extinguished candle, burnt to the socket. But the flame is in mid-air, mounting to heaven. Jacob Cats (*Spiegel van de Ouden ende Nieuwen Tijd*, Dordrecht, 1635, Part II, p. 137) had recently published an emblem of man's life as a candle melting in the sun and guttering in the wind. Among the accompanying quotations of which Cats is always so lavish is a line from Ronsard: "L'homme n'est rien qu'une vaine fumée." But the inevitable parallel is Macbeth's "Out, out, brief candle!"

50 This I have not seen; it is described in Thomas Corser, *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, iii, 203-06.

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great iconographic tradition.⁵¹ Beyond this point I shall not carry the story of the Seven Ages.⁵²

51 This book is classed as spurious in F. M. Harrison's *Bunyan Bibliography* (1932). The "Scriptural Poems" (which have no bearing on our subject) are also believed to be unauthentic.

52 I add here remarks on some sequences perforce omitted from the birthday address. Various editions of Bartholomeus Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum* contain a cut of the Seven Ages. In the Latin text, Lyons, 1482 (reproduced in A. M. Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut* (1935), ii, fig. 353, and in A. Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France* (1900-14), iii, 202, where it is incorrectly called a Four Ages), the first four Ages are represented by a baby in a cradle, a little child learning to walk, a boy riding a cock-horse, and a larger boy, without attribute. The artist then passes over many years, and the last three Ages show three solemn men, their years being differentiated by the beardlessness of the first, the short beard of the second, and the long beard of the third. The Dutch version, *Boeck van den proprieteyten der dinghen* (Haarlem, 1485; the cut is reproduced in the Kurt Wolff Catalogue of Incunabula, Frankfurt-a-M., 1926, p. 19), the Seven Ages are associated with a physician scrutinizing a vial, a surgeon performing an operation, and a corpse. A naked baby sits upon the ground, playing with a flower; a boy with a toy windmill rides astraddle on a stick; a larger boy bends a bow; a fashionably dressed youth has a falcon on his wrist. When he reaches the last three Ages the artist is quite unequal to the task of differentiating among the ages of three reverend, soberly garbed gentlemen. John Trevisa's English version (Wynkyn de Worde, n.d. [1495?], Sig. M2^r) follows, crudely, the same design. In the French *Propriétaire des choses* (Lyons, 1500; reproduced in Claudin, *loc. cit.*, again with an error in the counting), the design is in the familiar circular form. The only detail calling for comment is the third Age, a child eating, with food in its apron, which is quite unusual. In all four of these designs the emphasis upon the very young is remarkable, and the more conspicuous because it does not correspond to anything in Bartholomeus' text. The reprint of Trevisa's translation (1535) and the expanded reprint, *Batman uppon Bartholome* (1582), contain no illustrations. Van Marle, *Iconographie*, ii, fig. 188, reproduces a late-fifteenth-century Dutch woodcut of the Ten Ages, two rows of figures in small rectangles, each Age with its appropriate animal and emblem or posture. More elaborate is a woodcut, dated 1482, probably produced at Augsburg (reproduced in Campbell Dodgson, *Woodcuts of the XVth Century in the British Museum* (1935), ii, plate 103; described in Schreiber, *Handbuch*, no. 1881), which consists of twenty small rectangles set in two rows; the upper row exhibits the Ages, the lower the emblematic creatures. A boy with a top has a kid; a youth with a falcon on his wrist has a calf; a soldier with sword and lance has a bull; a man in the long gown of a burghess has a lion; a man with a purse hanging at his belt has a fox; an elderly man without any attribute has a wolf; an old man with a staff and rosary has a dog; an old man bowed with years has a cat; a very decrepit old man, led by a child who sticks his tongue out at him (again the younger generation!), has an ass; and finally a corpse on a bier is associated with a goose. Ten Ages with ten creatures are shown in a woodcut by the Master of the Banderoles. They appear again in a curious little volume entitled *Der Dieren Palley*s (Antwerp, 1520) which contains much animal-lore. One poem with an extremely crude illustration tells how and why each of the Ten Ages resembles one or another creature. The kid is never tired of play; the calf has no wisdom; the bull is quarrelsome; the lion is noble and wise; the fox is full of sharp practices; the wolf is greedy and avaricious; the dog gnawing a bone is symbolic of man's gnawing anxiety for his soul; the cat lies sluggishly by the fire; the ass is a stupid laughing-stock;

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In conclusions we may note that our theme is very close to that of the Voyage of Life, which appears in verbal and visual imagery down the centuries. On the level of sentimental but not displeasing romanticism the American landscape painter Thomas Cole painted this Voyage in four episodes, which, reproduced in steel engravings, were widely popular in this country in the mid-nineteenth century. The babe issues from the Cave of Birth, accompanied by his Guardian Angel. The youth floats confidently down the stream (and we remark once more the old motif of the aspiring hand). Clouds gather when the boat has reached mid-stream, and the Angel has disappeared. And at length the boat puts out to sea. From the Middle Ages we have the symbolic ship in which the faithful sail across the perils of the ocean of this life. The pilot or captain is sometimes a personification of Faith or Religion or Holy Church, sometimes Christ Himself. In mid-Victorian times this venerable theme reappeared in a lithograph entitled "The Voyage of Life." The Four Ages—children; young lovers; wife and husband; an aged couple—are the passengers; and the masterful rower, a sturdy John-Bullish figure, is the Victorian equivalent—is he not?—of mediaeval personifications of Religion.

and finally, man, like the goose, is ready to be plucked and eaten—Death plucks him of riches, and he is eaten by worms. I suspect that two of these explanations are erroneous. The dog has no connection with anxiety but symbolizes faithfulness. The association of the goose with Death is not a matter of plucking and eating but may be connected with the old superstition that when one shudders or shivers involuntarily a goose is walking or flying over one's future grave. Another impressive version of the Ten Ages is a German poem entitled *Die Zehn Alter dieser Welt* (Augsburg, 1518). This is a series of dialogues between a hortatory hermit and each of the Ages. Each section is adorned with a woodcut with the appropriate animal. A late-sixteenth-century print by Gerhard van Groeningen (Paludanus), of which an example is in the "Dutch Miscellany" in the Print Room of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, is a series of typical episodes, decade by decade. A seventeenth-century English "ballad" entitled *The Age and Life of Man Perfectly Showing his Beginning of Life and the Progress of his Dayes, from Seaven to Seaventy* has a woodcut of the familiar ascending and descending stairs. Text and cut are reproduced in Halliwell-Phillipps, *Shaks.*, *Works*, vi, 155. The poem proceeds through periods of seven years each, but there are actually not ten Ages but eleven, for both text and woodcut pass beyond three score and ten to an eleventh Age which is said to last till "the end" at an unspecified time. The discussion of the Ages in Levinus Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions*, translated by Thomas Newton (1565; ed. 1581, fol. 29^r-30^r), is confusing, for the phrasing is so obscure that the Ages may be counted as seven or eight. I close with a reference to Sir Thomas Browne's discussion of the Ages, which touches on speculations, theories, and beliefs regarding the combinations of the numbers seven and nine. See *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1646), Bk. IV, chap. 12; *Works*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (1928), iii, 52-72.

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Upon Shakespeare's birthday I have chosen to offer homage to his memory with a discourse upon this strange eventful history partly because it is a subject upon which I could speak with the authority of specialized research; but also—may I say?—because I dare imagine that Shakespeare himself might have been interested in such a lecture. To what extent did he realize that innumerable passages in his plays were portions of a great tradition, extending up and down the centuries? Tonight we have examined bits of one thread in the great web of European culture.

STUDIES IN THE KING JOHN PLAYS

By JOHN ELSON

The anonymous two-part *Troublesome Reign of King John* (1591), as the source play most certainly and most closely used as a pattern by Shakespeare in his corresponding drama, is worthy of extensive study in its own right. Its authorship remains an enigma. As to the sources of this source, however, I uncovered some rather interesting internal evidence during 1940-1, while a Research Fellow at the Folger Library, which this paper will present.

The *Troublesome Reign* derives, my findings indicate, not only from Holinshed, as had previously been supposed, but also from the much older manuscript play of *Kyng Johan* by Bishop John Bale, from Polydore Vergil's Latin chronicle, *Anglica Historia*, and from John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, usually known as "Foxe's Book of Martyrs."

Passing by for the present the peculiar hybrid morality-history of Bale, the main outlines of the *Troublesome Reign* and Shakespeare's *King John* (hereafter designated *T.R.* and *John*) are closely similar and may be summarized as follows:

Early in his reign King John is faced with his nephew Arthur's claim to the throne, which is supported by King Philip of France. This claim John defiantly rejects. Immediately afterwards appears the figure known as Philip Falconbridge, who, throughout the plays, is to outshine John as a personality and hero. Philip first disputes the claim of his brother Robert to be the true Falconbridge heir, made on the ground that Philip is a bastard son of the dead King Richard Coeur-de-Lion. Then, swayed by pride in the thought of royal parentage, Philip accepts the attribution and wrings a confession of the fact from his mother. John accepts Philip as a nephew and knights him.

John hastens to France to defend the English possessions there against King Philip and his associates: Lewis the Dauphin, Constance the mother of Arthur, Arthur himself, and the Duke of Austria, slayer of Richard, who is also called, by a confusion of persons, Limoges. Bickering before the walls of Angiers leads to a battle in which (in *T.R.*) the Bastard wrenches from Austria the lion's skin which had been King

Richard's trophy. The Angevins will acknowledge neither John nor Philip as their king until one proves true title, and the rivals are about to league together to subdue the city when a Citizen of Angiers proposes instead a lasting pact to be sealed by marriage between Dauphin Lewis and Blanche of Castile, John's niece. Constance protests vainly against this exclusion of Arthur from his claims.

On the bridal day of Lewis and Blanche, the new friendship between John and King Philip is shattered by the papal legate Pandulph, who in the name of Pope Innocent denounces John for rejecting the Pope's candidate for archbishop of Canterbury. John remains obdurate; Pandulph curses him and persuades King Philip to renew hostilities. In the ensuing fights the Bastard kills Austria, rescues Queen Elinor, John's mother, from captivity, and takes Prince Arthur prisoner. Hubert de Burgh, designated Arthur's jailer, receives a letter from John bidding him put out Arthur's eyes, but yields to the youth's entreaties and spares him. John learns of this just after his barons have forsaken him, believing Arthur has died by his orders. Part I of *T.R.* ends here (corresponding to *John* IV, ii), with John enjoying illusory relief and hope. Meanwhile, however, Pandulph has been persuading Lewis to invade England.

John's next misfortune comes when Arthur, attempting escape, leaps to death from his prison's wall. Rejecting Hubert's explanation, the revolting barons offer their swords to Lewis, who has landed in England. Lewis, however, distrusts the English lords, and resolves to put them to death after he has employed their aid. They learn of this treachery through a dying French lord, Melun, and decide to return to John.

Meanwhile John has submitted to the Pope, and Pandulph has restored his surrendered crown. Pandulph vainly orders Lewis to abandon his invasion of England.

Ill and discouraged, John comes into Lincolnshire in an expedition against his enemies. The Bastard loses most of the king's forces in a tidal inundation on the Lincoln Washes.

John meets his death at Swinstead Abbey, where a monk gives him a poisoned cup, drinking with him and dying before him. In his death-agony John shows repentance, and in *T.R.* he prophesies the eventual overthrow of popery in England. The Bastard sustains him in his

dying moments, and brings before him his son Prince Henry and the penitent nobles, who are forgiven. Lewis, deprived of reinforcements by the shipwreck of a French fleet and confronted by the reunited English forces, acknowledges Henry's sovereignty in England and is courteously dismissed. The Bastard concludes the action, in each play, with a speech glorifying English unity as a guaranty of national security.

An examination of the source-material in sixteenth-century chronicles reveals a far more tangled skein of events in John's brief and truly "troublesome" reign. Considerable skill as a plotter is shown by the playwright who wrote *T.R.* in simplifying the material and recasting it in an orderly dramatic sequence. His greatest dramatic success, albeit one which does violence to history, is his making the death of Arthur motivate the secession of John's barons, which in reality came years later. He endeavors to make the little prince's fate serve as a theme of tragic nemesis throughout the second part of the play; though John is not directly guilty, both he and other characters assume at times of crisis that the sin of murder rests on the king's head and that his sufferings are in expiation.

Another feat of the dramatist's creative power is his depiction of the Bastard's magnetic personality. Shakespeare subtilized this figure and endowed him with nimbler wit, but did not enhance his robust vitality. So far as our knowledge now goes, the *T.R.* poet built up this character from only slight hints in Polydore Vergil and Foxe.

Constructed around the plot-unifying element of Arthur's death, enlivened by the doughty Bastard's daring actions, *T.R.* is also permeated by a fanatical Protestant spirit. John is depicted in large measure, in the words of the Prologue, as "a warlike Christian" who "set himself against the Man of Rome," and "for Christ's true faith endured . . . many a storm." That this concept is inconsistent with John's historic character, the playwright himself surely realized. His emphasis on the Arthur-nemesis theme is proof enough. The discrepancy is partly masked by the expedient of virulently abusing and traducing the papacy and the monastic orders, in the spirit of the early years of the English Reformation. This tendency the playwright, of course, shared with the chroniclers (excepting the pro-Catholic Polydore Vergil), with

John Foxe, and with John Bale. It is greatly reduced in Shakespeare's rehandling.

Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, a colossal compendium of fact and fiction, has been neglected by literary scholars. The book repels the liberal-minded by its fiery, intolerant spirit, and its historical value is slight. Modern editions commonly met with under the name of Foxe are feeble, simplified rewritings, of little interest. The early editions are many, and copies are fairly common in the larger American libraries. But the sheer vastness of Foxe's tomes (after the first edition of 1563, a fat, smallish folio, the usual format is two folio volumes, each larger than a Shakespeare folio), and perhaps the supposition that Foxe deals only with the burnings under Bloody Mary may have discouraged investigators. Actually, Foxe's book ranges over the whole of Christian history, depicting at length the major periods of persecution, and treats especially the history of Christian England, ferreting out every possible instance of papal aggression. In the churches of England during the last third of the sixteenth century this martyrology came near to sharing honors with the Bible. On the plain people its influence must have been much stronger than that of Holinshed, and there need be no surprise if it also influenced the *literati*.

Some ten of Foxe's mighty pages are devoted to the reign of John, who is treated with consistent sympathy, if not with the admiration voiced in the Prologue to *T.R.* John's crimes and vices, on which nearly all mediaeval chroniclers had laid stress, are passed over in silence; his submission to the papacy is condoned as an act of necessity, wherein he is sinned against, not sinning. The treatment of the curse laid upon him by Pandolph, and of his miserable end, has points of especial kinship to the representation of these things in *T.R.*

Let us now examine the language of *T.R.* in the cursing scene¹ and compare it, first with that of Holinshed, which hitherto has been regarded as the source, and then with that of Foxe. The significant speeches in the play are these:

1 Part I, sc. v. References are to the reprint of *T.R.* in H. H. Furness' New Variorum edition of *John* (1919), pp. 471-537. Citations of *Kynge Johan* are to W. Bang's facsimile of the manuscript with J. M. Manly's lineation in *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas* (Louvain, 1909), bd. xxv.

Card. Then I Pandulph of Padoa, Legate from the Apostolick Sea, doo in the name of S. Peter and his successor our holy Father Pope Innocent, pronounce thee accursed discharging euery of thy subiectes of all dutie and fealtie that they doo owe to thee, and pardon and forgiuenes of sinne to those or them whatsoever, which shall carrie armes against thee or murder thee: this I pronounce, and charge all good men to abhorre thee as an excommunicate person.

Iohn. So sir, the more the Fox is curst the better a fares: if God blesse me and my Land, let the Pope and his shauelings curse and spare not.

Card. Furthermore I charge thee *Philip* King of *France*, and al the Kings and Princes of Christendome, to make war vpon this miscreant: and whereas thou hast made a league with him, and confirmed it by oath, I doo in the name of our foresaid father the Pope, acquit thee of that oath as vnlawful, being made with an heretike, how saist thou Philip, doost thou obey? (ll. 88-101)

Holinshed (I quote from the first edition of 1577 as the more probable source) has similar matter in two passages, pp. 575 and 572-3:

. . . the Legate as it is reported, vttered his tale vnto the Kyng in this manner: I doe not thinke that you are ignorant, how Pope Innocēt, to do that which to his duety apperteyneth, hath both assoiled your subiectes of that oth whiche they made vnto you at the beginning, and also taken from you the gouernaunce of England, accordyng to youre desertes, and finally giuen commaundement vnto certayne Princes of Christendome, to expulse you out of thys Kingdome, and to place an other in your roomth, so worthely to punish you for your disobedience and contempte of Religion . . . (p. 575).

. . . Pope Innocent, . . . determined . . . to depriue Kyng Iohn of his kingly estate, and so firste assoyled all his subiects and vassals of their othes of allegiāce made vnto the same King, and after depriued him by solemne protestation of his Kingly administration and dignitie, and lastly, signifieth vnto the French King and other Christian Princes, of that his depriuation, admonishing them to pursue King Iohn, being thus depriued, forsaken, and condemned as a common enemie to God and his Church.²

Turning now to Foxe's work, I quote from the fourth edition, of 1586, as the edition nearest in time to the probable date of *T.R.*, 1587 or 1588:

. . . He (the Pope) hath wholly interdicted & cursed you, . . . And all those that with you haue commoned before this time, whether that they be

² Pp. 572-3. This second passage is given in W. G. Boswell-Stone, *Shakspeare's Holinshed* (1896), pp. 56-7.

Earles, Barons or Knightes (or any other whatsoever they be) we assoyle them safely from their sins vnto this day. And from this time forward (of what condition soeuer they be) we accurse them openly: and specially by this our sentence, that do with you common. And we assoyle moreouer Earles, Barons, knightes and all other maner of men of their homages, seruice, and fealties, that they should do vnto you . . .

Also Sir K. (quoth Pandolph) all the kinges, princes and the great Dukes christened, haue labored to the pope to haue licence to crosse themselves, and to warre agaynst thee, as vpon Gods enemy, and winne thy lande, and to make K. whom it pleaseth the pope. And we here now assoile all those of their sinnes that will arise against thee here in thine owne land. (I, 252)

Note the prominence in the Foxe passage of the words "cursed-accurse," "all those," "whatsoever," "fealties," "warre" and "agaynst thee"; words which occur in *T.R.*, but not in Holinshed. "Princes of Christendome," in Holinshed, is indeed a phrase used in *T.R.*; but in Foxe we have the phrase more nearly in full ("all the kinges, princes and the great Dukes christened") except for the peculiar termination. The word "subjects" also occurs in Holinshed and not in Foxe. Weighing the evidence, I find it quite conclusive that the author of *T.R.*, though familiar, as much other matter in the play shows, with Holinshed's account of John, was writing here with Foxe uppermost in his mind. Of this view, there may be a singular confirmation, indicating an association of ideas in the writer's thought, in John's mocking use of the proverb, "the more the *fox* is cursed, the better he fares."

There were many stories about the circumstances of John's death. Both Foxe and Holinshed give epitomes of the tales, with references to the mediaeval sources. Each of the two chroniclers presents first a version similar to that adopted in *T.R.*: that a monk at Swinstead Abbey gave the king poison, drinking first of the baneful cup and paying for it with his own life. Holinshed, however, summarizes this story in a few words, and assigns to the monk a motive wholly absent in the play: that in a fit of spite against his rebellious subjects, John threatened to bring about a tremendous rise in the price of grain. This motive Holinshed derived from the so-called "Brut" chronicle, which, coming down from the early fifteenth century in MS., was published by Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde, and later incorporated in Grafton's chronicle. Foxe also cites Caxton as authority, but suppresses the tale of the threatened

inflation, evidently in order to present the monk's deed in the worst possible light.

The circumstantial account given by Foxe has the following points found in *T.R.* but not in Holinshed:

1. The monk first takes counsel with his abbot concerning his contemplated murder.
2. The abbot praises the monk and absolves him in advance of the deed.
3. The monk obtains his poison from what he calls in the play "the inwards of a toad."
4. The monk speaks of his drink as one that "shall make all England glad" (in *T.R.* he calls it "the meriest draught y^t euer was dronk in England").
5. He uses the word "Wassail" in reference to the drink (as a name for it in Foxe, as the familiar drinker's cheer in *T.R.*).
6. The king pledges the monk in return for the latter's toast (only this element is mentioned in Holinshed).

All these items are represented, indeed, in Bale's *Kyng Johan*, which will be discussed hereafter. What clinches the argument that most of them came to *T.R.*'s author from Foxe more probably than from Bale is a remarkable illustration occurring in the early editions of Foxe. This is a woodcut with six panels, printed on an inserted sheet somewhat smaller than the folio page. Captions printed from type, evidently set in holes cut in the wood block, accompany each panel. One panel shows the monk presenting his poisoned cup, with the words "Wassail my lige." This is exactly what the monk says when he offers his cup in the play. In another panel the monk is seen cutting the "inwards" out of the toad; the caption says he "tempereth his poison." The remaining panels exhibit the absolution of the monk; the monk lying dead ("burst of the poyson" say the captions, after the first edition; compare Shakespeare's statement, wanting in *T.R.*, that the monk's "bowels suddenly burst forth"; in *T.R.* a similar symptom is implied in John's case instead); John lying dead; finally a "perpetual masse sung dayly in Swinstead for the Monke, that poisoned Kyng Iohn." (In the play the mass is promised as a monthly ceremony.)

This illustration is important source-evidence for another reason. In the scene of the king's accepting of the fatal cup, a stalwart figure with a very substantial beard is shown sitting near John, evidently as a friendly

companion. And in the scene of the king's deathbed, the same figure bends over the monarch in an attitude of mourning. I surmise that here we have a hint, which other sources entirely lack, for the Bastard Falconbridge as John's supporter through his last ordeal.

If Foxe may now be accepted as a likely source of *T.R.*, we shall find him throwing light on other problems connected with the play. I shall mention here only one of these, a small but curious point. In Part I, sc. xiii, John tells his courtiers how the Pope received news of the King of England's rejection of the Holy See's authority. Says John:

. . . with a taunt vaunting vpon his toes
He vrdege a reason why the English Asse
Disdaingd the blessed ordinance of *Rome*?
The title (reuerently might I inferre)
Became the Kings that earst haue borne the load,
The slauish weight of that controlling Priest. (ll. 15-20)

No possible source that I have examined contains any such point as this allegation that the Pope called John "the English ass," or the retort that kings who endured the papal yoke better deserved this contemptuous epithet. But Foxe yields a plausible explanation. In an "Appendix" to Volume I of the *Actes and Monuments*, in the two-volume format found from 1570 on, there is a series of twelve woodcuts under the general heading, "The proude primacie of Popes paynted out in Tables." The "proude primacie" thus exhibited is in most of the pictures asserted at the expense of emperors and kings. One cut is headed "Emperours kissing the Popes feete"; another, "Pope Coelestinus 4. crowning the Emperour Henricus 6. with his feete"; another, "Fridericus 1. Emperour shent for holding Pope Adrians styrrup on the wrong side"; another, "The order of the Popes riding, the Emperour holding his bridle, and kinges going before him." It will be noted that the Pope's feet figure prominently in these pictures; that emperors and kings are associated with the Pope's riding on horseback, and in one instance, the pontiff is carried on the shoulders of men, though not actually of the emperor and king. Is it not likely that these pictures gave *T.R.*'s author his novel idea of the foot-conscious Pope, "vaunting vpon his toes" and compelling kings to bear his "slauish weight"? The common concept of the ass as a submissive beast of burden would readily explain the association

between that epithet and the papal equitations pictured in Foxe. Still other clues to the singular "English Asse" phrase occur in the "Book of Martyrs," in or near the account of John's reign. One of Pandulph's speeches to John alludes to the bishop of "saynt Asse" (Asaph's?) in Wales. More pointed is an irreverent sneer at St. Francis, who is styled "this Assissian Asse" in a passage dealing with the reign of John's successor Henry III. It is undeniable that the playwright might have invented the epithet; but its prominence in Foxe is at least a striking coincidence.

Let us now turn from Foxe to another burning zealot of the Protestantism of the new-fledged Protestant church of England: to John Bale, Bishop of Ossory. Bale's lengthy play *Kyng Johan*, presenting garbled history overlaid on a substratum of morality-play concepts, is a crabbed, harsh affair, and yet no mean composition for its mid-century period. It points the way to the vigorous chronicle-history dramas of the 1580's and 1590's. But can it have been known to the author of *T.R.*? The unique MS. of *Kyng Johan* appears to have slumbered at Ipswich, among papers probably belonging to the corporation of the town, until its first publication by Collier for the Camden Society in 1838. But there are grounds for thinking that the piece was at least twice acted, once in Henry VIII's reign, about 1538 or 1539, and again, with some additions by the author, notably a panegyric on and prayer for Queen Elizabeth, in 1561—this time at Ipswich, Collier has conjectured. Two performances at such widely separated intervals, and in versions somewhat unlike, render highly probable the existence in the sixteenth century of more than one MS. Again, *T.R.*'s author may have hailed from Ipswich or its vicinity; could we be certain of a source in Bale for the later chronicle play, we might find ourselves possessed of a clue to the authorship of the latter.

I am not prepared to maintain with certainty that Bale's *Kyng Johan* is indeed a source of *T.R.* But the internal evidence does seem to me rather striking. I have collected more than a hundred parallel passages and instances of similarity. Many may well be explained by Bale's employment of chronicle source-material, e.g., from Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris, and Polydore Vergil, which was also employed by Foxe or Holinshed. Still I consider some forty of the parallels to carry

appreciable weight in the likeness of their language to that of *T.R.* I will cite a few of these.

To Wendover's account of John's first coronation (he had three; the first was in 1199), Matthew Paris,³ like Wendover a twelfth-century writer, adds a comparison of John to King David of Israel, which comparison was to be revived, with very different implications, by Bale and by *T.R.*'s author. According to Matthew Paris, Hubert the archbishop of Canterbury made a speech at John's coronation in which he stressed the point that John had become king by election, not by hereditary right (thinking evidently of Arthur of Brittany's claim to the English throne), and in which respect he likened John to David. The archbishop afterward declared, according to Wendover, that he spoke thus as knowing John would one day bring the kingdom into great confusion. Just what he meant is not clear to me, but evidently the slight John-David comparison was not meant by Wendover as a compliment to John.

Now in the play by Bale, who appears to have known Wendover's chronicle, there are six different references to David. Two, in the central part of the play, are most noteworthy:

As a stronge Dauid, at the voyce of veritie
Great Golye the pope, he (John) strake down w^t hys slynge
Restorynge agayne, to a Christen lybertie
His lande and people, lyke a most vycictoryouse kyng. (ll. 1104-7)

(John speaks):
most mercyfull god, as my trust is in the
so cōforte me now, in this extremyte
as thow holpyst dauid, in his most hevynes
so helpe me this hou^r, of thy grace, mercye, & goodnes. (ll. 1630-3)

Perhaps the most eloquent passage in *T.R.* is found in John's dying speech (Part II, sc. viii, 93-102). After lamenting the misfortunes he has suffered since his submission to the Pope, John says:

³ *Historia Majora*, ed. 1684, p. 165. The David passage is cited in Roger of Wendover's *Flowers of History*, translated by J. A. Giles (1869), ii, 181. The Variorum Shakespeare edition of *John*, p. 21, quotes much of the coronation speech, but omits the reference to David.

Studies in the King John Plays

But in the spirit I cry vnto my God,
As did the Kingly Prophet *David* cry,
(Whose hands, as mine, with murder were attaint)
I am not he shall buyld the Lord a house,
Or roote these Locusts from the face of earth:
But if my dying heart deceaue me not,
From out these loynes shall spring a Kingly braunch
Whose armes shall reach vnto the gates of *Rome*,
And with his feet treads downe the Strumpets pride,
That sits vpon the chaire of *Babylon*.

No reference to David in any connection with John is to be found in Foxe or Holinshed. *T.R.*'s author has given a new turn to the comparison, yet he places it in John's mouth in a moment which was indeed one of "extremyte" and "hevynes." Quite conceivably the comparison may have occurred to him independently. It is less likely that he and Bale should each independently have made a radical conversion of Wendover's John-David equation from an uncomplimentary to a complimentary form; in other words, it is more likely that *T.R.*'s author followed Bale than that he based directly on Wendover.

In *Kyng Johan*, ll. 1452-3, Nobility says:

I had moche rather, do agaynst god verly
than to holy chyrche, to do any InIurye.

In a similar dilemma, confronted by Pandulph's demand that he turn against John, Philip of France cries:

What should I say, I must obey the Pope. (1 *T.R.*, sc. v, 106)

John counters:

Obey the Pope, and breake your oath to God? (l. 107)

There are ten parallels in John's poison-death between Bale's play and *T.R.* Some of these are to be ascribed to Foxe rather than Bale. Others are not met with in Foxe or Holinshed. Thus, Bale's monk says, l. 1964:

I hope in a whyle, to wurke some feate abroad;
while *T.R.*'s monk tells the Abbot, after being absolved:

. . . now my Lord I goe about my worke. (2 *T.R.*, sc. vi, 145)

Friendly speeches of John to the monk are found in Bale, as in *T.R.*, whereas Foxe quotes only the monk. *Kyng Johan* makes the king say, "In dede I wolde gladly drynk" (l. 2058). *T.R.* makes the abbot tell the monk that the king "will to meate" (Pt. II, sc. vi, 100); and a friar who lays the tablecloth tells his fellow that "the King desires to eate" (viii, 1).

Bale and Foxe agree in calling the monk Simon. In *T.R.*, however, the monk's name is Thomas. Whence came this alteration? The only clue is to be found in the death-speech of Bale's monk, who says,

I dye for the churche, with Thomas of Canterberye. (l. 2084)

Compare the hope of the monk in *T.R.* to "be canonized for a holy Saint" (Pt. II, sc. vi, 95).

Before discussing the possibility that Polydore Vergil's chronicle may be a direct source of *T.R.*, I should like to point out an interesting little puzzle in the language of Holinshed and *T.R.* which is cleared up by reference to Vergil. After Hubert, Prince Arthur's keeper, has renounced his intention of blinding the unhappy boy, he speaks as follows:

Ile to the King, and say his will is done,
And of the langor tell him thou art dead. (1 *T.R.*, sc. xiii, 127-8)

The word "langor" hardly fits the agonizing shock of having one's eyes put out. Holinshed, however, undoubtedly gave *T.R.*'s author the word, though with a more reasonable context. The chronicle reports various versions of the fate of Arthur, and among them:

. . . Other write, that through verie grieffe and languor
hee pyned away, and died of naturall sicknesse.⁴

But Polydore Vergil⁵ explains the probable origin of the word when he includes in his list of reputed causes of Arthur's death the phrase: "angore animi absumptu," *i.e.*, "exhausted by anguish of mind." It seems most likely that Holinshed derived his "languor" from the similar-appearing though unrelated Latin word, and that *T.R.*'s author

⁴ Holinshed, *op. cit.*, ii, 555; Boswell-Stone, p. 63.

⁵ Edinburgh, 1557, p. 267.

garbled its meaning. Or the latter, using Vergil independently of Holinshed, may have carelessly substituted "languor" for "angor."

Holinshed makes but little, and Foxe nothing, of Arthur's mother Constance, who cuts such a pathetic figure in the John plays, especially in Shakespeare's. Holinshed's main reference to her grief (ii. 555) is rather wooden: "such obiections as Constance the duches of Brytain, mother to the said Arthur, should lay to hys [John's] charge touching the murther of hir son." Vergil more strongly emphasizes Constance's complaint and says she accused John of "parricide" (p. 267).

Twice at least Vergil speaks of John as behaving like a madman: "amenti similis" (p. 267) and "furenti similis" (p. 276). These phrases remind us of the Bastard's remonstrance: "My Lord these motions are as passions of a mad man" (2 *T.R.*, sc. ii, 112). Foxe and Holinshed, more sympathetic with John than is Vergil, do not represent him as behaving with such frenzy.

In several other passages Vergil seems to point us directly to a possible origin of the tantalizing character of the Bastard. Vergil is more dramatic than the other chroniclers in his tendency to single out some individual as speaking or acting, notably in rôles analogous to the Bastard's. Vergil says that when John's barons revolted, Ferdinand earl of Flanders sent a force to John's aid which was led by Faulkes de Brent; in Vergil's exact language, "duce Fulcasio Brentaeo." It is well known that this turbulent Norman freebooter, Faulkes de Brent, has often been conjectured to have given the Bastard his family name of Falconbridge. I am not convinced of this derivation, and am not disposed to press this point. But when Vergil represents unnamed persons as saying or doing things very much as the Bastard does in *T.R.*, one may well prick up his ears.

Thus Vergil tells us (p. 267) that when John was madly striving to dispel by hilarity the gloom incident to his French reverses, certain of his lords ("principum quidā eius") openly ascribed the blame to him, in that his realm suffered such ignominy from France: John belittled the French king's successes, and vowed that he should soon repay these with usury: a speech badly received by his own men. The plural here might point us rather to the barons lapsing from allegiance to John in the plays, but those worthies actually make it no part of their charges

against John that he let French territories slip through his fingers; rather, they make common cause with John's French enemies. It is the Bastard who deplores John's pact with Philip, and later exhorts him to rouse himself to active defensive measures against Lewis the dauphin. In his loyalty the Bastard upbraids John less, however, and this point is not convincing.

But there is one exploit of the Bastard which I feel certain the author of *T.R.* derived from Vergil. I refer to Falconbridge's escape from the general overwhelming of John's army by a tidal inundation on the Lincoln Washes. Holinshed is doubtless a source for the episode as a whole; he has the very language of the play: "in passing the washes, hee lost a great parte of his army, wyth Horses and Carriages" (ii, 605); for which *T.R.* gives us the Bastard's words, "Passing the washes with our carriages" (Pt. II, sc. vi, 47). After saying that this was judged to be a divinely appointed punishment of John's spoiling of religious houses, Holinshed adds, "Yet the Kyng hymselfe, and a fewe other, escaped the violence of the waters, by following a good guide." Vergil lends to the episode more dramatic coloring. I translate his Latin:

"John ordered one of his men, who had a spirited and active horse, to explore the shallows where the sea floods in upon the river. This man by chance found a ford and made his way to the farther bank; whereas the others, out of all order, more rashly let themselves into the water" (p. 287); so that men, horses, and baggage were lost. Vergil too says that John followed his pathfinder through the ford, and barely escaped with a few followers. Compare the Bastard's narrative, beginning with the line already quoted:

Passing the washes with our carriages,
The impartiall tyde deadly and inexorable,
Came raging in with billowes threatning death,
and swallowed vp the most of all our men,
My selfe vpon a Galloway right free, well pacde,
Out stript the floods that followed waue by waue,
I so escapt to tell this tragick tale. (Pt. II, sc. vi, 47-53)

Vergil, we see, mentions the invasion of the sea, whereas Holinshed uses only the vaguer phrase, "the violence of the waters." And Vergil emphasizes especially the "spirited and active horse" ("acrem & impigrū

equum"), whereas Holinshed says nothing of the guide's having a horse at all. Holinshed designates the area as "Wellestreme landes"; Vergil gives the place-name in Latin as "Vualpolam." I believe the Latin name, by sound-association, suggested to *T.R.*'s author the "Galloway" as the breed of horse on which Falconbridge was mounted. That *T.R.*'s author departs from both sources in making John take a different route, avoiding the dangerous "washes," is due, it would seem, to the playwright's desire to show John in a pathetic state of illness and isolation (he speaks as one ill and utterly despondent before Falconbridge brings him the bad news, and before he is poisoned) and thus to heighten sympathy with the king as his final tragedy approaches.

THE SOURCES OF SHAKESPEARE'S *RICHARD II*

By MATTHEW W. BLACK

I

In his *Life of William Shakespeare* (1923), Dr. Adams emphasizes on several occasions that it was Shakespeare's custom to prepare himself, whether for the writing of a new play or the revising of an old one, by consulting more sources than the one which he chiefly followed. Of *Measure for Measure*, for example, Dr. Adams writes: "By way of preparation he studied both [Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*] and Whetstone's prose rendering of the same story in his *Heptameron of Civil Discourses*, 1582; and he also went to Whetstone's original source and read the narrative in Geraldine Cinthio's *Hecatommithi*. Not content even with this, he seems to have examined Cinthio's untranslated Latin play, *Epita*, from whence he drew the name Angelo. Out of these scattered materials he wrought *Measure for Measure*."¹ That Dr. Adams considered such preparation to have been habitual with Shakespeare is evident in the discussion of *King Lear*: "As was his custom, Shakespeare was not content with examining merely the old play, but went directly to the account of King Lear in Holinshed's *Chronicle*; and he also read the story as told by Spenser in *The Faerie Queene*."² Dr. Adams was thus one of the earliest of modern scholars to proclaim—with a moderation characteristic of him, though unhappily not of all the adherents of this school of thought—the view that Shakespeare prepared for the writing of a play by reading as thoroughly as time, circumstances, and books permitted. We know that in the matter of acting, an element of his profession on which he expressed his attitude through Hamlet's advice to the players, he combined high artistic principles with hard common sense. It is reasonable to believe that the same combination guided him in the matter of writing a play.

Shakespeare did not, to be sure, consult a number of sources for every play. It is part of an artist's equipment to know when, and how much, preparation is necessary for a particular enterprise. In the com-

¹ Pp. 362-3.

² P. 374.

position of *Richard III*, *Julius Caesar*, *As You Like It*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Coriolanus*, at least, Shakespeare chose for one reason or another to rely almost entirely upon a single account, and vindicated his decision by his success. The habit of preparing appears most consistently in the mature plays from *Troilus and Cressida* through *Lear*; intermittently in those which preceded and followed that group. But the view that it was his custom to prepare is on the whole a reasonable view, providing, for the majority of the plays in the canon, the only possible explanation of the facts, and in other cases what has seemed, and seems, the most natural explanation.

It is a view of Shakespeare which has of late been strengthened, but also to some extent endangered, by researches into the methods of his contemporaries in the drama, notably those of Marlowe, as when Miss Ellis-Fermor, in her introduction to her edition of *Tamburlaine*,³ is able to state unequivocally that Marlowe derived episodes or traits of character from no fewer than four full-dress biographies of his hero; that he used Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* "with the accuracy of a scholar and the common sense of a merchant-venturer," and that he consulted at least three additional works for Part II. Miss Ellis-Fermor herself makes no attempt to generalize upon her findings as to Marlowe by suggesting that other Elizabethan playwrights worked in a similar way. But one encounters from time to time a tendency on the part of writers since the publication of her study to think of an Elizabethan dramatist, and especially Shakespeare, as something like a modern research scholar, with a professional zeal for getting at and reconciling all the facts, and I have little doubt that her work on Marlowe has helped to betray them into this extreme position. When applied to an early Renaissance writer, phrases like "the accuracy of a scholar," "his thirst for exactitude and scientific detail," and the like must of course be taken at their early Renaissance value. And we cannot, I think, transfer them at par from Marlowe to Shakespeare; what may have been true of a university-trained mind need not have been equally true of one whose higher education came through his own reading alone; and what may hold good for an intense and humorless nature cannot safely be extended to a spirit "broad as ten thousand beeves at pasture."

3 1930, pp. 38-48.

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Another sort of overstatement of our view results from the intensive examination of the sources of the individual plays, in the absence of that effort at synthesis which must eventually be made. Obviously, if we suppose that every book drawn upon for each play was read, or even re-read, expressly for the purpose, the separate lists of sources become artificially long. Such books as Holinshed, Ovid, North's *Plutarch*, Florio's *Montaigne*, the comedies of John Lyly, or Daniel's *Civil Wars* were presumably read once, remembered, and subsequently drawn upon at need, perhaps with a little refreshing on the relevant portions. Nor can we doubt that Shakespeare read the great books of his day with no object beyond the immediate pleasure of the reading, and that memories of these enriched his plays. As Tillyard remarks,⁴ "It is scarcely conceivable that Shakespeare should not have read so famous a book as Berners's *Froissart*, or that having read it he should not have been impressed by the bright pictures of chivalric life in those pages." Yet Tillyard himself in his next sentence falls into what may prove to be a trap: "Among Shakespeare's History Plays *Richard II* is the one that falls within the period of time covered by Froissart. All the more reason why on this unique occasion he should heed this great original." For an intellect and imagination so harmonious and untrammelled as were Shakespeare's, can we ever be sure that an occasion is unique? Froissart is mentioned in *1 Henry VI*⁵ as a historian favorable to England. His influence is found in the portion of *Edward III* once attributed on other grounds to Shakespeare. His presence in the immediate background of *Richard II* was first demonstrated by Reyher⁶ as recently as 1924. Who can be sure that memories of Froissart do not occur elsewhere in the canon? When a comprehensive study of the sources is finally made, based upon a synopsis of all the resemblances and parallels uncovered in the last two centuries by editors of individual plays, we shall doubtless be able to place many more books upon the general list, and our conception of Shakespeare as an artist will appear still more reasonable than it does at present.⁷

⁴ *Shakespeare's History Plays* (1944), p. 253.

⁵ I, ii, 29.

⁶ *Notes sur les Sources de "Richard II"* (Paris, 1924).

⁷ It is perhaps as well to remark that this conception detracts not at all from Shakespeare's originality. Miss Ellis-Fermor's able chapters on Marlowe's researches for *Tamburlaine* are followed by a glowing one upon his independence of all sources.

II

The making of *Richard II* is urged by Professor Dover Wilson as a notable exception to Shakespeare's custom of preparing. In his edition of the play⁸ he comes out flatly in favor of the theory that Shakespeare was here revising an old play. This theory has been often broached and as often rejected. It is implied in what several of the eighteenth-century editors say about the uneven quality of the play, an opinion shared by Dr. Johnson when he wrote, in his edition of *Richard II*,⁹ "This play is one which Shakespeare has apparently revised," though it is not entirely clear that he did not mean that Shakespeare had revised his own previous work. At any rate, the "old play" theory is fully explicit in Lloyd¹⁰ and the Irving edition¹¹ and it has been entertained—with considerable caution—by various reputable modern scholars, including Sir Edmund Chambers.¹² Wilson is, however, the first to adopt it wholeheartedly and to attempt an elaborate display of the "evidence" in its favor.

Quotation from Wilson's twenty-two-page argument cannot do it justice, but the conclusion is put in fair, round terms: "I can see no reason for believing that [Shakespeare] took the trouble to read Holinshed or any other chronicle for his *Richard II*, any more than he had done for his *King John*. Daniel's poem, an actor's knowledge of *Thomas of Woodstock*, and our hypothetical play-book by the author of *The Troublesome Reign of King John* are together sufficient to account for all the facts."¹³ From his concluding paragraphs, one gathers that he proposes to advance a similar hypothesis, or an extension of this one, with regard to the remainder of the tetralogy: *Richard II*, 1 and 2 *Henry IV*, *Henry V*. We are not, of course, concerned with this at

8 Cambridge University Press (1939), pp. lxiv–lxxvi.

9 *Plays* (1765), iv, 105.

10 W. W. Lloyd, *Critical Essays on the Plays of Shakespeare* (1875), p. 201.

11 William Shakespeare, *Works*, ed. Sir Henry Irving and F. A. Marshall (1888–90), ii, *passim*.

12 *William Shakespeare* (1930), i, 352–3.

13 P. lxxv. Whether Wilson believes that the consultation of Froissart should also be credited to Shakespeare is not certain. He does find the influence of Froissart in I, ii, and III, iv, scenes for which no parallels exist in the chronicles, and usually regarded by editors as typical Shakespearean inventions.

present, nor with the assumption—it comes to little more—that the “old” *Richard II* was written by the author of *The Troublesome Reign*, but only with the attempt to prove that Shakespeare used an old play as the basis of *Richard II* and did not take the trouble to read the chronicles himself.

Wilson's opening paragraph in defense of his theory reveals its genesis: “A student of *King John*, working with *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, its indubitable source, before him, may learn how Shakespeare went to work in the composition of at least one history-play. We found, for example, that he followed the other dramatist ‘as closely as his greatly superior dramatic and poetic powers allowed; and he made use of no other source whatsoever.’” The implication is clear, though Wilson does not express it immediately; it is that on the ground of resemblances between the state of the two texts, we learn from *King John* how Shakespeare went to work in the composition not only of one history-play but of two, the other being *Richard II*, written just after or just before *King John*.

Without prejudging the textual evidence, we may fairly object to any argument based too closely on the shifting sands of Shakespeare chronology. And granting that the two plays in question are chronologically close, we must further object that *King John* is not, and never has been, the first analogy which comes to mind in thinking of *Richard II*. The first analogy is with *Richard III*, a drama in which Shakespeare's dependence upon Holinshed and independence of two other extant plays on the subject, one in Latin and one in English, is not now seriously questioned. *Richard III* and *Richard II* are strongly related in that they are stages in the indebtedness of Shakespeare to Marlowe. The earlier piece is strongly Marlovian; in the later *Richard*, Shakespeare is handling material similar to Marlowe's in a fashion predominantly his own. His advance from imitator to rival of Marlowe is one of the most convincing and satisfying episodes in his artistic development. But on Wilson's showing, in preparing to imitate Marlowe closely, Shakespeare disregarded *Richardus Tertius*, which stood ready to his hand, and the anonymous *True Tragedy of Richard the Third*, which was probably available also, and took the trouble to carve his own material out of the pages of Holinshed and Hall; then when he

came to the more ambitious enterprise of deliberately courting comparison with Marlowe, he took as little trouble as possible and fell back upon an "old play." We shall hardly accept so manifest an inconsistency unless it can be shown to have had some special cause. This Wilson endeavors to supply; the explanation, he says, lies in the effect of circumstances upon a temperament averse to unnecessary work: "It was a busy time for the theatre; his company, newly re-formed in 1594, was anxious to recoup themselves as rapidly as possible for the heavy losses of the plague-years, 1591-4, and to hold their own with their rivals, the Admiral's men; and Shakespeare was their chief dramatist, probably at this time their sole dramatist. Moreover, are we not justified in supposing, from everything we know about him, that Shakespeare followed the line of least resistance, whenever he could?"

In reply to the latter assumption, of course, must be urged the whole view of Shakespeare as an artist with which we began. But there are other assumptions, psychological and factual, which are equally open to question. It is certainly true that one can sometimes do more work, the more one has to do. How do we know that Shakespeare was not that sort of person, instead of one on whom the effect of responsibility was to cause him to take the line of least resistance? Again, supposing *Richard III* to have been written in 1592, can he really have been less busy then, when he was still "Johannes factotum" in the theatre, and far less advanced toward mastery of his craft? We shall never know exactly what kind of man Shakespeare was, nor exactly how busy he was in any given season. We do know that *Richard II* is a more mature and original artistic achievement than *Richard III*, and that by any sort of psychological probability the dramatist would have prepared for it more, not less, carefully. Thus Wilson's approach to his proposition, through *King John*, raises more difficulties than it solves.

Wilson then presents certain "puzzling features of the text" of *Richard II*, the most satisfactory explanation of which, he believes, is to suppose that a source-play for *Richard II*, similar to that for *King John*, once existed. The "puzzling features" are inaccuracies, inconsistencies, and loose ends, as follows:

(1) Bagot, one of Richard's favorites, is not only confused with the Earl of Wiltshire, but, having been sent off to Ireland at II, ii, 138, is

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then announced as executed at Bristol at III, ii, 122, and is finally brought on again, alive and vocal, at the opening of IV, i!

(2) The Lord Marshal at the trial by combat at Coventry is not identified with the Earl of Surrey of IV, i, though Holinshed renders it clear enough, and valuable dramatic capital might have been made of it.

(3) York complains, at II, i, 167-8, of "the prevention of poor Bolingbroke about his marriage" and of "my own disgrace," neither of which is mentioned or explained elsewhere in the play.

(4) At III, i, 11-5, Bolingbroke, reciting the charges against Bushy and Green preparatory to having them executed, accuses them of having been to Richard what Gaveston had been to Edward II:

You have in manner with your sinful hours
Made a divorce betwixt his queen and him,
Broke the possession of a royal bed,
And stained the beauty of a fair queen's cheeks
With tears, drawn from her eyes by your foul wrongs.

(5) There is at III, i, 43 an unexpected and unexplained reference to "Glendower and his complices."

(6) At V, iii, 137 occurs an equally unexpected and unexplained reference by Bolingbroke to his "trusty brother-in-law."

(7) Richard, at IV, i, 255-6, strangely remarks that he has no name:

No, not that name was given me at the font—

a passage pointless in the play as it stands.

(8) The question of Gloucester's murder is vague, not to say inconsistent.

"Beyond loose ends and inconsistencies like the foregoing," Wilson continues, "we found little in *King John* to link it directly with the parent-play. Shakespeare took over a line here and there, generally on some matter of fact, and obviously carried forward, probably by some trick of memory, a number of phrases or half-lines of small dramatic importance. But he rewrote the play as a whole and left no scene or passage, except the scraps just mentioned, of the original standing." We are to suppose that he handled the "old" *Richard II* in the same fashion, though "*Richard II* contains a great deal more of the old

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material," i.e., was less completely re-written. I quote the passage because the initial statement, if read by itself, is unintentionally—but none the less startlingly—misleading. Wilson means only what he says. He does not, could not mean that "loose ends and inconsistencies like the foregoing" could have arisen in no other way than by the revision of a play-book. There are loose ends and inconsistencies of some sort in every one of Shakespeare's plays. They are presumably most numerous where the dramatist had the most material in excess of his needs, whether from an older play in two parts or from a profusion of chronicles. Even were the irregularities in *Richard II* more striking than they are, I could still find a satisfactory explanation of them by imagining a playwright who had been to the chronicles himself, and who was in consequence writing a play with more facts than he needed.

I should, however, like to examine the irregularities separately, for two reasons. For one thing, I feel that too much has been made of them, especially in an acting drama. There is scarcely one of which a theatre audience, then or now, would be conscious, at least to the extent of finding its pleasure impaired. Another reason is that one or two of the inaccuracies seem to lean away from Wilson's hypothesis rather than toward it.

(1) Bagot is a character easily lost sight of, but Wilson's explanation¹⁴ that, after mentioning them separately twice, Shakespeare forgot that Bagot and the Earl of Wiltshire were separate persons is unconvincing. Of the four favorites and bad advisers mentioned in the chronicle, Bushy, Bagot, Green, and the Earl of Wiltshire, Shakespeare evidently decided, like a provident actor-manager, to use only the first three. Until the execution of Bushy and Green, the three always appear together, and they are as little distinguished as any three persons in Shakespeare who speak a comparable number of lines. But the "death and resurrection" of Bagot can be made to sound much more confusing than it really is. When Richard demands at III, ii, 122-7,

Where is the Earl of Wiltshire? where is Bagot?
What is become of Bushy? where is Green?

.

I warrant they have made peace with Bolingbroke,

¹⁴ P. 186n.

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Scroop replies,

Peace have they made with him, indeed, my lord,

which is too cryptic to set up a real misunderstanding in the mind of a theatre audience. Ten lines farther on, Richard refers to the "Judases" correctly as "three," and ten lines after that names the three as "Bushy, Green, and the Earl of Wiltshire," omitting Bagot. Then, and not until then, does Scroop make the explicit statement,

All of them at Bristow lost their heads.

I doubt that Bagot was really dead to the audience.

(2) The failure to identify the Lord Marshal with Surrey seems a venial lapse in a dramatist, a serious one in a scholar.

(3) The "prevention of poor Bolingbroke about his marriage" is of a piece with Richard's other injustices to Bolingbroke, and really needs no further explanation for an audience, while York's reference to "my own disgrace," which is not in any of the known sources, seems like an invented touch of Shakespeare's, in keeping with the speaker's querulousness.

(4) Of Bolingbroke's charge that the favorites had made a divorce betwixt Richard and his Queen, it may be observed that not all of a politician's public utterances need be taken as true; that its echo of *Edward II* is more plausibly Shakespeare's than the scholar's; and that Bolingbroke is subsequently shown as especially tender of Richard's French Queen, perhaps for the very reason that he had been prevented by Richard about his marriage to his French Duchess.

(5) The unexpected mention of Glendower is significant to me of a point to which I shall return, namely that Shakespeare was already looking forward to the writing of a series of dramas, in which *Richard II* was the first.

(6) and (7) These are of the same order as (1) and (2) above.

(8) All that the play really requires of an audience in the theatre is acceptance of Bolingbroke's charge that the Duke of Gloucester had been foully murdered. To an audience which had recently witnessed *Thomas of Woodstock*, further explanation might even have been supererogatory. On the other hand, a scholar-dramatist so well ac-

quainted with the chronicles as Wilson supposes him, and "capable of distilling the most excellent dramatic material" from them, would not have been likely to leave the Gloucester story in so unsatisfactory a condition that it could be compressed, distorted, or confused into the vagueness in which the play leaves it. In this particular, one feels that Wilson himself approaches the position of expecting of Shakespeare a consistency and historical accuracy which the Elizabethan audience seems not to have demanded of him, and which he himself attended to only when it was a necessary question of the play.

It is interesting to observe that, with the single exception of (2), all of these slips are further minimized in the theatre by the fact that they occur in passionate speeches: (1) in Richard's yeasty rage over the supposed treachery of his minions; (3) in York's overflow of indignation at his nephew's misdeeds; (4) during Bolingbroke's cold, angry charge against the favorites; (5) in his rallying cry to his followers; (6) in his threat against Exeter and the Abbot; (7) in Richard's exasperation at the goading of the hateful Northumberland; and (8) in the quarrel scene which opens the Fourth Act. One may suppose that slips such as these are most likely to occur in the writing of passionate speeches, either in condensing and adapting someone else's play, or in composing afresh from the recollections of a great deal of reading. But assuming the former alternative for a moment, what and how much can the "old play" have contained? Perhaps, like *The Troublesome Reign*, it was in two parts, for a single five-act drama of ordinary length which tells Richard's downfall as it is recounted in the chronicles and at the same time raises all these additional matters and clears them up with scholarly accuracy is not easy to imagine.

Nevertheless, there are the slips, undoubtedly slips, and rather more numerous than in other of Shakespeare's plays. They indicate something about the composition of the play, perhaps no more than that it was hasty, or that details were neglected while Shakespeare gave himself to the delight of experimenting in the dramatic lyric. But they prove Wilson's case no more than we should advance ours by rationalizing them all out of existence. The most that can be done is to raise a question: is there anything about these slips which suggests a playwright working over an old play in which "a profound historical

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scholar" had reduced the chronicles to the order and coherence of "excellent dramatic material," rather than a playwright whose brain was teeming with half a dozen different accounts which he himself had been reading? My answer is that insofar as they sometimes leave vague what a scholar would have made clear, they point in the opposite direction.

Wilson's final argument and—for him as for Dr. Johnson—the decisive one is the "preëminent badness" of portions of every scene in Act V, where "the bones of the old play may be seen sticking through," especially in the form of couplets. This takes us onto "the highly debatable ground of style," where expert testimony is called for. Kittredge's is blunt: "Because *Richard II* does not maintain an absolutely uniform standard of excellence in style and metre, critics have suspected that Shakespeare utilized some lost play on the subject and kept fragments of the old text without change. There is not much to be said in favour of any such theory."¹⁵ Tillyard has more to say, but to the same effect: "For illustrating the indifferent verse I need not go beyond the frequent stretches of couplet-writing. . . . It is not that these have not got their function, . . . but that as poetry they are indifferent stuff. They are as necessary as the stiff lines in 3 *Henry VI* spoken by the Father who has killed his Son, and the Son who has killed his Father; but they are little better poetically. For present purposes, it does not matter in the least whether they are relics of an old play, by Shakespeare or by someone else, or whether Shakespeare wrote them with the rest. They occur throughout the play and with the exception of perhaps two couplets are not conspicuously worse in the fifth act than anywhere else. There is no need for a theory that in this act, to save time, Shakespeare hurriedly began copying chunks from an old play. Until there is decisive proof of this, it is simplest to think that Shakespeare wrote his couplets along with the rest, intending a deliberate contrast. He had done the same thing with the Talbots' death in 1 *Henry VI*, while, to account for the indifferent quality, one may remember that he was never very good at the couplet. The best couplets in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* are weak compared with the best blank verse in that play, while few of the final couplets of the sonnets are more than a competent close to

¹⁵ William Shakespeare, *Complete Works*, ed. Kittredge (1936), p. 504.

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far higher verse."¹⁶ My own feeling about this matter is colored by a belief that the York-Aumerle scenes, in which some of the worst couplets occur, are intended to be funny, and that Shakespeare was impatient with them after the lyrical flights of the earlier acts. My scholarly upbringing, moreover, has left me with an ingrained distrust of determinations of authorship on the basis of the badness or goodness of the writing. The one piece of evidence which Wilson brings forward which I find impressive is the presence of fossil-rhymes. The scattered end-rhymes of III, iii, 62-126 are not very unusual; but the occurrence of six examples in the eight lines I, iii, 183-90, of which some are at the beginning or in the middle of the line, is more difficult to explain:

You never shall, so help you truth and God,
Embrace each other's love in banishment,
Nor never look upon each other's *face*,
Nor never write, *regreet*, nor reconcile
This louring tempest of your home-bred *hate*,
Nor never by advised purpose *meet*,
To plot, contrive, or complot any ill,
'Gainst us, our *state*, our subjects, or our land.

Here it does indeed seem as though the revision of couplets into blank verse is the likeliest explanation; but, as with the failure of the first quarto to provide an entry for Sir Piers Exton in V, iii, I see no reason to suspect anything more than what Wilson himself describes as "a slight adaptation of his own draft, such as Shakespeare, we can imagine, found desirable at times after rehearsal."

III

Turning at long last from theory to fact, we must admit that the accumulation of sources for *Richard II* over a period of nearly two centuries has resulted in a list of titles and a bulk of material which at first glance makes us welcome almost any alternative to the dogmatic statement that "Shakespeare read all this." Disregarding mere influences as revealed in the phrasing, and a score of individual matters of fact traceable to general reading, the play draws for incident and

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interpretation of character upon (1) Holinshed, (2) Hall, (3) Froissart, (4) two versions of the *Chronique de la Traïson et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengle-terre*, (5) the metrical *Histoire du Roy d'Angleterre Richard II* by Jean Créton, (6) the anonymous play *Thomas of Woodstock*, and (7) Daniel's *Civil Wars*. I suspect that for no other play in the canon has a comparable amount and diversity of source been so far discovered. A glance at the history of the investigations to be set forth in my New Variorum edition of *Richard II* would reveal a typical example of intensive, uncoördinated research, with its attendant ills: important discoveries made, ignored, made again; basic mistakes of fact persisted in for a century, though repeatedly corrected; above all, no attempt until Wilson's to assemble the results. It was this history which led me to remark above upon the desirability of some sort of clearing house for information about sources. In this instance, it might almost seem as though the first editor to confront the combined results took fright at the strain which they impose upon our concept of the dramatist as historian, and sought refuge in a supposed intermediary.

My own conclusions, on the basis of the calculations and observations set forth below, and an examination, as thorough and objective as I could make it, of the relation of the play to Holinshed, Hall, *Traïson*, and Créton¹⁷ are, first, that the reading of all these sources is a less formidable task than it appears; second, that Shakespeare was working directly from the chronicles; and finally that by combining these conclusions with a belief in Shakespeare's custom of preparing we arrive at an entirely believable version of the making of the play.

That Holinshed was the main source can hardly be doubted by anyone who will compare the play with the corresponding section of the third volume of the *Chronicles*.¹⁸ Someone, Shakespeare or another, read this volume attentively from the lower right-hand corner of page

17 The evidence on this point set forth at length in my forthcoming edition can of course only be outlined here. It includes valuable parallels from W. G. Zeeveld's study of "The Influence of Hall on Shakespeare's English History Plays" (*ELH.*, iii (1936), 317-53), which Wilson seems not to have used; a few additional parallels in *Traïson* and Créton which I have added on Wilson's hint that further gleanings were possible; and new data from books and articles published since Wilson's edition. But new evidence has not changed the picture as a whole. I differ with Wilson chiefly on the interpretation of the facts.

18 Second edition, 1587.

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493 to the paragraph mark at the upper right-hand corner of page 517, a matter of twenty-four pages, and condensed, rearranged, and transmuted it into the play we have. Shakespeare or another—why not Shakespeare? I have learned by actual experiment that even a rather slow reader unfamiliar with Holinshed's type-face and spelling, and lacking any special interest in his material, can read and comprehend ten lines a minute. Holinshed's page is in double column, each column containing 74 lines, or a total of 148 to a page. At the liberal allowance of fifteen minutes to a page, the basic reading for *Richard II* might have taken six hours. One doubts that this would have seemed excessive to even a busy playwright, especially one who was consciously planning the beginning of a great cycle of historical dramas.

But the actual task was easier than that. By reason of the number and pithiness of the marginal notes, Holinshed is an easy book to skim. Anyone who will try the experiment of reading only the marginal notes of the twenty-four pages in question will find that they cover many of the high points of Richard's story, and that much of their wording has been imported directly into the play. And here again, one wonders: does skimming and verbal echoing sound like a profound historical scholar soaked in the history of England, or like the busy dramatist himself? It sounds, in point of fact, exactly like Shakespeare's method of dealing with Holinshed and Plutarch, in plays where there is no question of an intermediary.

That Shakespeare did skim, by some other system as well as by marginal notes, is strongly suggested by the experience of the present writer in assembling the excerpts from Holinshed. The play contains a number of detailed reminiscences of the portion of Richard's story which precedes the opening scene. Having been observed and noted by various editors at various times, they were now duly brought together and transcribed.¹⁹

It was while checking these passages, sixteen in all, from the pages of Holinshed that I noticed that only five of them are keyed by marginal notes, but that of the other eleven, nine are from the lower portion

¹⁹ The complete list, for anyone who cares to check my findings, is: p. 398, column 2, lines 34 ff., 428/2/36, 448/2/49, 464/1/37, 464/2/46, 473/1/69, 485/2/25, 486/1/20, 486/1/38, 487/2/28, 488/1/50, 489/1/64, 489/2/68, 490/2/28, 490/2/57, 492/2/72.

of an inner column. This can hardly be coincidence. It is certainly not the result of collaboration on the part of the editors who noticed the parallels, nor is it explained by anything in the plan or format of the book. It suggests to me that on this occasion at least, Shakespeare looked first at the marginal notes. If he drew blank, he then looked at that portion of the tall, four-column opening which was nearest his eyes, and when—as in these nine instances—he found in that area material that he could use, he troubled no further with those two pages. How much such a process would have added to the time of preparing can only be guessed. I should say it represented at most another six hours' work.²⁰ That he did not read the eighty-five pages entire is suggested by the fact that his material from them, while interesting, is not really the best for his purpose in Holinshed's account of Richard's forbears and of his doings before 1398.

The relevant passages of Hall amount to only fourteen pages, easily read in two hours. Since Hall is a source of *Richard III*, 1 and 2 *Henry IV*, and *Henry VIII*, he really belongs in the category of general reading. On the other hand, the parallels are numerous and detailed enough, amounting at times to verbal echoes, to render it probable that Shakespeare re-read Hall's account of Richard's downfall. Froissart also clearly belongs with general reading. He contributes picturesque incidents and shrewd, vigorously phrased interpretations of character, but practically no verbal echoes. Since Wilson credits Shakespeare with "an actor's knowledge" of *Thomas of Woodstock* and has no doubt that he had read Daniel's *Civil Wars* before revising the "old play," it remains only to consider how much additional reading is involved if *Traison* (or its redaction by LeBeau) and Créton are added to the list of direct sources.

How Shakespeare came to know of them, at least, is easily told. He learned of their existence in reading Holinshed's marginal notes, in which *Traison* appears as "an old French pamphlet belonging to John

²⁰ In this connection, one could wish that the markings in Jaggard's copy of the 1587 Holinshed, to which Clara Longworth de Chambrun called attention in her magazine article, "The Book Shakespeare Used" (*Scribner's* (c. 1936), 28-34), had been published, together with further expert opinion as to their origin. The Countess de Chambrun's description of them does not, however, indicate that they were numerous or detailed enough to be of interest in the present context.

Stow" and Créton as "a French pamphlet which belongeth to Master John Dee." In other words, there were copies in London. It is far easier to conceive Shakespeare borrowing books from his neighbors in London than to imagine how he came to know of the very existence of some of his sources in comedy.

The relevant portions of *Traison* amount to some 3500 lines in Williams' reprint,²¹ in which the present writer, though far from expert in fourteenth-century French, can get the meaning of ten lines a minute. Assuming, as most scholars now do, that Shakespeare read French with little difficulty, the time involved would have been something like six hours. Créton's *Histoire* is a poem of 1500 lines, and the parallels are spaced throughout its length. Less than half as long as the *Traison*, and in verse instead of prose, it can have added no more than three hours to Shakespeare's task. And that he read the French accounts himself, as opposed to working over what a historical scholar got from them, I cannot but believe. For the sympathetic picture they give of Richard in his decline and fall underlies what is to me the most distinctively Shakespearian quality of the play: I mean that even-handed justice and breadth of vision which could take the conflicting views of Lancastrian detractors, Yorkist partisans, and French sympathizers, and, while inclining to none, could reconcile them all by portraying Richard as a man—a complex and unusual sort of man, but completely believable in his kind. The feat of maintaining the King as a consistent human being while transforming him from a wasteful and tyrannous abuser of power into something near to a martyr is a profound imaginative triumph. I have never found that quality of imagination in any other writer to the degree to which it is manifest here, and I cannot believe that a lesser man had anything to do with it. And since it lies at the heart of the play, the only alternative to Shakespeare's having got the Richard of the last two acts from *Traison* and Créton is that he invented him from occasional hints in Holinshed. This last, of course, is possible; but once again we find close verbal echoes of the French chronicles to clinch the borrowing.

We can now compute the amount of time necessary to do the reading

²¹ *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengle-terre*, ed. Benjamin Williams (1846). The Le Beau version adds one short episode.

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for *Richard II*. Leaving Berners, *Woodstock*, and Daniel out of account, we are left with a task, if task it was to one enthralled with Richard's story, which could easily have been completed in twenty-four hours. For a dramatist who was, by Chambers' reckoning, on a normal schedule of two plays a year, this is surely no incredible amount of preparation. It presents no real handicap to our reconstruction of a Shakespeare who found the time, and had the energy and the mentality required to read—or skim—all these sources, cancel out their duplications, penetrate to the heart of their differences, remember the distinctive touches in each which had dramatic value, and "from these scattered materials" create his play.

On the basis of what we know at present, then, Shakespeare prepared himself more thoroughly for the writing of *Richard II* than of any other play in the canon. He read, attentively and for this special purpose, Holinshed's narrative of the last two years of Richard's reign, two French accounts to which Holinshed repeatedly alludes, the *Traïson* and *Créton*, and Daniel's *Civil Wars*. He supplemented this material by skimming through some eighty-five preceding pages of Holinshed. He adapted certain of his main characters in accordance with a less recent or less attentive reading of Hall, Froissart, and *Thomas of Woodstock*, in the latter case perhaps having seen it on the stage or acted in it himself. Such preparation is in keeping with his demonstrable practice in a play, *Richard III*, which preceded *Richard II*, and in many of the plays which followed it. It is a practice referred to by one of the most careful of his biographers as his custom. In the case of *Richard II* he exceeded his custom because he was enthralled with the story and because he was laying the foundation for a great cycle of history plays.

Wilson's hypothesis is very tempting. It is bolstered by one over-all consideration which he himself does not urge, doubtless because it is sufficiently obvious. I mean the fact that the revision of an older play was the method by which Shakespeare learned his craft in the three parts of *Henry VI*, *The Comedy of Errors*, and *The Taming of the Shrew*, as well as in *King John*. He probably returned to it in *Hamlet*. He actually began with it in the very instances I cited at the outset to show his thoroughness, viz., in *Measure for Measure* and in the crowning achievement of *King Lear*. This cumulative analogy counts more,

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I think, than the single analogy with *King John* in inclining us to weigh Wilson's proposition with care.

It is a most ingenious hypothesis. As he has done in the past, and will, I trust, continue to do in future, Wilson has maneuvered us into that area of investigation in which he is most brilliantly himself, that fascinating zone of speculation in which proof and disproof are alike impossible, the land of "believe as you list."

But it is an unnecessary hypothesis. In face of all the probabilities in its favor, I have endeavored to base a rejection of it on grounds more relative than a simple challenge to the proposer to show one scrap of external proof that the "old play" existed. Certainly one wishes for something concrete to which it might be referred. One reflects that in every other case where such a hypothesis has been put forward, there is an entry in the Stationers' Register or in Henslowe, or an allusion in a contemporary pamphlet which might furnish a clue. Here there is nothing.²² Yet to show that it is unnecessary and unsupported is not enough. Its fatal weakness lies in its derogatory implications concerning Shakespeare as a man and an artist. It leaves us disastrously unprepared with an answer to the inevitable question, suppose there was no "old play," how then did *Richard II* come into being? The hope of the present writer is of course that his paper may supply that answer.

²² This point evidently troubled Sir Edmund Chambers, who, as has been said, had already shown a somewhat surprising cordiality to the idea a decade before Wilson's advocacy of it. Unable, however, to contemplate it without some shred of supporting fact, he considers the possibility of a two-part drama, of which Part II was the "old" *Richard II*, and Part I, if not *Woodstock*, may have been the non-Shakespearean *Richard II* described by Simon Forman in 1611—a speculation so tenuous that Wilson understandably fails even to mention it.

THE UNITY OF *HENRY IV*

By M. A. SHABER

The fact that, in the last three or four years, two persuasive and influential critics have offered us interpretations of Shakespeare's *Henry IV* plays which assume that these plays form a unified whole invites us once more to consider this assumption. There is nothing new about it (it is at least as old as Dr. Johnson), but it has rarely been assumed so confidently or worked into so elaborate an interpretation. Since, however, as often as it has been made it has been questioned—among others, by Dr. J. Q. Adams, whose scholarly distinction and rare friendliness we commemorate—it seems desirable to ascertain whether or not Professor Wilson and Dr. Tillyard have been able to put it on a new or a firmer footing.

Professor Dover Wilson proclaimed the unity of the two plays in *The Fortunes of Falstaff* (1943), but without making much attempt to prove it. He says:

(1) . . . Shakespeare must have kept his intentions for Part II steadily in mind all the time he was writing Part I, and (2) . . . Part II . . . is a continuation of the same play, which is no less incomplete without it than Part II is itself unintelligible without Part I. In any case, the unity and continuity of the two parts is a cardinal assumption of the following study. As we shall find, it is impossible otherwise to make sense of Falstaff's character, to say nothing of Prince Hal's [p. 4].

But in his edition of *1 Henry IV* (1946) he offers some justification of his opinion:

1 Henry IV . . . is . . . patently only part of a whole, inasmuch as at its close all the strands of the plot are left with loose ends. [1] The rebels, Northumberland and Archbishop Scroop, are still at large after the battle of Shrewsbury; and [2] the Archbishop is introduced and given a scene to himself in 4. 4 in order to prepare the audience for the expedition of Prince John in Part 2. [3] The relations of the Prince with his father, eased by the interview in 3. 2 and his brilliant conduct in battle, still await that final clarification which, as Elizabethan auditors acquainted with the merest outline of the life of Henry of Monmouth would know, belonged to the death-bed scene in the Jerusalem chamber. [4] Most striking of all perhaps is that stone of stumbling

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to modern interpreters, the soliloquy at the end of the second scene of Part 1, which looks forward not only to the coronation of Henry V but also to the rejection of Falstaff, neither of which occurs until the very end of Part 2. If Part 1 be an integral drama, and Part 2 a mere afterthought, the soliloquy is inexplicable . . . In short, the political and dynastic business of this history play, which is twofold, the defeat of the rebels and the repentance of the Prince including his reconciliation with his father, is only half through at the end of Part 1. . . . [5] Yet another indication of planning is the symbolic arrangement, which excludes the Lord Chief Justice from Part 1, though there are indications that he appeared early in the pre-Shakespearian version, restricts that part to the theme of the truant prince's return to Chivalry, and leaves the atonement with Justice, or the Rule of Law, as a leading motive for its sequel [p. x ff.].

Dr. E. M. W. Tillyard, in *Shakespeare's History Plays* (1944), argues for the unity of the two plays as follows:

[6] [Shakespeare keeps] the action patently incomplete at the end of the first part. [7] In IV. 4 the Archbishop of York is shown preparing for the rebellious action which is the main political theme of Part Two but which is almost irrelevant to Part One. [8] In V. 2 there is a probable reference forward to the second part. Here Worcester refuses to inform Hotspur of the king's generous consent to confine the battle to a duel between Hotspur and the Prince and of his generous offer of a pardon to all the rebels. Worcester distrusts Henry and probably without reason. Shakespeare was thinking ironically of John of Lancaster's offer of pardon made to the other rebels in the second part, which, though insincere, was trusted. . . . [9] Finally, one of the most striking anticipations, pointing to Shakespeare's having planned ahead with much thought, is the talk between Falstaff and the Prince on justice in the scene that first brings them in. . . .

"Shall there be gallows standing when thou art king? and resolution thus fobbed as it is with the rusty curb of old father antic the law?"

The Prince does not say no to this. But the questions are not answered till the end of the second part . . . there Resolution, or Falstaff and his gang, are indeed fobbed with the rusty curb of the Lord Chief Justice or old father antic the law [p. 264 ff.].

It is apparent that 1 and 6, 2 and 7 are the same arguments and that 4 and 9 come to almost the same thing. Except for 8, which I think need not be taken seriously, I shall discuss them seriatim.

[1, 6] The incompleteness assumed by both interpreters is not apparent to me. Of course, the reign of Henry IV is incomplete; as long as

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Shakespeare chose to make the Battle of Shrewsbury the climax of his play it could not be otherwise. The rebels, to be sure, are not completely quelled, but then they never are. The announcement that they have been thoroughly scotched a moment before Henry IV dies is an invention of Shakespeare's intended, I think, to add a poignant irony to the king's death. But the inheritors of their quarrel rise up against Henry V at the beginning of his reign, and indeed it is the argument of Dr. Tillyard's book that the rebel cause draws its motive from the wrong done Richard II, a wrong which plagues Henry IV and his successors all their lives and is not expiated till the end of the Wars of the Roses. So far as the play is incomplete, it is incomplete because history is an endless chain, and Shakespeare is dramatizing history. And if the theme of *1 Henry IV* is what Dr. Tillyard says it is, I do not understand how the play can be called incomplete.

In the first part [he says] the Prince . . . is tested in the military or chivalric virtues. He has to choose, Morality-fashion, between Sloth or Vanity, to which he is drawn by his bad companions, and Chivalry, to which he is drawn by his father and his brothers. And he chooses Chivalry.¹

Indeed he does, unequivocally and completely. Fully reconciled with his father, he seems to have set the issue between them completely at rest. I cannot think what need have or could have been added to show that Hal was indeed the true prince.

[2, 7] *1 Henry IV*, IV, iv is very commonly pointed out as a reason for taking the two plays as a unit. It has even been said that this appearance of the archbishop "has no meaning unless his conspiracy was to follow."² On the contrary, the scene has an obvious meaning in the

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 265. I accept this statement of Dr. Tillyard's so as to keep the discussion on the unity of the two plays, but I have uncomfortable misgivings about it. It could equally well be argued that the prince is never really tempted by Sloth and Vanity. He tolerates them; he plays the madcap in their company; but he is never deceived by them. "I know you all," he says, and why may we not take him at his word? Hal does not *choose* Chivalry; he *is* Chivalry from the beginning to the end of the play. There is no visible struggle. The conflict is not between his better and his worse nature, but between his real nature and the common opinion of him. These are not precisely the terms I would choose to describe the play, but they seem to me to correspond with Shakespeare's text at least as well as Dr. Tillyard's interpretation. It is amazing how small a place is allowed Hotspur in this interpretation. Dr. Tillyard is right in saying that Hotspur is not the hero of the play, but how can one ignore the fact that his combat with the prince is the climax?

2 Shakespeare, *Works* (Eversley ed., 1899), vi, 253 ff.

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dramatic scheme of *1 Henry IV* and is not "almost irrelevant" to it. Its business is to foreshadow the outcome of the Battle of Shrewsbury. There the rebels are to meet with a decisive check, and Shakespeare, after his usual fashion, anticipates what is to come. This scene signifies that the rebel cause is in a bad way indeed if one of its ringleaders has grave misgivings about it. The same thing might have been, and is, signified otherwise, but this is by no means the only place where Shakespeare, even near the end of a play, has brought forward a new character to serve some purpose of the moment and dismissed him as soon as his work was done. If *1 Henry IV* had never had a sequel, Shakespeare, judged by his practice elsewhere, might well have put this scene into his play.

[3, 4, 9] The idea that the relations of the prince and the king, "eased by the interview in 3. 2 and his brilliant conduct in battle," still await "final clarification" is adroitly stated. Much virtue in *eased*. Is there really the slightest hint in *1 Henry IV* that the king and the prince are not completely and triumphantly reconciled? Does "Thou hast redeem'd thy lost opinion" (V, iv, 48) really mean "I feel a bit easier about you than I did before, but the final showdown is still to come"? I cannot think that the impression left by *1 Henry IV* is anything but that of a complete vindication of the prince in his father's eyes. To be sure, in *2 Henry IV* we find him as much misunderstood as ever, but to interpret the first part by the second is what Professor Wilson himself objects to as "the fallacy of omniscience, that is, of treating a play like a historical document and collecting evidence in support of a particular reading of character or situation from any point of the text without regard to its relation to the rest."⁸ If one does not fall into this fallacy, there is no reason whatever for supposing that the end of *1 Henry IV* is anything but an end. The prince has broken through the clouds "that did seem to strangle him," has falsified men's hopes; the premises from which the play took its start have been carried to a conclusion.

In another sense, however, Professor Wilson and Dr. Tillyard have a point here. There is no doubt that, from the first, Shakespeare knew that the scene at the death-bed of Henry IV and the rejection of Falstaff were parts of the legend of Prince Hal with high dramatic possibilities.

3 *The Fortunes of Falstaff*, p. 3 ff.

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But this is really no argument that *2 Henry IV* was conceived and planned with its predecessor. No one thinks that, as he wrote *1 Henry IV*, Shakespeare did not have a sequel in mind—a sequel approximately like the play we know as *Henry V*. I have no notion how clearly Shakespeare had devised a scheme for this sequel while at work on *1 Henry IV*, but, whether clear or highly nebulous, his plan could easily have included the idea of beginning with the rejection of Falstaff or even with the death of Henry IV. The coronation would be a natural starting-place for a history of the reign of Henry V, especially when it is immediately preceded by one highly dramatic episode and followed by another. Therefore, since Shakespeare certainly had a play on Henry V in mind when he wrote *1 Henry IV*, the anticipations in the latter of the death of Henry IV and the rejection of Falstaff cannot be used to prove that he also had *2 Henry IV* in mind, for these episodes might appropriately have begun the projected *Henry V*. If *2 Henry IV* is an unpremeditated sequel, Shakespeare of course transferred them to the new play he was constrained to fabricate.

[5] I cannot say much against Professor Wilson's idea that the appearance of the Chief Justice in *2 Henry IV* is a proof of a unified plan for both plays, for I do not know how an idea of this kind can be proved or disproved. Professor Wilson thinks that the late appearance of the Chief Justice must be the result of planning; I think it could equally well be the result of a search for new material to make a play not contemplated until Falstaff became a tremendous hit. Thought is free, and neither of us can adduce real evidence to support his point of view. I doubt that Professor Wilson would rest his case on this argument alone and I would not think that I had disposed of his case if I could squelch it utterly.

Besides imputing weakness to the arguments in favor of a unified plan, I submit that there are other reasons for viewing the idea skeptically. The first is the similarity of the structure of the two plays. Structurally *2 Henry IV* is almost a carbon copy of the first play. According to the scene-division of modern editions, there is exactly the same number of scenes in both plays; according to that of the folio, there are three more in the first part. By either count the number of scenes is exactly the same in the first, second, and last acts. What is

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more impressive, the sequence of scenes developing the historical plot and that of the comic scenes is almost exactly the same. The following table shows the order of the historical and the comic scenes in both plays.

	<i>Part 1</i>	<i>Part 2</i>		<i>Part 1</i>	<i>Part 2</i>
I, i	H	H	IV, i	H	H
I, ii	C	C	IV, ii	C	H
I, iii	H	H	IV, iii	H	C
II, i	C	C	IV, iv	H	H
II, ii	C	(H), C	IV, v		H
II, iii	H	H	V, i	H, C	C
II, iv	C	C	V, ii	H	H
III, i	H	H	V, iii	H, C	C
III, ii	H	C	V, iv	H, C	C
III, iii	C		V, v	H	H, C

In the first two acts the correspondences are remarkably close. I, iii represents a conference of the rebels in both plays; II, iii is a domestic scene among the Percies; II, iv is a tavern scene. The last is, I think, especially significant. In the third act the plan is, in a very general way, the same (historical matter followed by a Falstaff scene), but in *2 Henry IV* the comic material outweighs the historical. In the fourth act the correspondence is perhaps closer than the table shows, for in *2 Henry IV* there are really only two scenes (corresponding to i-iii and iv-v). In both plays the act is devoted to the historical plot except for one irruption on the part of Falstaff. There are real divergences in the fifth act. In *1 Henry IV* the historical and the comic material are interwoven; in *2 Henry IV* they are separated until the last scene. The question is, then, would Shakespeare be more likely to plan the plays in this fashion if he were working out, in a single fit of creation, a play of ten acts or if, after *1 Henry IV* proved a resounding success, he aimed at repeating it? To me the latter view is the more probable.

Another reason for hesitating to see the two plays as one is, I think, the fact that in the second the clock is turned back most flagrantly. At the end of *1 Henry IV* the king and the prince are *en rapport* and united against the Welsh; in *2 Henry IV* we find them estranged all over again so that they must be reconciled a second time. No new cause of misunderstanding is shown; the situation simply reverts to what it was

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in the beginning. Shakespeare sets the clock back adroitly, but set it back he does. I know that Professor Wilson will have it otherwise: the king and the prince are only tentatively reconciled at the end of *1 Henry IV*; their relations are only "eased." I can only repeat what I have said above, that I defy a candid reader to detect any flaws in the understanding between them as it is presented at the end of *1 Henry IV*. What becomes of the triumphant close of the play if the king and the prince are still somewhat at odds? How could this imperfect sympathy possibly be acted? Thus the question arises, if Shakespeare planned both plays as a whole, would he have planned to bring the king and the prince together, separate them covertly, and then bring them together once more? Would he have invented the reconciliation at the Battle of Shrewsbury, about which *The Famous Victories* and Holinshed are silent, knowing that there was a second reconciliation to come later? Or is it more likely that he would have done what he did because the immoderate popularity of *1 Henry IV* forced him to write an unpremeditated sequel for which he needed the death-bed scene as climax? It is hard for me to believe that an experienced playwright who from the first contemplated making the death-bed scene the climax of his picture of the relations of father and son would have anticipated their reconciliation in his version of the Battle of Shrewsbury and the events leading up to it.

Finally, the question of the unity of *Henry IV* raises larger questions about cyclical plays. Professor Wilson sees the implications of his argument clearly and faces them boldly. "Part II," he says, "was written to be played immediately, or at not more than twenty-four hours' interval, after Part I."⁴ And indeed his interpretation is highly esoteric unless the plays were so performed. What is the likelihood that they were?

So far as I know, there are no recorded performances of the two plays on the same day or on successive days before the twentieth century.⁵ In the absence of contemporary records of performances of Shakespeare, we have nothing to judge by but Henslowe's records. They are

⁴ *The Fortunes of Falstaff*, p. 91.

⁵ Both parts may have been performed at court during the holiday season of 1612-1613; at least two plays for which the King's men were rewarded—*The Hotspur* and *Sir John Falstaff*—have been so identified (see Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, iv, 180). But there is nothing to show that they were acted on successive nights.

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not decisive. Henslowe records a number of performances of the two parts of *Tamburlaine* on successive days,⁶ a few more of a two-part *Hercules*⁷ and a two-part *Tamar Cam*,⁸ and one of a two-part *Seaser*.⁹ But at the same time he also records independent performances of both parts of the same plays. We can infer very little from these facts even if we assume that the Chamberlain's men would always do just what Henslowe's companies did. 1 and 2 *Henry IV* may have been acted both successively and separately in Shakespeare's day.

Perhaps the practice of other playwrights will help us to estimate the likelihood of Shakespeare's having planned *Henry IV* as a unit. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, I cannot find a real example of an integrated cycle of plays, of two or more plays which must be considered as one if their import is to be grasped.¹⁰ I find a number of examples of linked plays and of plays on contiguous subjects, but none of a cycle like Professor Wilson's version of *Henry IV*. The nearest thing would seem to be, strangely enough, Heywood's *Iron Age*, in which the story of the siege of Troy (plus other matter) is divided between the two parts as if the audience were expected to follow it from the beginning, but to speak of the unity of so naïve a cycle is a little absurd. *The Conquest of Granada* almost answers the specifications. The two parts are closely integrated; there is no final resolution of anything at the end of the first and some familiarity with the first is demanded to understand the second. But the fact remains that both parts were often played independently,¹¹ apparently without baffling audiences or sending them home unsatisfied.¹²

It would seem then that, if *Henry IV* is a fully integrated unit, it is

6 *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Greg, i, 21-42.

7 *Ibid.*, i, 24-7.

8 *Ibid.*, i, 42.

9 *Ibid.*, i, 24.

10 I have not considered a few Cavalier two-part plays because I think they must be quite outside any tradition which may throw light on Shakespeare's practice.

11 Dryden, *Works* (Nonesuch ed., 1932), iii, 13.

12 Heywood wrote three two-part plays besides *The Iron Age: Edward IV, If You Know Not Me*, and *The Fair Maid of the West*. The two parts of *Edward IV* are certainly continuous and they may have been planned together, but there is no doubt that either part can stand on its own legs dramatically. The two parts of *If You Know Not Me* are also continuous, but the center of interest in the second part is quite different from that of the first. The structure of both cycles, like that of *The Iron Age*, is epic rather than dramatic. The two parts of *The Fair Maid* are commonly thought to have been written twenty years

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virtually unique. What Shakespeare did no other playwright of his time attempted. Obviously Shakespeare is by no means debarred from venturing upon untrodden ground and the singularity of such a scheme hardly disproves it. But one may still ask what Shakespeare would have gained by it, what advantage a highly integrated scheme gave him in attracting audiences to the theater. From a purely practical point of view, surely none at all; successive performances, separated by an interval of not more than twenty-four hours, require a degree of co-operation of the audience difficult to obtain. For obviously such a cycle of plays can achieve its full effect only so far as the same audience attends both performances. According to Professor Wilson, any spectator who sees 1 *Henry IV* alone goes away unsatisfied and any one who sees 2 *Henry IV* alone cannot understand it. Presumably such an outcome must be forestalled. But Professor Wilson cannot suppose that, in the sixteenth century, every member of the audience who saw 1 *Henry IV* on Monday was able, even if willing, to come back on Tuesday to see the second part. Or that on Tuesday auditors who could not show that they had seen the first part on Monday were turned away from the door. The practical difficulties of achieving what Professor Wilson requires are very great.

So great, indeed, that I cannot imagine an experienced playwright, in his right wits, doing anything of the kind. I doubt that such a playwright would ever think of writing a play which, by itself, had not sufficient dramatic interest to stand on its own legs, which would be unintelligible without some other play which the audience may not

apart. I do not regard Shakespeare's *Henry VI* plays as an integrated cycle: each play is self-explanatory (though each is enriched by familiarity with historical events, both those presented in the other plays and those outside them). The theme which Dr. Tillyard traces through the cycle gives it what I should call an ethical rather than a dramatic unity. Munday's so-called Robin Hood plays are not integrated. *The Downfall* is certainly sufficiently complete in itself; in *The Death* Robin Hood dies at the end of the first act and the real center of interest is Matilda. The second part of *The Honest Whore* is obviously an attempt to repeat the success of the first part by reversing the situation. The two parts of Chapman's *Byron* are really self-contained. It is not at all clear at the end of the first part that the story is to go on; the reconciliation of Byron and the king seems a sufficient dénouement in a play so undramatically conducted. The second part, though obviously intended to be preceded by the first, is intelligible enough without it; the main interest of the first part, Byron's potentially treasonable intercourse with Savoy, is barely mentioned in the second; a host of new characters are introduced and only the king, Byron, and La Fin are prominent in both.

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see or have seen, which would not fully reward any audience that happened to gather to see it. This is not to say that there are no links between the two parts of *Henry IV* or that the experience of seeing 2 *Henry IV* is not the richer for having seen the first part. It is only to say that I cannot square what I think a knowledgeable playwright would do in writing two linked plays with Professor Wilson's description of *Henry IV*, and that therefore I am suspicious of his description. The unity which he attributes to the two plays seems to me to be a theatrical impossibility.¹³

We must conclude, I think, that the unity of the *Henry IV* plays is an assumption which Professor Wilson and Dr. Tillyard have not proved and which implies some things difficult to believe. Accordingly, interpretations of the plays based on their assumptions cannot win a hearty assent.

One word more. I hope I do Professor Wilson and Dr. Tillyard no injustice by inferring that when they defend the unity of *Henry IV* they think they are vindicating Shakespeare's art, they think that a unified *Henry IV* is artistically superior to two plays linked by catch-as-catch-can methods. To that assumption I would demur. The logic of a play is no necessary cause of its greatness and at most but a minor cause. According to Professor Wilson, it is impossible to make sense of Falstaff's character or of the prince's unless we look at the two plays as a unified whole. Let us suppose that he is right. What do we gain? Something which increases or intensifies our enjoyment of Falstaff's antics or the prince's exploits as we watch a performance of the play? I think not. Making sense of the play, rationalizing its diversity is an *ex post facto* operation; it cannot even begin before all the materials which it fits into rational patterns have been unfolded. It seems to me therefore largely a work of supererogation, with some interest of its own but no

13 The structure which Professor Wilson attributes to the two plays is, I suspect, equally impossible. According to him (1 *Henry IV*, p. xi ff.), the normal dramatic curve of a five-act Shakespearian play here encompasses ten acts. Now the structure of an effective play presses the spectator forward at an accelerating pace till his interest is carried to the climax and is satisfied by the dénouement. There are minor relaxations of the tension along the way, but there can be no real interruption of this continuous and progressive interest without disastrous results. How is it possible to send him home overnight midway in this continuous and progressive development without seriously impairing its effect? What experienced playwright would ever dream of doing such a thing?

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great importance to the understanding or the enjoyment of drama. Assuming it to be all-important is the capital fallacy of Professor Wilson's and Dr. Tillyard's discussions of the play. What worries them seems to me largely beside the point. "Part II is itself unintelligible without Part I," says Professor Wilson. Who asks for intelligibility—the kind of intelligibility that Part I can confer on Part II—in a play? "The soliloquy is inexplicable." Who asks to have it explained? "Falstaff's false claim to the *spolia opima* of Harry Hotspur . . . [is] the key to his character in Part 2."¹⁴ Who pays his penny at the door to have keys to character put in his hand? "Once its unity is accepted . . . , it will stand revealed as one of the greatest of dramatic masterpieces."¹⁵ Unity—Professor Wilson's kind of unity—is the test of a masterpiece? It cannot be. For two hundred years captious critics have been trying to make sense of Falstaff's hyperbolic account of the action on Gadshill, trying to make it acceptable to our minds. They have not succeeded. But the scene remains ineffable comedy just the same; in other words, whether the mind can accept it has very little to do with the matter. Sense is only sense; it is not drama. Critics who put so heavy an emphasis on it are barking up the wrong tree. What happens in Shakespeare's plays (like what happens in human life) sometimes defies explanation, especially easy explanation, but if this fact is of any importance to the profound and lasting impressions that the plays make it is because our interest is quickened and our impressions heightened, as in life itself, by what is not transparently clear. Explain away the puzzles, the incongruities, the diversities and you take away some of the amazement, the awe, the sense of the complexity and the inscrutability of life which they excite. We do not need to impose an airtight logical scheme on Shakespeare's plays to justify them artistically; we come much closer to the radiant core of their interest by other avenues of approach.

14 *1 Henry IV*, p. x f.

15 *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA ON THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE

By GEORGE F. REYNOLDS

A fact hardly sufficiently recognized about Elizabethan plays is that they may in their own period have been given with very different stage arrangements but without any difference appearing in either the text itself or in the stage directions. It is this that largely explains why plays from various theatres and widely separated dates seldom show important variations. It should also keep us from too great dogmatism in our conclusions. The fundamental idea of the stage, its basic principle, did apparently remain the same, but the visible staging changed to suit conditions in the theatre, in the great hall of some school or of the Inns of Court, or at the court of the Queen or King. When the principle of staging did change as for the eighteenth century theatre with its wings, shutters, and drop curtains, or for the insistently realistic theatre of the late nineteenth century, then prompt books had to provide new directions, and the text had often to be altered by omissions and rearrangement.

One reason the directions could remain through the Elizabethan period is that they often lack detail, and another is the willingness with which the Elizabethan audience imagined whatever the author suggested to them, even in contradiction of what they actually saw. I have illustrated this elsewhere,¹ and need no more than mention it here. Just because the text of a play mentions some setting or property does not prove it was actually present, and even directions cannot always be taken literally. In different circumstances such allusions and directions may have been carried out.

Troilus and Cressida offers a suggestive example of such a possible variety in presentation as well as illustrations of some Elizabethan stage conventions not as generally understood as they should be. It may, therefore, be worth considering in some detail.

A play on this subject, presumably this one, was entered in the Sta-

¹ *The Staging of Elizabethan Plays at the Red Bull* (1940), pp. 42-8.

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tioners' Register in 1603 as "acted by my lord Chamberlen's men." Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* was published in 1609 with the statement on its title-page, "as it was acted by the Kings Maiesties seruants at the Globe." But the address to the reader in the second issue of this quarto describes it as "neuer stal'd with the Stage, neuer clapper-clawd with the palmes of the vulger." This does sound as if the play, in spite of the title-page, had never been publicly performed, but W. W. Lawrence has suggested that it means only that the play was never popular enough to become "stal'd."² Indeed its prevailingly critical tone, its extended discussions on subjects of limited interest to a general audience, and its remarkable use of many unusual words (for example, *orgillous*, *immures* [for walls], *fraughtage*, *sperr*—all in the first twenty lines) do suggest that it was written for some special group, perhaps one of the Inns of Court, where the young men would especially approve of these very details. Confirming this idea of the play's original performance is the absence of balcony scenes. The "plot" of the Dekker and Chettle *Troilus and Cressida* has two scenes using the walls of Troy,³ and Heywood in his dramatization of the story in *The Iron Age* also has two.⁴ The avoidance of the balcony by Shakespeare here is thus all the more noticeable. Still the company would scarcely have failed to try the play at the Globe if they thought it had any chance of success. So we may without too much impropriety speculate how the play could have been presented in perhaps the hall of one of the Inns of Court and on the stage of the Globe theatre. It is interesting and perhaps significant to observe that the stages could have been approximately the same size. According to J. C. Adams's figures⁵ the Globe theatre stage was at the back 41 feet wide—he supposes it to have narrowed toward the front; the hall of the Middle Temple was 42 feet wide, though perhaps the stage would not have extended the full width; the hall at Gray's Inn is 35 feet wide, and the old hall at Lincoln's Inn about the same. Presumably special stages were erected for plays in the dining-halls. At least this was the case at the universities. The Cambridge dramatic

² *Shakespeare's Problem Comedies* (1931), pp. 133-5.

³ W. W. Greg, *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses* (1931), Plate V.

⁴ *Works*, ed. Pearson (1873), iii, 298-301, 319-20.

⁵ *The Globe Playhouse* (1943), p. 90.

records list several such expense items, though they vary curiously in amount from 5 shillings to 30 shillings, 8 d.⁶

A further reason for considering *Troilus and Cressida* is that the play sets a somewhat unusual problem of performance anywhere. Chambers cites it along with *Henry V*, *Julius Caesar* and *The Devil's Charter* in support of his statement that in the seventeenth century tents were pitched on the open stage.⁷ *Troilus and Cressida* had, he says, "tents in one or other scene of Agamemnon, Ulysses, Ajax, Achilles, and Calchas." This, however, hardly makes clear just how many separate tents he supposes actually to have been shown. And if these were visually represented so also Pandarus' house in Troy must have been. Are we to suppose six different sizable properties on the stage at once? To be sure *The Roaring Girl* II, i, calls for "three shops open in a rank," but six are certainly unusual.

The play itself makes surprisingly few specific demands for stage settings. No movable properties are called for (torches can hardly be called such), not even tables or seats. No scene is necessarily discovered. No scenes are definitely described as interiors. Nearest to such a designation are IV, ii and iv, which seem to be thought of as in an outer room of Pandarus's house or perhaps in its courtyard, or maybe, like III, ii, even in its orchard. We do not have to see the interior of any of the tents; generally the scene is definitely described as *before* them. In II, iii, Ulysses says of Achilles, "We saw him at the opening of his tent," but the point precisely made is that the Greek leaders do not see into it. And in III, iii, where the only direction mentioning a setting in the whole play occurs, "Achilles and Patro stand in their tent" (Q), "Enter Achilles and Patroclus in their Tent" (F), the very next line specifies, "Achilles stands i'th entrance of his Tent." Given the Elizabethan acceptance of one thing for another, this tent *could* have been merely one of the stage doors and the whole play have been presented on a bare platform.

But there is really no reason for supposing that the Inns of Court or any other institution interested enough in getting a play written especially for it, would stage it so meagerly. Frederick S. Boas in summing

6 *Malone Society Collections* (1923), II, ii, 160, 166, 169, *et passim*.

7 *The Elizabethan Stage* (1923), iii, 106.

up Oxford efforts in drama speaks of "the care and expense that was lavished upon scenic details. . . . There is little here to give countenance to the traditional view of the primitive simplicity of Elizabethan stage-arrangements."⁸ We know too that the theatres had among their properties tents that could be put up on the stage—see, for instance, *Richard III*, as well as the plays cited above by Chambers. Certainly too the Globe had a possible curtained space, probably by this time a permanent rear stage. So, though admitting that the play could have been presented on a bare stage, we may consider how it was done if it made use of the equipment which we know the theatre possessed, and which could easily have been provided at any dining-hall.

To avoid unnecessary repetition in connection with the fuller staging later to be discussed, a simple outline will serve here. Though Kittredge places some of the Troy scenes in or before Priam's palace, all of them are really unlocated except those in or near Pandarus's house. (It should be noted that neither Quarto nor Folio has act or scene divisions.)

Act I, i, Troy; ii, Troy; iii, before Agamemnon's tent. II, i, before (?) Ajax's tent; ii, Troy; iii, before Achilles's tent. III, i, Troy; ii, orchard of Pandarus's house; iii, before Achilles's tent. IV, i, Troy; ii, a court or outer room of Pandarus's house; iii, before Pandarus's house—only 12 lines in length; iv, Pandarus's house—same as IV, ii; v, before (?) Agamemnon's tent. V, i, before Achilles's tent; ii, before Calchas's tent; iii, in or before Troy; iv-x short scenes on the battle-field.

The rear stage could have stood in turn for all the tents and Pandarus's house as well; no furnishings are suggested. The main reason for supposing the curtains to have been opened in III, ii and iv, is so as to close them significantly for scene iii. Or a slightly more complete setting could have been arranged by adding one tent, its ownership indicated by whoever appeared in it.

Either of these schemes is possible, but with the changing significance of the parts would scarcely add much to the immediate clarity of the play. What is desirable is half a dozen different entrances (entrances alone will serve since in this play interiors are unimportant) which would preserve their meaning through a considerable part of the play, such a setting, for example, as the Renaissance Terentian rank

⁸ *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (1914), p. 349.

of cells, familiar all over Europe from the illustrations⁹ in the early editions of Terence, and providing in small space for half a dozen different backgrounds. This suggestion of something like a Renaissance Terentian setting for *Troilus and Cressida* does not imply any very close resemblance. For Terence the houses represented were conceivably all on one street, but by an easy application of mediaeval simultaneity and symbolism Pandarus's house could be one of them along with Agamemnon's and Achilles's tent. The Terentian openings do not resemble houses; in *Troilus and Cressida* they would not necessarily be much like tents. Or the units might after all have been stage tents. There need not have been five units. A glance at the outline will show that the only tents before which scenes are actually placed are Achilles's, recurring throughout the play, Agamemnon's through Act IV (it is mentioned in V, ix, 8, but not as in sight), and Calchas's in Act V. If desired, the last two could be one unit with a change of sign. To avoid confusion at least two tent units seem desirable, as well as another unit for Pandarus's house. Of course more could be added, for Ajax, for example, or even for Ulysses.

The advantage of such a setting would be the gain in immediate clarity, especially if, as in the Terentian pictures and in accordance with mediaeval custom, the name of each occupant was above his "tent." Indeed, how else could the characters have been at first distinguished except by the text? The Elizabethans, we need to be reminded, had no programs. It is interesting to notice that the Trojan warriors (who have no "tents" to identify them) are named as they return from the field in Act I, ii, but Pandarus is not identified by name till 48 lines after his entrance in I, i. The Greeks would offer a still greater problem. In I, iii, Agamemnon is not named till l. 32, nor Ulysses till l. 69. Do such late identifications in the text imply the use of some other means of identification? Nestor, not spoken of as having a tent, names himself in the first lines he speaks. Because we usually only read these plays instead of seeing them, do we perhaps fail to realize how important this matter of easy identification really is?

A further advantage of signs would be gained at the beginning of

⁹ Reproduced in many books on the theatre, for example, George Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre* (1944), p. 161.

many scenes, if in addition to the signs above the "tents," there were signs above the stage doors, one as standing for or leading to Troy, the other to the Grecian camp. Then the first entrance in any scene would by convention indicate visually where it was supposed to be.

To make clear what this system of signs would accomplish we may imagine the play when given at the Globe as using two real stage tents or small structures to symbolize them, one for Achilles, the other—as has been suggested—for Agamemnon-Calchas, and the rear stage for Pandarus's house, with his name inscribed above it. At the Globe there would scarcely be room for any more settings, since spectators would be sitting on the stage. At a dining-hall more structures or tents could perhaps find place, one for Ajax, even one for Ulysses. Pandarus's house might be only another structure like the others. Two stage doors must also be in sight, since they are specifically required for IV, i. One would be marked "Troy," the other by some designation for the Grecian camp.

The first line of the prologue announces, "In Troy there lies the scene," and that is where the first scenes are. But with scene iii the action changes to "the Dardan plains," where the Greeks "pitch their brave pavilions."

Act I, i. Troilus enters through "Troy," thus setting the scene; he identifies himself in l. 5. Pandarus comes through the rear stage curtains, and is thus identified by its sign; he is not named till l. 48. Aeneas, named four lines after he enters through "Troy," goes out with Troilus through the Greek door as to the battle-field. Pandarus has returned to the tiring-house, either through the curtains or through "Troy."

Scene ii. Cressida and her man enter from "Troy," followed by Pandarus. She is not named till l. 48, but identification of the women is not as troublesome as for the more numerous men. Pandarus's "Shall we stand up here and see [the Trojan soldiers] as they pass toward Ilium" (l. 192) suggests some raised place on the stage but can hardly be identified with any special spot. The warriors enter from the "Greek" side and go out to "Troy." A boy from "Troy" summons Pandarus to Troilus at Pandarus's house; so Pandarus goes out through(?) the curtains, and Cressida through "Troy."

Scene iii. The scene is before Agamemnon's tent (ll. 213, 305); the Greeks therefore enter through that unit, Agamemnon leading the

way. Ulysses says that, "The great Achilles . . . in his tent lies mocking our designs. . . . With him Patroclus, Upon a lazy bed," etc. (ll. 141-7) and a little later that Ajax like Achilles "keeps in his tent" and with Thersites makes fun of the rest of them. In the dining-hall production as we are imagining it, provided the units could be seen into as is the case in some of the Terentian pictures, they could have been seen really acting so in pantomime, but of course there is nothing in the directions to warrant the idea, and as dividing the interest it might not be theatrically effective either. Aeneas comes, of course from "Troy" (l. 215); Agamemnon (l. 305) says to him, "To our pavilion shall I lead you first," and they go out through his "tent," followed at the end of the scene by Ulysses and Nestor, who are going specially to speak to him.

Act II, i. Whether we saw Ajax and Thersites in Act I or not, we see them now. Nothing in the text demands that this scene be before or in Ajax's tent but it could be. Thersites is named in l. 1, Ajax not till l. 60, Achilles not for 18 lines after his entrance. Achilles and Patroclus presumably enter from Achilles's tent. The exits are not significant.

Scene ii. All the entrances and exits are through the "Troy" door. Hector is identified in l. 7, Priam, probably identified anyway by his costume, in l. 10.

Scene iii. Thersites enters through(?) the "Greek" door to Achilles's "tent," where a little later Achilles is described as standing "at the opening of his tent." Achilles goes in with Thersites as the Greek leaders enter from the Greek side or from Agamemnon's "tent," and after considerable talk withdraw as they came.

The general plan of this staging should now be clear, and only special later points need be noted. In III, ii, modern scene division shows its inapplicability. The first four lines are, like scene i, vaguely in Troy; not till l. 16 is the place fixed as in Pandarus's orchard; even then nothing more is mentioned of the orchard. All that matters is that the scene be thought of as in the confines of but still outside Pandarus's house, to which Cressida invites Troilus, l. 107.

In scene iii Calchas is not named till l. 31 and could be recognized in his first lines only by those who already knew the story. The original direction calling for Achilles's tent in this scene has already been mentioned.

Troilus and Cressida

Act IV begins, "Enter at one doore Aeneas with a Torch, at another Paris [and three others] with Torches" (Folio). The torches are of course used to suggest that it is night. If Aeneas enters first at "Troy," this would locate the scene there; the others would then enter immediately from the Greek side. All go out through "Troy."

Scene ii illustrates how the significance of the stage doors shifted in specifically located scenes. Troilus and Cressida enter as from within the house—therefore through the rear stage (Pandarus's unit)—the curtains being open so that the front stage now becomes a part of it, and a stage door an outer gate of the house enclosure. This is indicated by Cressida's, "I'll call my uncle down; He shall unbolt the gates," and by Pandarus's speech from "within" (i.e., the tiring-house), "What's all the doors open here?" He enters through the rear stage (l. 21); at l. 35 there is a direction, "One knocks," and Cressida says, "Good uncle, go and see." This knocking can be at either of the side doors. Cressida tells Troilus to "come in" as the knocking continues, and they retire through the rear stage, while Pandarus, saying, "Who's there? What's the matter? Will you beat down the door?" admits Aeneas, who has come for Troilus. Troilus re-enters and then goes out with Aeneas through the door by which Aeneas has entered. Cressida comes from the house and then withdraws to it with Pandarus, the curtain closes, and the front stage is again outside the house enclosure.

Scene iii, of only 12 lines, emphasizes this location by Troilus's words to Paris, "Walk into her house" (l. 5). Troilus goes first, and is followed by Paris and the Greeks after three lines.

For scene iv the curtains again open and we are again in the court or outer room of the house. Pandarus and Cressida enter from the tiring-house, and apparently the lines they speak are supposed to have been said before Troilus comes to them, and therefore before the speech of Paris we have just heard, certainly a rare arrangement in an Elizabethan play. Troilus has entered from the tiring-house as presently do Aeneas and Paris, who are directed to speak from "within." This entrance may have been, however, by one of the side doors, since the usual significance is changed by the open curtain, and they may enter there in accordance with the convention that they do so at a different place from that through which they went out, to show that the scene has changed. That has, how-

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ever, already been made clear by the opened curtain. They may all go out through the same door.

In scene v there is no authority in text or directions for Kittredge's "Lists set out." If such a property was used it was of course set on the front stage. At l. 271 all accept Agamemnon's invitation "to his tent."

Act V, i. Patroclus's question to Thersites (l. 11), "Who keeps the tent now?" seems to imply that Thersites came from the "tent," and Achilles and Patroclus perhaps through the "Greek" door. At l. 50 Achilles says, "Come, come, Thersites, help to trim my tent," but while Achilles and Patroclus go in, Thersites remains to notice the approach of the Greek leaders with Hector. The direction specifies that they carry lights, called attention to by Thersites's "Hoy-day! sprites and fires." The dialogue runs as follows:

Agam. We go wrong, we go wrong.

Ajax. No, yonder 'tis,

There where we see the lights. . . .

Enter Achilles.

Ulyss. Here comes himself to guide you.

Achil. Welcome, brave Hector; welcome, princes all.

The Greek princes say good night and go out presumably through the "Greek" door. Achilles asks Diomed to come with him and Hector, but Diomed says he has important business and excuses himself. Ulysses tells Troilus, "Follow his torch; he goes to Calchas' tent. I'll keep you company." Achilles says to Hector, "Come, come, enter my tent," and the scene closes with Thersites saying he will follow Diomed. Some confusion exists in the exit and entrance directions at this point. The Quarto has no exit direction for Diomed but does have an entrance direction for him, no exit or entrance direction for Thersites, and no entrance direction for Ulysses and Troilus. Some of these are supplied by the Folio, and the omission in the Quarto may be without significance. However, Calchas's tent is all the time in sight on the stage. Did Diomed perhaps go out at one door and in accordance to convention enter at another, Ulysses and Troilus do the same, but Thersites only stroll across the stage? Cressida comes to Diomed from Calchas's "tent," Ulysses and Troilus observe them, standing as Ulysses directs, "where the torch may not discover us," and Thersites spies on both groups. Finally Diomed goes out through the "Greek" door, Cressida returns

to the "tent," Aeneas comes through "Troy" for Troilus, and Ulysses, saying he will escort them "to the gates," presumably goes out with them through "Troy."

Hector's advice to Priam in scene iii, l. 92, "Go in and cheer the town," sounds as if the scene were thought of as before the city. Priam and Pandarus go out through "Troy," Troilus and Hector through the "Greek" door as to battle.

The remaining seven short scenes are all on the battle-field, by their very brevity suggesting the turmoil of conflict as it surges back and forth before us. Places of exit and entrance seem to have no special meaning, and there is no allusion to the "tents," except Agamemnon's "pray Achilles see us at our tent" (ix, 8), not carried out in action as such lines have been before in the play.

Is this fuller staging, and especially this use of signs which it makes possible, worth the trouble and care necessary to carry it out? It should be emphasized that every assumed usage and convention suggested, except perhaps one, is known from Elizabethan sources to have sometimes been employed. We know signs were used, we know changes of scene were indicated by exit at one door and immediate re-entry at another, we know how the significance of the rear stage was extended to the front stage by opening the curtains, or even by entrance through them. The only convention not established by contemporary evidence is that the first entrance under a sign established the location of the front stage for that scene.

The main advantage of giving each entrance a continuous significance for a considerable part of the play is the gain in immediate clarity of action. But perhaps the action is clear enough already from the words of the text. If the text were not so detailed in its designation of place one would scarcely think of this staging procedure at all. Still, because such visual signs are especially effective, they do deserve consideration.

Finally how was *Troilus and Cressida* presumably staged? How is it possible to be sure about it? It could have been done on a bare stage. It could have been done with only the curtained space and two unconcealed doors. It could use anywhere from one to five or six special "tents" or structures. But underlying all these plans is the mediaeval principle of simultaneity and symbolic presentation.

A NOTE ON *CORIOLANUS*

By G. B. HARRISON

Coriolanus is printed first among the tragedies in the First Folio. There is no quarto, no contemporary record of any performance, and the few possible topical allusions which editors have noticed are very vague. On the evidence of style alone scholars place the play between 1606 and 1609, with a slight preference for 1608. Even Sir Edmund Chambers can find only one page of facts to record and fancies to refute. Nevertheless, though never popular, the play acts so well that a performance in Paris in 1934 caused violent rioting as extremists both of the right and the left bitterly resented its implications. *Coriolanus* is indeed a play written with considerable feeling and power, and its main theme is perennial—the struggle between the rich, whose champion is Caius Marcius Coriolanus, and the poor led by their tribunes.

Although the topical allusions are scanty it is worth noting that some situations and casual remarks would have had considerable significance for the first audience in 1608 or 1609. In May and June 1607 the grievances of the poor and the greediness of the rich were being hotly debated in England during a series of insurrections in the counties of Northampton, Warwick, and Leicester where the rioters destroyed the hedges and ditches made to enclose common lands. These disturbances were the most violent for many years and lasted for several weeks. They evoked royal proclamations on May 30, June 28, and July 27. The story is set out at length in Howes' continuation of Stow's *Annals*.

Another possible allusion, noted by most editors, occurs at I, i, 176, where Marcius says that the people are

no surer no,
Than is the coal of fire upon the ice,
Or hailstone in the sun.

This image seems to have been prompted by the great frost of 1607-8 when the Thames was frozen over and a frost fair was held upon the ice. To this I would add another allusion which is, I believe, new and fairly certain. Marcius in abusing the tribunes accuses the Senators of giving Hydra power

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to choose an officer
That with his peremptory "shall," being but
The horn and noise o' the monster's, wants not spirit
To say, *he'll turn your current in a ditch*
And make your channel his. (III, i, 93)

This strikingly curious image derives, I suggest, from a contemporary sensation. On February 20, 1609, Hugh Middleton, Goldsmith, after much discussion and opposition began his project of bringing clean water into London by channels from streams in Hertfordshire. The work was ultimately finished after five and a half years, during which time in the words of Howes, Master Middleton "spent much money, endured much despite and derision of the vulgar and envious, answered many causeless hindrances and complaints of sundry persons through whose ground he was to cut his water passage."

The text of *Coriolanus* has been severely criticized by commentators. Thus Chambers—"F is again not a satisfactory text, less on account of verbal corruptions, as of frequent mislineations. These are very similar in character to those in *Antony and Cleopatra*, and probably the explanation is the same in both cases. The stage directions to *Coriolanus* are more elaborate than those to *Antony* and give many notes for position, movement, and even gesture on the stage. They suggest the author's hand. [Dover] Wilson also finds Shakespearean spelling."¹ Similar mislineation, it may be added, is noticeable in *Macbeth*. As it happens, these three plays stand together in the accepted Shakespeare canon. The "mislineations" are therefore worth examining more closely.

As a general principle it may be assumed that even an Elizabethan printer or copyist normally followed his copy. At times the manuscript would mislead him. A confusion of prose for verse, or of verse for prose was always possible when—as was common—the author did not use a capital letter at the beginning of a verse line. But a compositor setting up verse as verse is not likely to attempt a verse pattern of his own; nor is he likely to print a short line at the beginning, middle, or end of a verse speech unless he finds it before him in his copy; and if it occurs in the copy, then it is likely that the author intended it to be a short line.

1 E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* (1930), i, 479.

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We should therefore assume as a matter of common sense that the arrangement of the verse lines in the Folio follows the original copy unless some very good reason can be found for supposing otherwise.

Now many of our views on Shakespeare's prosody are fundamentally warped because so few of us as a normal practice read Shakespeare's plays in the original texts. We are so used to the Globe or other modernized text that when a major difference occurs in reading, punctuation, or arrangement, we instinctively regard the modernized as the correct text and the Folio as in error. Once, however, we can rid ourselves of the prejudice that the modern (or rather eighteenth-century) editor is better equipped to reproduce what Shakespeare intended than the original editors and compositors of the First Folio it will be seen that many of the so-called errors and mislineations are in fact not errors at all but have been created by the editors themselves because of a fundamental misunderstanding of Shakespeare's manner of writing dramatic verse in this play and at this period of his career.

In his early plays Shakespeare was very regular in his verse; and in dialogue if a character speaks less than a full line, the rest of the line is usually made up by the next speaker. Thus:

Benvolio: Goodmorrow, cousin.

Romeo: Is the day so young?

Benvolio: But new struck nine.

Romeo: Ay me! sad hours seem long.

Editors stress this practice by indenting the second half of the line. The editorial principle of indenting short speeches is sometimes carried to such lengths that an editor will indent a monosyllable conversation right across the page, even when there has been a considerable interruption. Thus in *Hamlet*, V, ii, 291, the breathless talk between Hamlet and Laertes is printed:

Ham: Come, on, sir.

Laer: Come, my lord. *They play.*

Ham: One.

Laer: No.

Ham: Judgement.

In spite of the interruption of a round of fencing, it is assumed that because the words make up ten syllables, they must therefore form one

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blank verse line! Neither Folio nor quartos indent short speeches, and it is quite clear that in his mature plays Shakespeare usually ignored the restraints of metre in quick conversation. This is obvious in *Coriolanus*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Macbeth*. Thus in *Antony and Cleopatra*, I, ii, 82, the Folio prints:

Enter Cleopatra.

Enob. Hush, heere comes Anthony.

Char. Not he, the Queene.

Cleo. Saue² you, my Lord.

Enob. No Lady.

Cleo. Was he not heere?

Char. No Madam.

Cleo. He was dispos'd to mirth, but on the sodaine
A Romaine thought hath strooke him.

Enobarbus?

Enob. Madam.

Cleo. Seeke him, and bring him hither: wher's *Alexias*?

Alex. Here at your seruice.

My Lord approaches.

In the Globe text this passage appears thus:

Eno. Hush! here comes Antony.

Char. Not he; the queen.

Enter CLEOPATRA.

Cleo. Saw you my lord ?

Eno. No, lady.

Cleo. Was he not here ?

Char. No, madam.

Cleo. He was disposed to mirth; but on the sudden
A Roman thought hath struck him. Enobarbus !

Eno. Madam!

Cleo. Seek him, and bring him hither. Where's *Alexas* ?

Alex. Here, at your service. My lord approaches.

In his later plays not only did Shakespeare abandon blank verse in conversation, but in the longer speeches he often substituted for the normal pattern of five feet—ten syllables, five stresses—a much freer short line verse which at times is very effective. This is *Macbeth*:

² Misprint for "sawe."

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Lady. My Hands are of your colour: but I shame
To weare a heart so white. *Knocke.*
I heare a knocking at the South entry:
Retyre we to our Chamber:
A little Water cleares vs of this deed.
How easie is it then ? your Constancie
Hath left you vnattended. *Knocke.*
Hearke, more knocking.
Get on your Night-Gowne, least occasion call vs,
And shew vs to be Watchers: be not lost
So poorely in your thoughts.
Macb. To know my deed, *Knocke.*
'Twere best not know my selfe.
Wake *Duncan* with thy knocking:
I would thought could'st. (II, i, 63)

When this speech is recast into formal blank verse it loses half its effectiveness:

Lady M. My hands are of your colour; but I shame
To wear a heart so white. [*Knocking within.*] I hear a knocking
At the south entry: retire we to our chamber:
A little water clears us of this deed:
How easy is it, then ! Your constancy
Hath left you unattended. [*Knocking within.*] Hark! more knocking.
Get on your nightgown, lest occasion call us,
And show us to be watchers. Be not lost
So poorly in your thoughts.
Macb. To know my deed, 't were best not know myself. [*Knocking within.*]
Wake Duncan with thy knocking! I would thou couldst!

The difference between Shakespeare's freer verse and the more formal verse pattern imposed on him by his editors can best be illustrated by the detailed analysis of one passage in *Coriolanus*. It occurs at the beginning of Act I, Scene ix and in the Folio is thus printed:

*Flourish. Alarum. A Retreat is Sounded. Enter at
one Doore Cominius, with the Romanes: At
another Doore Martius, with his
Arme in a Scarfe.*

Com. If I should tell thee o're this thy dayes Worke,
Thou't not belecue thy deeds: but Ile report it,

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Where Senators shall mingle teares with smiles,
Where great Patricians shall attend, and shrug,
I'th'end admire: where Ladies shall be frighted,
And gladly quak'd, heare more: where the dull Tribunes,
That with the fustie Plebeans, hate thine Honors,
Shall say against their hearts, We thanke the Gods
Our Rome hath such a Souldier.
Yet cam'st thou to a Morsell of this Feast,
Hauing fully din'd before.

Enter Titus with his Power, from the Pursuit

Titus Lartius. Oh Generall:
Here is the Steed, wee the Caparison:
Hadst thou beheld—

Martius. Pray now, no more:
My Mother, who ha's a Charter to extoll her Bloud,
When she do's prayse me, grieues me:
I haue done as you haue done, that's what I can,
Induc'd as you haue beene, that's for my Countrey:
He that ha's but effected his good will,
Hath ouerta'ne mine Act.

Com. You shall not be the Graue of your deseruing,
Rome must know the value of her owne:
'Twere a Concealement worse then a Theft,
No lesse then a Traducement,
To hide your doings, and to silence that,
Which to the spire, and top of prayses vouch'd,
Would seeme but modest: therefore I beseech you,
In signe of what you are, not to reward
What you haue done, before our Armie heare me.

Martius. I haue some Wounds vpon me, and they smart
To heare themselues remembred.

Com. Should they not:
Well might they fester 'gainst Ingratitude,
And tent themselues with death: of all the Horses,
Whereof we haue ta'ne good, and good store of all,
The Treasure in this field atchieued, and Citie,
We render you the Tenth, to be ta'ne forth,
Before the common distribution,
At your onely choyse.

Martius. I thanke you Generall:
But cannot make my heart consent to take
A Bribe, to pay my Sword: I doe refuse it,

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And stand upon my common part with those,
That haue beheld the doing.

*A long flourish. They all cry Martius, Martius,
cast up their Caps and Launces: Cominius
and Lartius stand bare.*

Mar. May these same Instruments, which you prophane,
Neuer sound more: when Drums and Trumpets shall
I'th'field proue flatterers, let Courts and Cities be
Made all of false-fac'd soothing:
When Steele growes soft, as the Parasites Silke,
Let him be made an Ouerture for th' Warres:
No more I say, for that I haue not wash'd
My Nose that bled, or soyl'd some debile Wretch,
Which without note, here's many else haue done,
You shoot me forth in acclamations hyperbolicall,
As if I lou'd my little should be dieted
In prayes, sawc'st with Lyes.

The episode occurs after the assault on Corioli. In the Folio text there is no scene or act division and, of course, no note of the locality. The folio stage direction shows how the incident was presented on the stage of the Globe playhouse. Cominius begins a congratulatory speech, formal in structure, and with a touch of deliberate rhetoric. He is cut off by the arrival of Titus Lartius. Lartius is about to add his tribute when Caius Marcius interrupts him sharply. The lines that follow are a good specimen of Shakespeare's mature power of expressing character by sheer rhythm, by variations of pace, pause and tone. Marcius is excessively emotional—a failing which ultimately causes his destruction. Although he lives for military fame, he lapses into a sort of schoolgirl shyness whenever he receives public congratulations. The words of Lartius rouse him. He cuts in with—"Pray now, no *more*"—the tone rises almost to a shout, followed by a short sharp silence. Then, after this pause, he goes on in a lower grumbling key,

My Mother, who ha's a Charter to extoll her Bloud,
When she do's prayse me, grieues me.

The line is of three and a half feet only; the missing foot and a half indicate a pause—a very common device with Shakespeare when showing

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emotion, doubt or meditation. Then the pent-up words come tumbling out:

I have done as you have done, that's what I can,
Induc'd as you haue beene, that's for my Countrey.

Note the deliberate and parallel stresses in the two lines—"you haue done . . . you haue beene"—"that's what I can . . . that's for my Countrey." Here in fact is a blank verse couplet, though very far from a couplet in the manner of Mr. Pope. After this Marcius quietens down into a more normal rhythm—

He that ha's but effected his good will,
Hath ouerta'ne mine Act—

with the contrast on "will" at the end of line 19 and "Act" at the end of line 20.

Cominius, who is always a staid and balanced person, pauses a moment and then replies in a more normal but not wholly regular rhythm—

You shall not be the Graue of your deservuing,
Rome must know the value of her owne:
'Twere a Concealement worse then a Theft,
No less then a Traducement—

And again the pause to give full effect to the word "traducement" which is the climax of the sentence, before he brings the speech to an even close—

To hide your doings, and to silence that,
Which to the spire, and top of prayes vouch'd,
Would seeme but modest: therefore I beseech you,
In sign of what you are, not to reward
What you haue done, before our Armie heare me.

These lines are in their context fine examples of the best kind of dramatic verse written for the stage and pointed for the actor, where every syllable and every silence has its particular place and purpose.

Such license did not however please Pope and Hanmer who proceeded to set Shakespeare right in his prosody; it is a sign of the docility of editors that their "improvements" have been accepted without question ever since. The passage as printed in the Globe text reads:

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Act I, Scene IX. *The Roman Camp*

Flourish. Alarum. A retreat is sounded. Flourish. Enter, from one side, COMINIUS with the Romans; from the other side,

MARCUS, with his arm in a scarf.

Com. If I should tell thee o'er this thy day's work,
Thou'ldst not believe thy deeds: but I'll report it
Where senators shall mingle tears with smiles,
Where great patricians shall attend and shrug,
I' the end admire, where ladies shall be frighted,
And, gladly quaked, hear more; where the dull tribunes,
That, with the fusty plebeians, hate thine honours,
Shall say against their hearts "We thank the gods
Our Rome hath such a soldier."
Yet camest thou to a morsel of this feast,
Having fully dined before.

Enter TITUS LARTIUS, with his power, from the pursuit.

Lar. O general,
Here is the steed, we the caparison:
Hadst thou beheld—

Mar. Pray now, no more: my mother,
Who has a charter to extol her blood,
When she does praise me grieves me. I have done
As you have done; that's what I can; induced
As you have been; that's for my country:
He that has but effected his good will
Hath overta'en mine act.

Com. You shall not be
The grave of your deserving; Rome must know
The value of her own: 'twere a concealment
Worse than a theft, no less than a traducement,
To hide your doings; and to silence that,
Which, to the spire and top of praises vouch'd,
Would seem but modest: therefore, I beseech you—
In sign of what you are, not to reward
What you have done—before our army hear me.

Mar. I have some wounds upon me, and they smart
To hear themselves remember'd.

Com. Should they not,
Well might they fester 'gainst ingratitude,
And tent themselves with death. Of all the horses,
Whereof we have ta'en good and good store, of all
The treasure in this field achieved and city,

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We render you the tenth, to be ta'en forth,
Before the common distribution, at
Your only choice.

Mar. I thank you, general;
But cannot make my heart consent to take
A bribe to pay my sword: I do refuse it;
And stand upon my common part with those
That have beheld the doing.

*A long flourish. They all cry "Marcius! Marcius!" cast
up their caps and lances: Cominius and Lartius stand bare.*

Mar. May these same instruments, which you profane,
Never sound more! when drums and trumpets shall
I' the field prove flatterers, let courts and cities be
Made all of false-faced soothing!
When steel grows soft as the parasite's silk,
Let him be made a coverture for the wars!
No more, I say! For that I have not wash'd
My nose that bled, or soil'd some debile wretch,—
Which, without note, here's many else have done,—
You shout me forth
In acclamations hyperbolical;
As if I loved my little should be dieted
In praises sauced with lies.

The text gave no difficulty until line 9 which in the Folio is a short line followed by a full stop. For some reason some editors—but not the Globe—preferred to have the short line at line 8. So they pulled down "We thank the gods" to make up line 9. It does, presumably, make the page more symmetrical to the eye.

Then we come to the more important changes. Lartius's "Hadst thou beheld" is interrupted by Marcius's "Pray now, no more." That is—"Hadst *thou* beheld" "Pray *now* no more"—but two syllables are missing for the line has only four feet; and the editorial principle is that every line *must* have *five* feet even when begun by one speaker and finished by another. Therefore from the line below is pushed up "My mother." And that is very satisfactory because now the line will tap out "Who has a charter to extol my blood." But then line 16 is faulty—

When *she* does *praise* me, *grieves* me—[it lacks three syllables].

So "I have done" is pushed up from the line below. But that leaves line

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18 short; "induced" is therefore raised. But even this change has not greatly helped because it still leaves line 19 to read—"As you have been, that's for my country"—which is short of a syllable, and, as it now stands, stressed in the wrong places; unless, of course, we are supposed to read "As *you* have *been*, that's *for* my *counteree*" (or even *co-untree*).

Marcus ends his speech with a half line; Cominius (in the Folio) begins with a full line. That will never do. Since every line *must* have *five* feet, the blank left at the end of Marcus's speech must be filled in before we can go on. So push up "You shall not be" into Folio line 21. To fill the gap thus caused, push up "Rome must know." Then push "worse than a theft" into that gap, and then—what luck!—Globe line 22 has become a full five-foot line of sorts, though we have still to compress "traducement" into two syllables.

The result of all these changes is to destroy most of Shakespeare's subtle touches; to abolish the pauses, the silences, and the rushes; to do away with that effective couplet at Folio lines 18 and 19; to substitute a calmer dignity for Marcus's regrettable lack of formal rhythm. The gain is that with a little forcing we can now recite these speeches to the accompaniment of that inspiring instrument—the metronome.

The modernized text of *Coriolanus* is indeed full of inept editorial tinkering. The pity is that so few, even among scholars, have ever read the play as Shakespeare wrote it so that its real subtlety is never perceived, much less appreciated. In the first two Acts alone, apart from innumerable instances where short prose speeches of a line or two are converted into verse which inevitably slows up the pace and changes the rhythms, there are between fifty and sixty cases of line rearrangement. No less than eight times the word "and" is shifted from its natural place at the beginning of a line to form a weak ending to the line before.

In the passage quoted "i'th" is twice expanded to "i'the" which spoils the rhythm of the line, and in line 35 (Globe) "at" has been moved back from its proper place at the beginning of line 36 because editors did not realize that in Elizabethan English "distribution" was a five syllable word.

It follows that if the Folio is right and the editors overzealous, all the elaborate statistics of weak endings and other metrical peculiarities are of very little value because they are founded on the edited texts and not on

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the Folio. It is a little disturbing to note that even the scientific bibliographers accept the "mislineations" without question. Thus Greg declares that they are "mainly due to the author running on half lines to economize space,"³ which in the passages quoted in this essay is contrary to fact.

The habit of assuming that the Folio text is wrong has led also to much controversy about the "cruxes" in *Coriolanus*. If however we assume that the Folio is more rather than less likely to represent what Shakespeare actually wrote and intended, several of the much disputed passages become plain. Most of these cruxes occur in places where Caius Marcius is in a state of emotion. I again stress the psychological factor, for it cannot be ignored even when examining a crux. Marcius is one of those military gentlemen essentially of the choleric temperament, with more brawn than brain. When roused he loses control of his speech so that he utters a string of words which are neither grammatical, logical, nor at times even coherent. This was Shakespeare's intention; he knew the type. But editors better acquainted with problems of syntax in a literary text than with the English language as used by a choleric Colonel have not always realized that Shakespeare could express such a character by deliberately making him talk nonsense.

Of all the cruxes in the play the most famous is that of the "parasite's silk." It occurs at line 49 in the Folio text, at line 45 in the Globe. Marcius is still bleeding from his wounds, exhausted but very excited, as is natural at such a moment—for the reaction has not yet set in. The cheers and the noise make him almost hysterical, and his words come out in spurts:

May these same instruments, which you prophane,
Never sound more . . . when Drums and Trumpets shall
I' th' field proue flatterers, let Courts and Cities be
Made all of false-fac'd soothing: . . .
When Steele growes soft, as the parasites silk,
Let him be made an Ouerture for th' Warres . . .

The main difficulty is in the word "overture" which has not hitherto been satisfactorily explained or amended; "coverture" is the favorite

³ W. W. Greg, *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare* (1942), p. 147. Greg holds that *Coriolanus* was set from Shakespeare's manuscript.

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emendation. "Overture" occurs elsewhere in Shakespeare. In *The Winter's Tale*, for instance,

And I wish, my liege,
You had only in your judgement tried it,
Without more overture. (II, i, 171)

Here it means "discovery," "opening," "open discussion." In *Lear* it means "revelation":

it was he
That made the overture of thy treasons to us. (III, vii, 89)

In *Twelfth Night* it means "proposal":

I bring no overture of war, no taxation of homage.

None of these meanings will fit our present passage. The *Oxford English Dictionary* however gives another meaning which has apparently been overlooked; that is "overthrow" or "overthrower." The evidence is passages from Greene 1591, Nashe 1593, and Prynne 1633. I have found also another instance of this meaning nearer in date to *Coriolanus*. It occurs in Thomas Middleton's play *The Family of Love*, performed by the Children of the Queen's Revels in 1607 and printed in 1608—"love is an idle fantasy, bred by desire, nursed by delight . . . and is indeed the overture of all ladies."

With the meaning of "overthrower," the lines in *Coriolanus* begin to make sense. Allowing something for Marcius's mental state, his words may be paraphrased "when even drums and trumpets (*the soldier's instruments*) are debased by being used for flattery (*and not to sound charges and alarums*) then courts and cities (*where peace-loving parasites live*) will naturally be full of smooth falsehood. When steel (*the soldier's proper covering*) grows as soft as the courtier's silk, then let him (i.e., *either the soft civilian or more probably steel turned silk-soft*) make an end of our honourable profession of war." Put more briefly, "when soldiers turn flatterers, they behave like civilians and bring dishonour on war." There may be in this passage a half echo of Essex's notorious *Apology*, first published in 1603: "we are a people that will turn our silk coats into iron jacks, and our silver plate into coats of plate rather than our Sovereign shall be unserved." Coriolanus accuses his

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fellows of reversing the process. And let me hasten to add that I emphatically do not in any way wish to imply that Coriolanus should be identified with the Earl of Essex!

The problems of the text of *Coriolanus* need longer and more exhaustive treatment than can be given in a Note; but I hope that I have at least established two points: that we cannot separate aesthetic and psychological considerations from textual study and that until we can bring ourselves to regard the Folio as a better text than the Globe and even some of the more modern improvements on the Globe, we shall not be in a position to appreciate the subtlety and the dramatic power shown by Shakespeare in this remarkable play.

THE IMPERIAL THEME IN *MACBETH*

By HENRY N. PAUL

To Macbeth and Banquo approaching Forres the witches make four pronouncements: (1) Macbeth is Thane of Glamis; (2) he is Thane of Cawdor; (3) he is to be King; and (4) Banquo is to "get kings", which Macbeth interprets (III, i, 59) as being "father to a line of Kings". Macbeth, having been promised the first three, has set his heart also upon the fourth. He calls the last two his "black and deep desires" (I, iv, 51), and more fully defines the last when, having attained the first three, he bitterly laments the prophecy that no son of his is to succeed him and calls upon fate to champion him that he may attain the fourth (III, i, 60-71).

It was immediately after the first two had come true that he first disclosed the extent of his ambition as he mused:

Two truths are told, as happy prologues to the swelling act of the imperial theme (I, iii, 129).

Thus we see that already in his mind the witches' words have taken shape as a dramatic crescendo: Glamis—Cawdor—King—Empire. The first two are but prologues finding a place in Act I of the play. Act II depicts Macbeth attaining kingship. In Act III Macbeth sees Banquo as "father to a line of kings", and in Act IV the kings of this line bear treble scepters and stretch to the crack of doom, betokening a truly imperial dynasty, which should be his, not Banquo's. This "imperial theme" is a very insistent motif of the play. It is what Scotland in Macbeth's time had not known but sorely needed, and was to attain when, at the end of the play, Malcolm succeeds Macbeth, thus founding the dynasty of which when the play was written King James held the scepter.

The phrase "imperial theme" did not come into the play from Holinshed who gives the prophecy to Banquo in these words:

Of thee those shall be borne which shall governe the Scottish Kingdome by long order of continual descent.¹

1 Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587), ii, Sig. P2^r.

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But Dr. Gwinn, writing his *Tres Sibyllae* in Latin, tells that the fateful sisters foretold to Banquo:

*Imperium sine fine tuae, rex inclyte, stirpis.*²

i.e., "An *endless empire*, O renowned King, to thy descendants". This became in Shakespeare's hands "the imperial theme".

It is necessary to realize in what grandiose terms Dr. Gwinn had described this *imperium* in his verses recited before King James at Oxford on August 27, 1605. As these verses are unfamiliar a translation of the first twenty lines of Gwinn's Latin text follows:

1. There is a story, O renowned King, that once in the olden time the fateful sisters foretold to thy descendants an endless empire [*imperium sine fine*]. Famed Lochabria acknowledged Banquo as its Thane; not for thee O Banquo, but for thine immortal descendants [*nepotibus immortalibus*] did these sooth-saying women predict immortal sceptres [*sceptra immortalia*] as thou didst withdraw from the court to the country for rest. We three sisters in like manner foretell the same fates for thee and thine, whilst along with thy family thou dost return from the country to the city, and we salute thee:

Hail thou who rulest Scotland.

2. Hail thou who rulest England.

3. Hail thou who rulest Ireland.

1. Hail thou to whom France gives titles whilst the others give lands.

2. Hail thou whom Britain, now united though formerly divided, cherishes.

3. Hail thou supreme British, Irish, Gallic Monarch.

1. Hail Anna, parent and sister and wife and daughter of Kings.

2. Hail Henry, heir apparent, handsome prince.

3. Hail Charles, Duke, and beautiful Polish princeling, hail.

1. Nor set we bounds nor times to these prophecies; save that the world is the limit for thy dominion and the stars of thy Fame. Bring back great Canute with his fourfold kingdom; Greater than thy ancestors, O thou who hast been crowned with a diadem to be rivalled only by thy descendants.³

This is the imperial theme in its full glory. Shakespeare did not stoop to such flattery as this, but the theme rang in his ears as he wrote his play, and he did take care to picture to the king the *endless* line of his descendants (IV, i, 117) and the *imperial* expansion of his dominions

² Matthew Gwinn, *Vertumnus* (1607), Sig. H3^r.

³ *Ibid.*

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(IV, i, 121); both thoughts being supplied by Dr. Gwinn and not by Holinshed.⁴

To appreciate the art with which the dramatist gave this imperial theme appropriate place in his play there must be kept in mind (a) what had happened in Scotland during the reigns which preceded those of Duncan and Macbeth, for this makes clear what the phrase meant as spoken by Macbeth in his Soliloquy, and (b) what had happened since, for this makes clear what the dramatist meant the phrase to mean for his king. Both happenings must be pictured not in the terms of modern histories, but solely in terms of the knowledge of the Elizabethans, including King James, and more particularly of William Shakespeare.

(a) The dramatist had read, and with great care for he made much use of them, the pages of Holinshed's Description of Scotland which tell of the reigns of King Duffe and of his successors Kings Culene, Kenneth, Constantine, Gryme and Malcolm II. The last of these was the grandfather of both Duncan and Macbeth. These pages tell a sorry and a bloody story. There was nothing like "empire" in Scotland. Kingship was not hereditary. There was no "line of kings"; but there were several families descended from Kenneth MacAlpine, from whom kings were *elected* in a system of alternating succession. Sometimes a king proclaimed his son Prince of Cumberland, in hopes of thus securing his succession; but the chieftains at once appealed to the "custom and ancient order used by their elders" which required them to choose as king that member of the MacAlpine family whom they deemed most able to maintain his rule. It resulted that a king usually seized power by the slaughter of his predecessor or rival, and held it only so long as he was able to hold it with his sword, a system which brought ruin and misery to the people of Scotland.

Andrew Lang gives a succinct account of the evil state of Scotland

4 Evidence that Shakespeare was familiar with Dr. Gwinn's verses is quite conclusive. Not only does the "imperial theme" spring from this source. The crown passing to descendants as described in the verses is to be contrasted with Macbeth's chagrin that he wears a "fruitless crown"; and the "immortal sceptres" of the verses are similarly to be contrasted with Macbeth's "barren sceptre" (III, i, 60-1). Canute's "fourfold kingdom" of the verses called forth the "treble sceptres", and Britain "now united though formerly divided" produced the "two-fold balls" of IV, i, 121. The "immortal descendants" which Gwinn awards to Banquo recur in the play as a line of kings which "stretch out to the crack of doom"; and James "crowned with a diadem" is reflected in the play as the nobility of Scotland; see Malcolm "compassed" with his "Kingdom's pearl".

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under these descendants of Kenneth MacAlpine. It leads him to conclude that "there is no worse form of political rule than that of elective monarchies".⁵ He thus sums up his account: "A dynasty, founded in Pictland by a Scot (Kenneth MacAlpine), and rent asunder by the jealousies necessarily aroused by the curious system of succession, consolidated Scotland; only to hand it over to a dynasty half English in blood and wholly Anglo-Norman in creed, language, sentiment, and education".⁶

This latter dynasty, founded upon Macbeth's death by Malcolm Canmore and his wife Margaret the English princess, was the first true dynastic succession Scotland had known. The line of their descendants, coalescing with the line from Banquo, has endured as an imperial succession to this day.

"Imperium" was the proper term by which to designate this hereditary dynastic succession first stabilized by Malcolm Canmore. Boece records that it was Malcolm's great-great-grandfather Kenneth II who first made an attempt to abrogate the older law of electoral succession in Scotland and to establish such new laws as would bring about the hereditary descent of the crown. He then proclaimed his son Malcolm II Prince of Cumberland. But upon Kenneth's death the electors ignored his laws and insisted upon the old law, and ahead of Malcolm thrust in Kings Constantine and Grime, who ruled for 12 years; but when Grime was slaughtered Malcolm II was at last chosen King. Thereupon this Malcolm II at Scone, in the presence of the Scottish chieftains, refused to receive the crown unless they would swear to confirm his father's laws of hereditary descent. This they did. Boece expresses it:

Quo conveniente Scotica nobilitate, Malcolmus *nomen insigniaque imperii* negavit se prius recepturum quam legum creandi regis a patre Kennetho latum denuo cuncti firmarent.⁷

Bellenden translates this:

Malcolme declarit *that* he wald nocht ressaif *the* diademe imperiall quhill *the* lawis maid afoir be his fader Kenneth war approbaitt.⁸

⁵ *History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation* (1900-07), i, 41. ⁶ *Ibid.*, i, 42.

⁷ Hector Boece, *Scotorum Historiae* [Paris, 1526], Sig. H6^v. The italics, here and in all subsequent quotations, are those of the present writer.

⁸ *The Chronicles of Scotland Compiled by Hector Boece Translated into Scots by John*

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But notwithstanding the acceptance by the chieftains of Kenneth's laws a precarious situation arose when Malcolm II died, for he left no male issue but only two daughters. A choice had then to be made between Duncan, the son of one of these daughters, and Macbeth, the son of the other. And when the play of *Macbeth* opens this choice has been made in favor of Duncan, who has proved to be but a feeble King. He has been compelled to rely upon his cousin Macbeth to quell the late serious disorders, and before doing this Macbeth has spoken "much against the King's softness, and overmuch slackness in punishing offenders".⁹

All this was well known to the dramatist and to his Scottish audience; and the above-quoted language used by both Boece and Bellenden shows that the idea of an "imperial diadem" was connected by Scots of the 16th century with the more stable hereditary dynasty which both Kenneth II and Malcolm II had unsuccessfully tried to found, but which Malcolm Canmore¹⁰ ultimately succeeded in establishing and which culminated in the long line of the Stuart Kings. Dr. Gwinn evidently knew this when he designated this line an "imperium"; and this designation was thus perpetuated in the play of *Macbeth*, for the talk of the three witches near the beginning of the play about kingship and the getting of kings opened up the whole question of this dangerous state

Bellenden, 1531, edited from the Pierpont Morgan Library MS. by R. W. Chambers and Edith C. Batho (Scottish Text Soc., 1938), ii, 127.

9 Holinshed, *Chron.* (1587), Sig. P1^r.

10 Malcolm Canmore was crowned King of Scotland at Scone on April 25, 1057. The Holy Roman Empire, and the feudal system of government with which it was associated, had then long exerted what was in the main a stabilizing effect upon the peoples of Europe. This system along with a feudal nobility came to England with William the Conqueror only nine years later. But many years before this the terms *imperator* and *imperium* had been in use to designate a desired supreme hereditary monarchy as contrasted with the disordered rules of Angles, Saxons, and Danes in England and of Celts in Scotland. See E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest of England* (1867-79), i, 145-64, 620-7, and William Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England* (4th ed., 1883), i, 195.

It is sometimes said that Malcolm Canmore (1058-93) first brought feudal institutions to Scotland. He did pave the way. But the feudal system did not really find a lodgment in Scotland until the reign of David I (1124-53). But Shakespeare has claimed the dramatist's privilege of advancing the date. Several expressions in the text of the play witness this; and on the stage it is always played in a feudal setting and in feudal costumes. So romantic a drama is better framed if the castles of Inverness (where Duncan is murdered) and of Forres (where the banquet takes place) and of Dunsinane are huge feudal structures. And why not?

of affairs, the need for a well-defined rule of succession and a stable government, and the corresponding ambitions of both Macbeth and Banquo. Macbeth's soliloquy about "the swelling act of the *imperial* theme" was the natural expression of his desire to be father to this coming line of Kings, rather than to see Banquo thus favored.

(b) But the dramatist had more than this in mind. He was writing a play to be exhibited to Duncan's descendant in the eighteenth generation, and in like degree a descendant of Banquo, and the words "*imperial theme*" were to take on a still more pregnant meaning. It is not only an imperial dynasty that is pictured, but a dynasty which to its great advantage has since the days of Robert Bruce produced a line of nine kings who have taken the throne of Scotland by direct *lineal succession*. This may conveniently be thought of as the *Stuart theme*.

When Hector Boece in 1526 wrote his History of Scotland James V was King and the scepter had passed in the Stuart line directly from father to son by seven consecutive descents. To emphasize this notable fact, Boece invented a mythical ancestor of the Stuarts whom he named Banquo and a prophecy promising to Banquo's issue kingship "*longa nepotum serie*".¹¹ By the time Holinshed wrote, there had been eight such direct descents; and when Shakespeare wrote his play there had been nine, with a Prince of Wales living who if he were to attain the throne would be the tenth. For length of *lineal*, i.e., unbroken direct descent from father to son, royal genealogy cannot match the Stuart line. The longest *lineal* descent which has occurred in the English royal family is that of five Plantagenets from King John to King Edward III. Holinshed, with this phenomenon in mind, thus speaks of the Stuart line:

I shall in a few words rehearse the original *line* of those kings which have descended from the foresaid Banquo, that they which have enjoyed the kingdom by *so long continuance of descent from one to another, and that even* unto these our days, may be knowen from whence they had their first beginning.¹²

Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, in rendering his judgment in June 1608 in the great case of the Post Nati, thus expressed it:

¹¹ *Scot. Hist.*, Sig. K2^r.

¹² *Chron.* (1587), Sig. P2^v. Spelling is here modernized.

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The King our Sovereign is lawfully and *lineally* descended of the first great Monarchs and Kings of both the Kingdoms; and that by *so long a continued line of lawful descent, as therein he exceedeth all the Kings that the world now knoweth*.¹³

King James was fully conscious of the glory conferred upon him by reason of this *lineal* and long continued succession of the Stuart Kings from which he sprang. In his *Basilicon Doron* he told his eldest son to: "Enjoy . . . this whole isle according to God's right and your *lineal descent*".¹⁴ In his *True Law of Free Monarchies* (1603) he speaks of the happy continuance in Christian Commonwealths of the "lineal succession of Crowns".¹⁵ In his speech to his first Parliament he thanked them for "receiving of me in this Seat, which God by my Birthright and *lineal descent* had in the fulness of time provided for me". And on March 21, 1607, speaking to his third Parliament he said: "I desire a perfect Union of Laws and Persons, and such a naturalizing as may make one body of both Kingdoms under me your King that I and my posterity (if it so please God) may rule over you *to the world's end*".¹⁶ In the same speech he advocated "those laws, whereby confusion is avoided, and their King's descent maintained, and the heritage of the succession of the Monarchy which hath been a kingdom to which *I am in descent three hundred years before Christ*";¹⁷ a boast obviously founded on the traditional line of the Scottish Kings from Fergus I (330 B.C.) in which Duncan stands as the 84th king.¹⁸

But it is not alone King James who is to be pleased by the promise of this line of Kings. The English people, who in past years had gloried in the virginity of their queen, experienced after her death distressing anxieties concerning the succession due to the failure of the issue of King Henry VIII. This produced a revulsion, and as soon as James was firmly set on his throne they began to extol a propagating king each

¹³ Thomas Egerton, *The Speech of the Lord Chancellor of England, in the Eschequer Chamber, touching the Post-Nati* (1609), Sig. I2.

¹⁴ *Basilikon Doron* (Edinburgh, 1603), Sig. E2^v.

¹⁵ Sig. E1^v.

¹⁶ James I, *Works* (1616), Sig. Vv4^v.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Sig. Xx2^v.

¹⁸ Some of the pedigrees of which James was so proud may be found in George Owen Harry, *The Genealogy of the high and mighty Monarch, James* (1604), Sig. (c)2^r. It twice traces the line from Banquo.

one of whose ancestors had been capable of producing a royal son and heir for so many successive generations. There are dangers to a monarchic state when the crown must pass to a collateral of the last sovereign, as recent experience had proven. It is much safer to have a direct lineal succession.

Early in 1606 Parliament passed an act granting James three subsidies in which the following is recorded:

We cannot but with unspeakable joy of heart consider of that blessing, which having respect to later times in this state, is rare and unwonted, which is the blessed fruit and Royal Issue of singular towardness and comfort, which God hath given your Majesty, with great hope of many the like; these being indeed as arrows in the hand of the Mighty, able to dant your Enemies, and to assure your loving subjects, and to safeguard your Royal person, and to shield and protect each other, and to be a pledge to us and our posterity, of future and perdurable felicity.¹⁹

This idea of a line of kings taking the throne in *direct lineal* succession seems not to have influenced Dr. Gwinn's verses, nor was it apparently in Shakespeare's mind when he wrote the first act of his play for the prophecy to Banquo there pronounced only foretells that he will "get kings" or that his "children shall be kings". But before he came to the third act of the play a new source of imagery and language concerning the Banquo line came into the dramatist's hands and seized upon his mind and is thereafter used by him to foreshadow the Stuart direct line of kings as known to King James and to history.

The story of the prophecy to Banquo, invented by and told by Boece in Latin in 1526, had often been translated into other languages, but it had never been independently retold by any historian until John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, an ardent Roman Catholic and loyal supporter of Mary Stuart as Queen of Scots, published in 1578 in Rome, where he was then living in exile, his *De Origine, Moribus et Rebus Gestis Scotorum*. This history contains a lively recasting and compression of the story of Banquo in new terms, accompanied by a very striking cut showing the Banquo line in the form of a family tree. The dramatist saw this book, and from it seems to have derived both the language and imagery which he uses to picture the glories of the Stuart line in the third and fourth

¹⁹ *The Connexion: being Choice Collections of Some Principal Matters in King James his Reign* (1681), pp. 19-20.

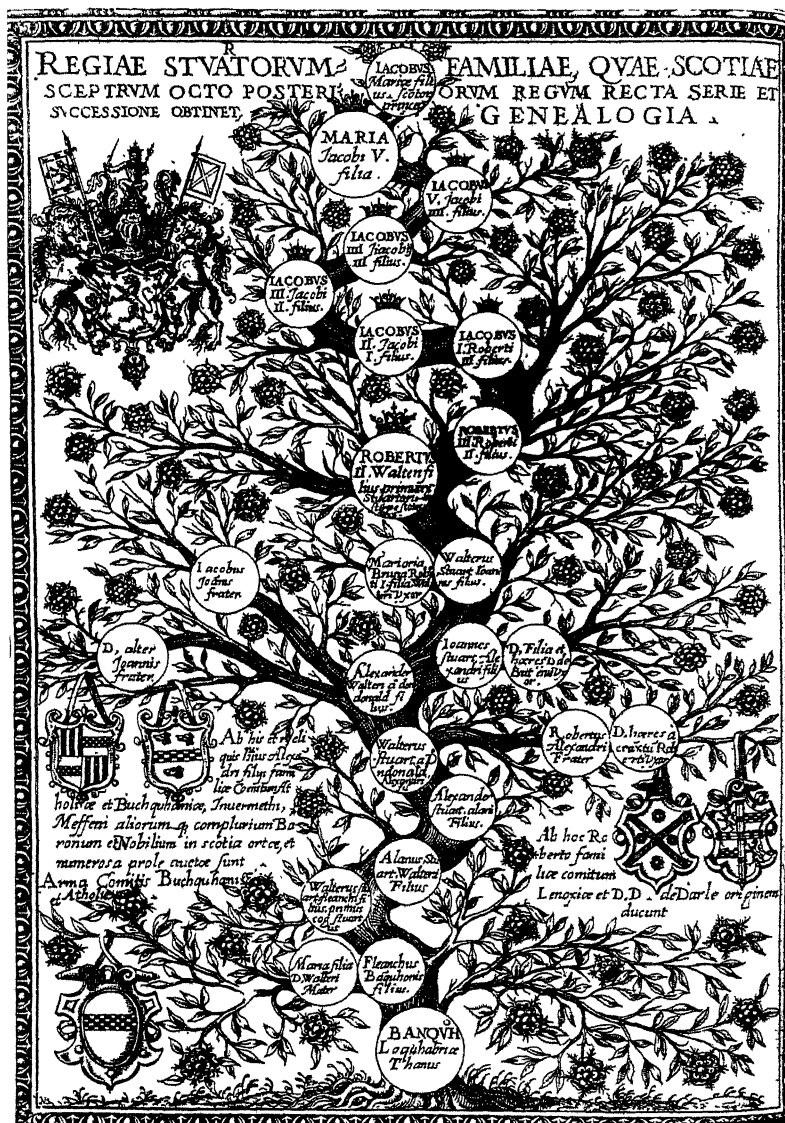


PLATE I. The Banquo tree, from Leslie's *De Origine*, 1578

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acts of his play. This is so interesting, novel, and important that some of Leslie's language will be quoted, for the book is difficult of access and seemingly unknown to Shakespearians.

Leslie had given an account in his book of the reigns of Duncan and Macbeth without mentioning the prophecy of the sisters concerning Banquo; but later when he comes to the reign of King Robert II (1371-90) he stops to tell about the prophecy to Banquo. For at this point the descendants of Banquo merge with the Bruces, who descend from Duncan, because of the marriage of Walter Stewart with Marjory, daughter of Robert Bruce, whose son (Robert II) was the first of the descendants of Banquo to be crowned King of Scotland.

Consequently Leslie here relates:

Verum cum post mortuum Davidem, maribus & Bruseorum familia desideratis, matrimonii certa lege, juris sanctione recta, & ordinum justa assensione, Stuartis regni nostri gubernacula tradita fuerint, & ab his ad hoc usque tempus feliciter administrata; locus hic videtur omnino postulare, ut Stuartorum originem altius repetitam tam breviter pertexam, quo manifeste liqueat omnibus, quam justa serie Reges nostri ex Regibus parentibus continenter fuerint nexi, & quanta gloria vel rei militaris in bellis, vel consilii in pace, Stuartorum familia apud nos semper floruerit.²⁰

This may be translated:

But since after David's death, when the males and family of the Bruces having failed, the government of our kingdom by the established law of matrimony, the proper sanction of law, and with the full assent of all ranks has been passed down to the Stuarts and to this present day happily carried on by them; this place seems to require that I briefly review the previously traced origin of the Stuarts in order that it may become perfectly clear to all in how *direct a line our kings have been bound together in unbroken succession from their parent kings*, and with what great glory both in military affairs in war, and in council in peace, the family of the Stuarts has ever flourished among us.

This is the Stuart theme in its full glory.

Thus it came about that what began in Act I of the play as the "imperial theme" as *glorified* by Dr. Gwinn became transformed or merged throughout Acts III and IV of the play into the Stuart theme as glorified by Bishop Leslie.

²⁰ John Leslie, *De Origine Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Scotorum Libri Decem* (Rome, 1578), p. 257.

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Following this quotation Leslie tells that Macbeth had learned from the prophecy of certain devils disguised as women ("*ex vaticinio quarundum mulierum, seu potius Daemonorum, quo mulierum personas ementiti*") that his own issue failing there would spring from the blood of Banquo those who would reign in a *long line* ("*qui longa serie regnarent*"). Consequently by his machinations certain assassins were induced to attack Banquo and Fleance. Banquo was killed, but Fleance escaped. Then follows the tale about Fleance and the daughter of the Welsh King, and how from their union the Stuart line originated. This is traced to Walter Stewart, who married Marjory Bruce. Thus Leslie explains,

a Bruseis ad Stuartos, qui ex Bruseorum sanguine juste profluxerant, regni nostri successio devoluta est. Hujus cognominis justi hæredes nostram Scotiam ad hanc usque ætatem ita temperarunt, ut nec Reip. nostrae ullis Regibus florentior, nec ulli Reges nostra Rep. feliciores fuerint. Quorum singulorum vitas suo quasque ordine postea fuse persequemur; & nomina (ut Regum ex Regibus series perpetuo filo contexta manifestius liqueat) huic tabulæ in arboris formam descriptæ, quæ Genealogiam familiæ Stuartorum ab ejus prima origine continet, subjecimus.²¹

That is to say:

From the Bruces to the Stuarts who truly flow from the blood of the Bruces, the succession of our Kingdom has devolved. The true heirs of this name have so ruled our Scotland even to this day that neither has it ever been more prosperous under any other of the Kings of our state nor have any of these kings been more happy. Hereupon we will fully set forth the lives of each one of these Kings each in its own order, and (in order that the line of Kings from Kings united by a perpetual thread may appear more clearly) we annex their names to this properly arranged table in the form of a tree, which discloses the Genealogy of the family of the Stuarts from its first origin.

At this point is inserted in Leslie's book the interesting cut of the Banquo tree here reproduced. This cut²² was done in Rome in 1578 while

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

²² Nearly one hundred years later this cut was copied for use in the Holland (1675) reprint of Leslie's work, and this copy was also used in the London (1677) edition. The differences between the original cut and the copy are immaterial. A specimen of this latter is in the Bodleian (Sutherland 211) and is reproduced in *Shakespeare's England* (1916), ii, 536, but its true origin was evidently unknown. Because of its advocacy of the

Mary Stuart was still living a prisoner in England. John Leslie and the Romans held that Mary's abdication was obtained by duress and was a nullity. She was still Queen of Scots, and her son, although he had been crowned King of Scotland when a year old, was still only "Scotorum Princeps". Leslie therefore asserted in the title of the cut that the family of the Stuarts "Scottiae sceptrum *Octo* posteriorum regum recta serie et successione obtinet". To the Englishman this was not true. There were in 1578 nine Stuart Kings in the direct line, not eight.

The poet's eye, struck by this pictorial showing of the Stuart line, allowed it to create the imagery used by him in Acts III and IV.

Banquo (III, i, 5) rephrases the prophecy concerning his children as he sees himself "the *root* and father of many kings". Macbeth's fears stick deep (are deeply rooted) in Banquo (III, i, 49) because he is to be "father to a *line of kings*" ("*series perpetuo filo contexta*"). The tree of Banquo in the cut bears not only leaves and flowers but globular fruit eight of which united in a direct line are crowned; and Macbeth sees that he has murdered Banquo only to make these "*seeds*" of Banquo kings.²³ Macbeth's thwarted ambition imagines the serpentine trunk of the tree as drawn in the cut to be a "snake" he cannot kill (III, ii, 13), or a "serpent" (III, iv, 29). The picture of this trunk showing "*quam justa serie Reges nostri ex Regibus parentibus continenter fuerint nexi*" is seen as "that great bond" which keeps Macbeth pale and which he wishes "torn to pieces" (III, ii, 49). And finally in the fourth Act it is a show of eight (not nine) kings, for the title of the cut speaks of a series "*octo posteriorum regum*".

But the dramatist wished to develop the Stuart theme in other ways

claims of Mary Stuart the book of Bishop Leslie when published could not be brought into England, but after her execution the bar was relaxed. To King James the book was as grateful incense, because glorifying his ancestry and defending his mother. The master of the Revels would be the one to bring such a book to Shakespeare's attention as he wrote the play telling of the reputed origin of the Stuart line.

23 Shakespeare wrote "seeds" (III, i, 70), but following Pope nearly all editions have wilfully changed the expressive plural as found in the four Folios to the singular. H. Elwin (in his ed. of *Macb.—Shak. Restored* [1853], p. v; quoted in "New Variorum", revised ed. [1903], p. 181) remonstrates "by multiplying the ordinary plurality of the term *seed* it is rendered emphatically significant of far-extended descents". M. H. Liddell (in his ed. of *Macb.*, 1903, p. 96) gives excellent reasons for the retention of the plural. In his edition of *Macb.* (Gateway Series [1904]), Parrott follows the Folio. With the cut before him Shakespeare followed Elizabethan usage and pluralized the word.

in addition to those suggested by Bishop Leslie, and proceeded to do so. He so staged the procession of the Kings that it would show son continually succeeding father, and transmitting both Banquo's "royalty of nature" and the color of his hair in apparently endless succession. This family likeness is "nature's copy"²⁴ which Lady Macbeth hopes is "not eterne". This is why Macbeth viewing the "show of eight kings" is startled as he notes that the first is "too like the spirit of Banquo". The second with "haire" like the first. The third like the former, until he exclaims, "What will the *line stretch out to the crack of doom*?" It is a *direct lineal* unbroken succession of kings to the world's end. And it is an imperial dynasty, the future rulers of which are to carry "double balls and treble scepters". When Malcolm is proclaimed King he is seen as compassed by his "Kingdom's pearl", an uncompleted simile which needs to be filled out. Malcolm is about to take his place as ruler of what these ancient Scottish chiefs looked upon as the coming feudal empire of Scotland of which all the thanes were to be feudatories. They are about to be proclaimed Earls, a feudal title hitherto unknown in Scotland. The head of such an empire is crowned by an imperial diadem, which differs from the golden fillet of a Kingly crown in that it is studded with pearls representing the dependent fiefs. Accordingly when Macduff calls upon the rest of the thanes to hail Malcolm as their King (V, viii, 54-9) he appropriately likens them to the "Kingdom's pearl", i.e., the pearls of the imperial diadem which is to compass Malcolm's head. This is the suggestion of the Clarendon editors repeated by Dr. Furness at the close of his list of previous less satisfactory ones.²⁵ It accords with Bellenden's reference to the "diademe imperiall" of Scotland. The feudal terms used by Shakespeare in thus exhibiting the devolution of imperial sovereignty upon Malcolm Canmore are in full accord with the earlier act of his father King Duncan (I, iv, 35, printed with the capitalization of the Folio):

24 "Nature's copy" is the copy which nature makes in causing the son to look like the father. Some have found in this phrase a reference to copyhold tenure. This is I think misleading (see P. S. Clarkson and C. T. Warren, "Copyhold Tenure and *Macbeth*", *M.L.N.*, lv (1940), 483-93). What Shakespeare really thought about "nature's copy" is more fully developed in *W.T.* (II, iii, 95-107). Lady Macbeth hopes that the lineal descent, from Banquo (in which each son will favor his father), will not last forever.

25 *Macbeth*, ed. W. G. Clark and W. A. Wright, "Clarendon Press Series" (1869), p. 180. "New Variorum", revised ed., ii, 347.

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Sonnes, Kinsmen, Thanes,
And you whose places are the nearest, know,
We will establish our Estate upon
Our eldest, Malcolme, whom we name hereafter,
The Prince of Cumberland: which Honour must
Not unaccompanied invest him onely,
But signes of Nobleness, like Starres, shall shine
On all deservers.

These words concern not merely Malcolm's succession to his father's throne. They are the decree by which Duncan puts into effect the law which his grandfather had exacted from his thanes abolishing the older law of tanistry which placed brothers or cousins on the throne before sons. Duncan was thus creating in Scotland an hereditary monarchy; and as part of this enactment he converts his kinsmen and chieftains into a feudal nobility to whom he promises grants which will enable them to sustain this relation to their overlord. It was most grateful to James and his nobility to hear the words by which their long-lived Scottish dynasty was established.

This brings us to the difficult task of painting the picture of the show of the eight Stuart kings as staged by the King's Company. In part the difficulty arises from the contradiction between the stage direction of the Folio and the text, for the former puts Banquo last with a glass in his hand, while the text puts the glass in the hand of the eighth king. Editors always amend the stage direction, but in varying ways. It should, I think, read: "A show of Banquo and eight kings, the last with a glass in his hand", for line 112 is more intelligible if Banquo's spirit enters first and stands near the first king.²⁶ The other difficult question is: Who is the eighth king bearing the glass? The history of Scotland, like the Leslie chart, names eight, and only eight sovereigns of the Stuart line reigning between Banquo and James, and the last of these was Mary Queen of Scots. Because they are collectively called "kings" most editors refuse to allow Queen Mary a place in the procession. I

²⁶ T. M. Parrott suggests to me that the dramatist originally wrote "A show of eight kings, the last with a glass in his hand", but subsequently wrote "Banquo" in the margin intending it to be inserted before "eight kings", but the compositor put it after. That Banquo enters first and stands pointing as the procession passes is clearly shown in the plate for this play found in Rowe's edition of 1709. This has high authority as a true showing of the usage of the Restoration stage.

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think it likely that this delicate matter was intentionally left vague, and I suggest that following the seven kings, all well known to the Scotchmen in the audience, there came a muffled figure peering down into a large glass and therefore unrecognizable. But as James hears the words:

And yet the eighth appears who bears a glass
Which shows me many more. And some I see
That two-fold balls and treble scepters carry,

he will inevitably see in this figure his own mother triumphing in her issue over the barren queen who signed the death warrant.

The ball surmounted by the cross (later called the orb) is that part of the regalia which symbolizes kingship by divine right; whilst the scepter betokens actual Kingly power. King James thought he was appointed by the "divine predestinate will" to unite all Britain, formerly divided into England and Scotland. The ball is therefore "two-fold". But he carries a "treble scepter", corresponding to the first three salutations of the sibyls in Dr. Gwinn's verses, as King of Scotland, England, and Ireland. Lord Chancellor Ellesmere in delivering his judgment two years later in the case of the *Post Nati* (p. 64) accurately defined the king's sovereignty thus:

King James hath now the Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey by descent; all these be his dominions, and under his subjection and obedience.

The fourth salutation of the sibyls explains why he carries no scepter for France. The channel islands did not constitute a kingdom.

But most important of all is it that the procession of the Kings should be given with historical accuracy and with proper dignity; for it should be a true apotheosis scene. It is usually shabbily staged as a tiresome and meaningless tableau.

King James having been shown his royal line, it was timely to ennoble the strain. When Malcolm accuses himself of foul crimes, Macduff tells him that he "does blaspheme his breed. Thy royal father was a most sainted king: the queen that bare thee, oftener upon her knees than on her feet, died every day she lived". This praise of King Duncan and his wife, the father and mother of Malcolm, who is the Malcolm Canmore of history from whom the Stuarts are descended, is introduced

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ex industria. There is no warrant in the Chronicles for the assertion that Duncan "was a most sainted king"; and still less for the praise of Duncan's wife. Finding nothing at all recorded in Holinshed concerning Duncan's wife Shakespeare read on a few pages and found that Duncan's son Malcolm subsequently married Margaret (sister to Edgar Aetheling) "a woman of great zeal unto the religion of the time . . . (otherwise called for her holiness of life Saint Margaret)". So he transferred the recorded virtues of Saint Margaret to her mother-in-law, and thus increased the attractiveness of his picture of the ancestry from which King James sprang.

Modern criticism of this play, while recognizing that praise for the Stuart line is a note several times heard in it, does not seem able to hear the full chord which the dramatist has struck in his effort to remind his King of the glories of the Stuart dynasty. Or if heard it is as a discord. The history of the play shows why this is so. Before King James died his initial popularity had turned to contempt, and the play of Macbeth had been laid aside. Davenant's spectacular perversion of the play was the form in which it appeared on the Restoration stage, and this omits reference to the "imperial theme", nor does it mention the "two-fold balls and treble scepters". This version held the stage until Garrick revived Shakespeare's play in the middle of the eighteenth century at a time when the Stuarts were classed as public enemies on account of the Jacobite rising which culminated in Culloden. Garrick and his successors were able to hold their audiences by relying upon the dramatic power of the play, and preferred, in deference to public sentiment, to slur over all that glorified the Stuarts. Neither Garrick's version nor Kemble's contains the line as to the balls and scepters. This habit of mind has unconsciously permeated later criticism and interpretation of the play, and exists today. It remains for our generation to put the play back into harmony with the thought of the King which obtained in the year 1606. This paper has striven to do this in some small measure, but it must be left to some larger volume to reveal how far we have failed in reading the play, or putting it on the stage, to note the grand scale upon which the dramatist has tried to exhibit the glories of the imperial dynasty of Scotland as the Scot's imagination and that of his King saw them when the play was written.

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We cannot reverse the verdict of history; but it may help us to a more sympathetic attitude towards the dramatist's glorification of his king if we recall that while the play of *Macbeth* was being written the Scholars of the Kingdom were engaged in the production of the King James version of the Holy Scriptures. Their prefatory address to the King begins thus:

Great and manifold were the blessings, most dread sovereign, which Almighty God bestowed upon us the people of England when first he sent Your Majesty's Royal Person to rule and reign over us. For whereas it was the expectation of many, who wished not well into our Sion, that upon the setting of the bright Occidental Star Queen Elizabeth, of most happy memory, some thick and palpable clouds of darkness would so have overshadowed this Land that men should have been in doubt which way they were to walk; and that it should hardly be known who was to direct the unsettled State; the appearance of your majesty as of the Sun in his strength, instantly dispelled these supposed and surmised mists, and gave unto all that were well affected exceeding cause of comfort, especially when we beheld the Government established in your Highness and your hopeful Seed, by an undoubted Title, and this also accompanied with peace and tranquillity at home and abroad.

We should grant to the dramatist the same right to honor his king that we grant to the Translators. And as a final word, all who see the play of *Macbeth* should bear in mind that King George VI of England is directly descended from King James I in the eleventh degree. The question "Will the line stretch out to the crack of doom?" is no less interesting and important today than when Macbeth first asked it.

THE KNOCKING AT THE GATE IN *MACBETH* AN ESSAY IN INTERPRETATION

By JOHN WEBSTER SPARGO

The reality of witchcraft or enchantment, which, though not strictly the same, are confounded in this play, has in all ages and countries been credited by the common people, and in most, by the learned themselves. The phantoms have indeed appeared more frequently in proportion as the darkness of ignorance has been more gross; but it cannot be shown, that the brightest gleams of knowledge have at any time been sufficient to drive them out of the world.

So runs a paragraph in the Introduction to *Macbeth*, in the seventh volume of the fourth edition of the Johnson-Steevens text of Shakespeare's plays, published at London in 1793.¹ The style and the content make one think of the Great Khan himself. Act II, scene iii of *Macbeth* filled the eighteenth-century commentators with scandalized consternation which culminated in Coleridge's rejection of the scene as spurious. The macabre humor in the jesting about death, the devil, and hell seemed not humorous but simply in bad taste. To the audience or reader of today, the stress seems on the comic rather than on the macabre aspects of the scene, as it is in that other masterpiece of humor at death's expense, Mark Twain's *The Invalid's Story* about *feu* M. le baron de Roquefort, von Limburg, or another person having lately borne some such redolent name.

In general, the knocking at the gate has not moved editors or commentators to explanation, although the other and subsidiary business or language of Act II, scene iii has been annotated fully enough. Dramatically, the thunderous pounding off-stage dominates the scene, all of which is motivated by and revolves around the reiterated knocking at the gate. To the significance of that knocking I propose to devote this paper, ignoring largely the rest of the scene.

The theme of Act II is death. Its climax, the death by murder of Duncan, is led up to with reiterated insistence. In life and in literature, the wolf's howl (II, i, 54) or the owl's scream (II, ii, 3, 16) is an omen

¹ P. 320. It is reprinted in *The Plays and Poems of Shakespeare*, ed. Edmond Malone (1821), xi, 3.

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of impending death. Although the same cannot be said for the sounding of a bell, in I, i, 32 and 64 we are told explicitly that the sounding of *this* bell.

is a knell
that summons thee to heaven, or to hell.

Thus we have in Act II this series of emphases upon death: (1) the wolf's howl; (2) the owl's scream; (3) the knocking at the gate. Plainly, death is at hand; this is the cause of the dramatic tension. De Quincey felt that this tension was intolerable, and therefore he inferred that the dramatist, too, must have found the tension intolerable and sought relief from this tension by introducing the knocking, and the tomfoolery about the knocking, as signals that life can be resumed now that death is past. It is the purpose of this paper to point out that the opposite is really the case—that the knocking is the climax of a series of portents of death. De Quincey's famous essay is assessed by Augustus Ralli² in terms with which many will agree:

Here again is the finest romantic criticism . . . De Quincey was a poet who worked backward from a single haunting impression; the feeling preceded the thought . . .

Lady Macbeth, the arch-conspirator, is herself the reliable commentator on the climax, when she mentions the owl's screech and says explicitly, "He is about it." Note especially that the same informant reports the first knocking (II, ii, 65, 69). This knocking brings no release of tension, but on the contrary increases it—or so it would seem to the Jacobean audience, heirs as they were of no less than three lines of tradition any one of which, to say nothing of a combination of all three, would have indicated that death had come to Duncan's sleeping-chamber as the inevitable climax of a series of dire portents.

I

Horace

First I elect to glance at that ample demesne, the Horatian tradition. The subject of number 4 of Book I of the *Carmina* is "Spring's lesson."

² *A History of Shakespearean Criticism* (1932), i, 167 f.

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Winter's departure makes way for the arrival of spring; everybody cheers up, the green things start growing, the flowers bloom, the air becomes soft, and the outlook improves markedly; but be not deluded, for (in spite of the universal signs of burgeoning life)

Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas regumque turris.

Dull death dashes the door down of Dives and Do-without alike.³

In editions of Horace for schoolboys, *aequo pede* is glossed "with impartial foot," and attention is called to the Roman custom of knocking at doors with the foot. The underlying thought of this brilliant purple passage is that death is constantly on the march, even at the most unexpected or incongruous times. Aside from the thought, the form is such that any person sensitive to poetic values would find it sticking in his memory, once he had cast his eye upon it. Strangely enough, the record of the effect upon the minds of men of this passage, as of the rest of Horace, is as yet unwritten in any consistent way. The late Max Manitius⁴ laid foundations upon which no further work has been done, but the question whether the Horatian tradition reached Shakespeare vitally has been answered by T. W. Baldwin⁵ with a resoundingly definitive affirmative.

The recollection of the *pallida mors* passage appears sporadically in unexpected places, showing how the phrase rang in the memory of men from one age to another.

Retired at St. Martin's, Tours, from the heat of the long day as director of Charlemagne's palace-school at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 801 Alcuin wrote to a friend that having laid aside the burden of pastoral cares, he was quietly awaiting the knocking at the gate as his summons to quit this turbulent world.⁶

3 John Osborne Sargent translates more poetically in *Horatian Echoes* (1893), p. 10:

Pale death before them stalks impartially,
Whether the portal be
Of peasant or of prince—hovel or tower—
Alike all feel his power.

The fact is that Latin *pulso* means basically to *knock*, to *beat*, to *strike*.

4 *Analekten zur Geschichte des Horaz im Mittelalter*, Göttingen, 1892.

5 *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* (1944), ii, 497-527, 547.

6 "Nos vero, sicut dixi Cuculo, deposito onere pastoralis curae, quieti sedemus apud

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That snapper-up of unconsidered trifles, Vincent of Beauvais, included the *pallida mors* passage *verbatim* among his *flosculi Horatii*.⁷

Any of those interesting old commonplace books called *florilegia* is likely to quote our passage, as for example does Nannus Mirabellus in his *Polyanthea nova cum additionibus*.⁸ Almost two centuries and a half later, John Spencer,⁹ the Librarian at Sion College, in London, shows that the English compiler of a commonplace book could also value the *pallida mors* tidbit, for he quotes it in his turn.

Yes, William Shakespeare was able to move with easy familiarity in that *orbis Latinus* of which the poetry of Horace is one of the most graciously imperishable glories. The author, yes—but what of the audience? It is but reasonable to infer that although Shakespeare himself may have recalled the *Pallida mors aequo pede pulsat* passage while composing the scene built around the knocking at the gate, certainly many of the persons in the audience could not; still, there are other lines of tradition which could not fail to enforce upon the audience the impression that the knocking was designed to indicate that death—called *pallida mors* or whatever—was the fatal bellman who had summoned Duncan from his last mortal sleep.

II

The Fatal Summons

In man's zeal to understand the spiritual realm, often he is baffled as to a means of communication between the spiritual and the material worlds, but being sure that communication must take place somehow, he has been in the habit of assuming that it must follow the usual avenues open to himself. That is, just as a man communicates with his human neighbor by knocking at his door, so may a spirit communicate with

Sanctum Martinum; spectans, quando vox veniat; 'Aperi pulsanti, sequere iubentem, exaudi iudicantem.'"—*Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, tomus II. Recensuit Ernestus Duemmler. Berolini, [1895] (*M.G.H. Epistolarum tomus IV*).

⁷ *Bibliotheca mundi seu Speculi maioris Vincentii Bellovacensis*. Tomus quartus qui *speculum historiale inscribitur* (Douay, 1624), chap. lxxx.

⁸ Saon, 1514, fol. 285.

⁹ *Things new and old, or, a store-house of Similies, Sentences . . .* (1658), p. 261. Spencer's motto is: *Deus nobis haec otia fecit*. The extravagant flattery implied would have amused Horace.

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a man by means of knocking or rapping, mostly at that obvious means of ingress, the door.

Widespread in Europe was the belief that by rattling objects or knocking at doors spirits warned a household of the impending visitation of death.¹⁰

In 1914, August Ackermann¹¹ expressed the opinion that elsewhere than in *Macbeth*, Shakespeare revealed awareness of the belief that a spirit may knock at the door to convey the idea that death in the household is impending. For instance, Desdemona's persistent foreboding of death is expressed midway in her song, when she asks

Hark! Who is't that knocks?¹²

Again, the stage-direction for "knocking within" in *Measure for Measure* (IV, ii, 72) would seem to be explained explicitly in the text—a point made cogently by Ackermann. In IV, ii, 66, the provost displays the warrant ordering the execution of Claudio; thus death for Claudio is imminent. The knocking continues insistently, the entry of Duke Vincentio proving to be a false lead as the cause of the knocking. His business attended to, the Duke hears that same knocking within, at IV, ii, 90. Acquainted as he is with the approaching doom of Claudio, and regretful at not having brought the reprieve hoped for by the amiable provost, Duke Vincentio comments,

How now? What noise? That spirit's possessed with haste
That wounds th'unsisting postern with these strokes.

The fact that the plot requires Claudio's escape from execution by a ruse does not invalidate the portents in the reiterated knocking.

Ackermann asserts that several other passages in the plays corroborate his claim that Shakespeare deliberately used knocking as an omen of impending death, but I find the assertion invalid. From a few waifs and strays of this belief which have been recorded, we do know that

¹⁰ *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, edd. E. Hoffman-Krayer and Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, iv (Berlin, Leipzig, 1931-2), col. 1537.

¹¹ *Der Seelenglaube bei Shakespeare. Ein mythologisch-literarwissenschaftliche Abhandlung* (Diss. Zürich; Frauenfeld, 1914), pp. 70-80.

¹² *Othello*, IV, iii, 51.

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it has existed in Great Britain,¹³ but in the absence of a notarized statement by John Shakespeare that, having come across this belief in Warwickshire, he had told son William about it, some will feel that the venerable tradition should not be considered pertinent to the knocking at the gate in *Macbeth*. For the purpose of this paper, it is fortunate, therefore, that death's summons by knocking at the door need not be the only alternative to the recognition of Horace's *pallida mors aequo pede pulsat* on the part of the Jacobean audiences at performances of *Macbeth*.

III

The Sickness

If *Macbeth* was first performed early in 1606,¹⁴ as is supposed, there can be no doubt of one grave matter which cannot fail to have provided author and audience alike with an unforgettable recollection stamped firmly in the horror-stricken memory of young and old, for only three years before, every man, woman and child in London had witnessed a violent outbreak of the plague, when facilities for the disposal of the dead were so desperately overtaxed that to the modern observer the only parallel known is in conditions recently at Dachau or Buchenwald.¹⁵ The city was devastated as if by an atomic bomb. Shakespeare and his audience held in common the gruesome memory of this disaster, but the point here is not so much the swelling bills of mortality, the breakdown of the usual means of disposing of the dead, the harrowing shortage of services for the living, well or ill, the vicious sides of human nature displayed, as it is the fact that the searchers for the dead were compelled to adopt rough-and-ready measures for discharging their duties. Required to remove the bodies of the dead within a few hours of death, in the interests of holding down the spread of infection, they had to make incessant house-to-house search, in order to keep the premises clear of those dangerous centers of contagion, the bodies of

¹³ W. Carew Hazlitt, *Faith and Folklore* (1905), i, 171; *Folk-lore*, xix (1908), 466-8. In the *Folk Lore of Shakespeare* ([1883], p. 343), T. F. Thiselton Dyer approached but did not quite reach the interpretation of Ackermann.

¹⁴ E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare. A Study of Facts and Problems* (1930), i, 475.

¹⁵ F. P. Wilson, *The Plague in Shakespeare's London* (1927). Chap. iii, pp. 85-113, discusses the plague of 1603.

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persons dead of the plague. The onerous duties of these hard-pressed citizens were rendered the more difficult and time-consuming by the virulence of the contagion, which struck fatally with almost instantaneous celerity, so that in many a house visited in due course by the faithful searchers, every inhabitant was either dead or so weakened by disease as to be unable to speak. With the imperative need of dispatch pressing heavily upon them, the searchers, worn out by long hours devoted to their revolting task, took the short-cut of hammering violently upon the doors of the houses visited, notably, of course, upon doors bearing the fateful red circle containing the legend, "Lord have mercy upon us," the precursor of the health-department's warning placard of later days. The rushed searchers, naturally enough, would pound on the door with the handles of their spades loudly enough "to wake the dead," but if all within were already dead, of course they could not respond, and the thunderous pounding would continue until the searchers had made up their minds that there was nothing to do but break the door in and fetch out the dead for their unceremonious obsequies. That Shakespeare himself remembered this extraordinary period of devastation is proved, thinks F. P. Wilson,¹⁶ because "Ross's account of the state of Scotland (*Macbeth* IV, iii) exactly describes the lamentable condition of London in this terrible summer" of 1603:

It cannot
Be call'd our Mother, but our Grave; where nothing
But who knows nothing, is once seen to smile:
Where sighs, and groans, and shrieks that rent the air
Are made, not mark'd: where violent sorrow seems
A Modern extasy: the Dead mans knell
Is there scarce ask'd for who, and good men's lives
Expire before the Flowers in their Caps,
Dying or ere they sicken. (ll. 165-73)

"The town was deserted and grass grew in Cheapside," continues Wilson; "those who were forced to go out of doors walked near the channel in the middle of the street, chewing orange peel or smoking tobacco, and keeping to windward of all who seemed infected . . . the infected were often suffered to die without any to see to their wants, and women

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

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with child were forsaken in the hour of their need. From many houses might be heard the groaning of sick persons or the wailing of mourners, while above all was heard the continual tolling of the bells." (The "fatal bellman" again!)

Not the plague of 1603, but that of 1592-3, was the basis of Thomas Nashe's superb lyric, *Litany in Time of Plague*, which achieved inclusion in the *Oxford Book of English Verse* with quality to spare. The spurred haste of the searchers is reflected in the lines

Strength stoops unto the grave,
Worms feed on Hector brave;
Swords may not fight with fate;
Earth still holds ope her gate;
Come, come! the bells do cry;
I am sick, I must die—
Lord, have mercy on us!

Yet another of Shakespeare's contemporaries commented on the plague. Turned journalist, Thomas Dekker wrote a series of reports which have been edited by F. P. Wilson under the title *The Plague Pamphlets of Thomas Dekker*.

Is Sicknesse come to thy doore! [wrote Dekker] "Hath it knock't there?
In this great yeare of contagion . . ., when the Bell-man of the Citty (sicknesse) beate at every dore . . ."¹⁷

Madness from shock was rather frequent, naturally enough, during and following an epidemic of plague. That the impact did not drive Shakespeare mad is our good fortune; but that the impact was both

17 (1925), pp. 188, 183. Adding to the confusion of such disastrous times was the apparent failure of Holy Writ to live up to its promise, in Psalm 91:6: Thou shalt not be afraid "for the pestilence that walketh in darkness." And persons tinged with Calvinism would know why, for does not verse 1 devote the whole of this psalm to the state of the godly?

Moreover, those disposed to seek comfort in the Bible in time of trouble found good reason to suppose that spirits would tend to make their presence known by knocking at the door. In Matthew 7:7, Christ says: "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; *knock*, and it shall be opened to you." Cf. Luke, 11:9; Rev. 3:20, in which one like unto the Son of Man says, "Behold, I stand at the door, and knock." In the Vulgate, the reading is: "Ecco sto ad ostium, et pulso." Again, St. John the Evangelist reports Christ as pronouncing the memorable words: "I am the gate.—Ego sum ostium" (John 10:9. Cf. 10:7).

These, and a score more not included in this far from exhaustive list, could but tend

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powerful and lasting F. P. Wilson demonstrates by collecting the evidences in the plays as follows: *Titus*, IV, iii, 108 ff.; *Lear*, III, i, 68-70; *Troilus*, I, iii, 94 f.; *L.L.L.*, V, ii, 419-21; *Romeo*, IV, ii, 8 (on the searchers); *Shrew*, I, i; *A. & C.*, III, x, 8.

From knowledge of one or of all of these traditions, the Jacobean audience recognized in *Macbeth* a crescendo of three ominous portents of death: (1) the wolf's howl; (2) the owl's screech; (3) the knocking at the gate. As the heavy thundering offstage thudded upon their ears, the Jacobean theatre-goers said to themselves, "*Consummatus est!* Lord, have mercy upon us!"

to corroborate the general impression that a gate or door possessed some supernatural or spiritual significance beyond the ordinary, and that a messenger of the Lord would be likely to serve his summons by knocking at the gate. When Peter had just been delivered from death by the angel of the Lord, he made his seeming return from the dead apparent by knocking at the door: "But Peter continued knocking, and when they had opened the door, and saw him, they were astonished"—at seeing Peter's ghost!—"Petrus autem perseverabat pulsans . . ." (Acts 12:16).

BELLEFOREST, SHAKESPEARE, AND KYD

By ROBERT ADGER LAW

Present judgment as to the composition of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* about 1601 or 1602 is to accept as its primary source a drama of the same name, now lost but dated about 1589, and ascribed to Kyd. Evidence for this popular verdict rests chiefly on three contemporary allusions: in 1589 by Thomas Nashe in his preface to Greene's *Menaphon*, wherein Nashe derides those whose "sentences" come from "English Seneca read by candlelight," and then refers to "hamlets" and the "Kidde in Æsop"; on June 11, 1594, by Henslowe, who records in his diary performance of a *Hamlet* by the Chamberlain's Men; and in 1596 by Lodge, who in his *Wit's Miserie* writes, "As pale as ye ghost which cried so miserally at ye Theator, like an oister wife, *Hamlet, revenge!*" Confirmation of this belief has been found in the unquestioned resemblance of certain parts of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* to Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, especially the similarity between the characters of Hamlet and Hieronimo. Assumption of Shakespeare's debt to Kyd has met thus with general though not universal acceptance. Some scholars, however, have gone much further in their surmises. Finding, as they believe, in the First Quarto of *Hamlet* (1603) and also in *Der bestrafte Brudermord*, a German *Hamlet* play first printed in 1781 from a manuscript dated 1710, closer parallels to Kyd's known work than in the Second Quarto of Shakespeare's tragedy, they have attempted by comparison of the three versions to reconstruct Kyd's entire play or at least to establish various details as to its content.¹

These critics not only insist on Kyd's authorship of the so-called *Ur-Hamlet*, but usually consider the lost play as the primary and closely followed source of *Der bestrafte Brudermord*, and accept the First Quarto as Shakespeare's earlier draft of his tragedy, which he later revised. If one of these assumptions be incorrect, chances of finding

1 Cf. C. M. Lewis, *The Genesis of Hamlet* (1907), *passim*; H. D. Gray, "The Reconstruction of a Lost Play," *P.Q.*, vii (1928), 254-74; Parrott and Craig, *The Tragedy of Hamlet* (1938), p. 15 ff.; W. W. Lawrence, "Hamlet and Fortinbras," *PMLA*, lxi (1946), 673-98; F. T. Bowers, *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy* (1940), pp. 89-93.

and labelling the Kydian elements in the finished Shakespeare text are considerably lessened.

I

Competent editors now seem to have reached a time of hesitation. Joseph Quincy Adams, while accepting the theory of the debt to Kyd, cautiously adds:

Most scholars attribute the first draft to Kyd himself, but it is unwise to be positive on the slender evidence we possess. Indeed, the very closeness with which the play, even as it emerges in Shakespeare's revision, copies the famous *Hieronimo*, at times echoing its phraseology, suggests that it may have been a slavish imitation of Kyd rather than an original work by that versatile author.²

Hardin Craig declares,

It is hazardous to express opinions on questions on which there is such fundamental disagreement as on those of the date and sources of *Hamlet*, and any opinion here given must be understood as subject to doubts.³

Schücking acknowledges that he has modified earlier views expressed by him, declaring:

It used to be believed that a fairly accurate idea of Kyd's *Hamlet*, which was used by Shakespeare, could be got from the curious German *Hamlet*, the so-called *Bestrafte Brudermord*. . . . It is possible that the German *Hamlet* was constructed from such stuff as this, which yet had certain points of contact both with Kyd's original *Hamlet* and with Shakespeare's. This is why certain elements of Shakespeare's source may be reflected in the *Bestrafte Brudermord*, but they are not of much help in reconstructing the original. Attempts, though undertaken with considerable skill, have only led to imperfect results.⁴

Other authoritative commentators are still more pronounced in their skepticism. Schelling asks:

What was the nature of Kyd's original *Hamlet*? What parts have been retained by Shakespeare, and what are his changes and departures? What is

² *Life of Shakespeare* (1923), p. 303. Again, in his edition of *Hamlet* (1929), p. 341, Adams writes, "We cannot be positive, however, for the play may well have been the product of some slavish imitator of Kyd."

³ *Shakespeare: A Historical and Critical Study* (1931), p. 710.

⁴ L. L. Schücking, *The Meaning of Hamlet* (1937, trans. Rawson), p. 174.

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the true relation of all these versions? Such are some of the questions we should like definitely answered but which seem, despite all the scholarship lavished upon them, likely to remain "in the backward and abysm of time."⁵

Similarly Chambers:

Whether the old *Hamlet* was by Kyd, it seems to me impossible to say; Nashe's reference is quite inconclusive and the verbal parallels are still more so. . . . All that we know about the old play is that there was a ghost in it, who called "Hamlet, revenge!"⁶

Yet more explicit is Kittredge:

Nashe seems to glance at Thomas Kyd in the context of the passage just quoted, but his language does not even hint at Kyd's authorship of the old *Hamlet*. The old play was evidently of the Senecan sort, like *The Spanish Tragedy*, and one of the characters was a pale-faced ghost (presumably of the murdered king) who cried "Hamlet, revenge!" Further than this, we have no knowledge of its contents.⁷

The final verdict of Duthie, who has most recently submitted the First Quarto to minute examination, runs: "The First Quarto seems to be merely a bad copy of an abridged version of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*—possibly of a version cobbled up by some literary hack for provincial acting."⁸

More expressions of present-day agnosticism might be cited, but all those given may perhaps justify one more effort to discover truth.

II

Recognizing a state of uncertainty, I believe we can still draw a few definite conclusions as to changes that Shakespeare probably made

5 F. E. Schelling, *English Literature During the Lifetime of Shakespeare* (1910), p. 258.

6 E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare* (1930), i, 424.

7 William Shakespeare, *Complete Works*, ed. G. L. Kittredge (1936), p. 1146. Professor Kittredge repeats these words in the introduction to his single-volume edition of *Hamlet* (1939), p. ix f.

8 G. I. Duthie, *The "Bad" Quarto of Hamlet* (1941), p. 273. Cf. also A. J. A. Waldock, *Hamlet, A Study in Critical Methods* (1931), p. 63; A. L. Attwater, "Shakespeare's Sources" in *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies*, ed. Granville-Barker and Harrison (1934), p. 226; Hazelton Spencer, *The Art and Life of Shakespeare* (1940), p. 310 f.; Alfred Hart, *Stolne and Surreptitious Copies* (Melbourne, 1942), pp. 89-93.

in the story as it came to him, and perhaps determine for ourselves whether he merely revised the lost play in its own framework, as has been so frequently postulated, or whether to use the terse words of Kittredge, "For the plot Shakespeare went to Volume V of Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*."⁹

Since the earlier play is lost beyond recovery, we may reach some light by noting Shakespeare's known habits of composition from extant material, and then comparing details of his completed tragedy with those of Belleforest's unlost *novella* giving the adventures of Hamlet.

What were Shakespeare's ways of handling material in composing his dramas? Judging from his treatment of incidents in his English history plays, in the Roman plays, in *Romeo and Juliet*, in *Macbeth*, and in *King Lear*, for example, we may expect him, of course, to stress character more than action, especially character contrast and motivation; then to streamline the action of his story by beginning late, ending early, and dovetailing incidents; to create a secondary plot, or, at least, to add complication to his main plot; frequently to parallel situations carried over from his source, thus balancing one phase of his plot with another; to omit or ameliorate certain indecencies of situation or incident; finally, perhaps, to provide in his catastrophe a fatal duel between protagonist and antagonist.

Of streamlining the action and dovetailing incidents the "histories" afford numerous examples. *Richard II* covers only the last two years of a twenty-two-year reign; *1 Henry IV* begins and ends with the Percy rebellion so far as the serious plot is concerned, while *2 Henry IV* details the Scrope rebellion of two years later (1405) and then suddenly jumps to King Henry's death and Hal's coronation in 1413; *Richard III* devotes its first four acts almost entirely to events recorded in the chronicles as of 1483. Similarly, *Julius Caesar* opens with the Lupercalian feast, February 15, 44 B.C., and closes with the deaths of Cassius and Brutus in the Battle of Philippi, 42 B.C. Each of these plays omits incidents recorded on page after page of its historical sources. Another kind of streamlining is exemplified in the opening scene of *King Lear*, where, contrary to all other narrators of the Lear story, Shakespeare has the two elder daughters wedded before the story begins, and then

9 *Hamlet*, ed. Kittredge (1939), p. viii.

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has Lear set forth his plans, divide his kingdom after the usual love test, banish Cordelia, try in vain to forestall her marriage to France, banish Kent, and leave the stage in anger along with Burgundy, a newly created rival suitor, to allow for a foreboding dialogue of the elder sisters—all in a few breath-taking moments. The same haste is evident in the three scenes that open *Macbeth*, where the Scottish generals, contrary to Holinshed, put down at one blow several separate attacks, and Macbeth on the very occasion of meeting the Weird Sisters learns that he is Thane of Cawdor. *Romeo and Juliet* condenses events of a year in Brooke's poem into less than a week, and many another time-saving instance might be listed.

Use of a secondary plot is exemplified in the two Parts of *Henry IV*, which I regard as separate plays. As already mentioned, the *First Part* has to do with the Percy rebellion of 1402-3, the *Second* with the Scrope rebellion of 1405. But Shakespeare, it will be recalled, adds to each story a second plot of Prince Hal and his tavern-haunting companions drawn from another play that narrates incidents occurring near the death of King Henry seven to ten years later. In *Romeo and Juliet* he develops the Paris-Juliet episode, introduced by Brooke after Juliet's secret marriage to Romeo, so that it becomes a minor plot. Differing from Brooke, Shakespeare has Paris sue for Juliet's hand with the consent of both parents before hero and heroine have met, keeps alluding to him every now and then, brings him prominently forward in the scene of lamentation over the supposedly dead Juliet, and pictures him in the final scene fighting Romeo in the graveyard and being laid beside his beloved lady in her tomb. Thus Shakespeare through a succession of incidents, no one of which is in Brooke, builds up his counterplot. The Gloucester plot of *King Lear* is well known to have been lifted from Sidney's *Arcadia*, wherein the behavior of the bastard son of a Paphlagonian king strangely parallels that of Lear's two elder daughters, while his good son matches Lear's Cordelia. In *Macbeth* the dramatist follows throughout the opening scenes the story of King Macbeth in Holinshed, but when he comes to portray the murder of Duncan, he goes back twenty pages to Holinshed's similar account of the murder of King Duffe, and then picks up a few more details given by Holinshed in his story of Kenneth. These borrowings serve to build

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a second tragedy of Lady Macbeth. So much for secondary plots and Shakespeare's fondness for them.

Professor Kreider has written an entire volume on Shakespeare's repetitions,¹⁰ in the Appendix to which he lists a surprising but not exhaustive number of situations repeated in the same play or in some later. My own attention was first drawn to such a common habit of Shakespeare in connection with a single play, *Romeo and Juliet*, when I discovered to my surprise that incidents in the opening scene, representing the Capulet-Montague street fight, are followed closely in the first scene of Act III, when the partisans meet again; and also that the Nurse repeats after Tybalt's death the same procedure in teasing Juliet that she has used in announcing to her mistress Romeo's plans for the elopement. But Brooke in each case has employed only one incident for Shakespeare's two. Later I was convinced that in *Richard III*, Act I, Scene iv, where Richard's hired murderers kill Clarence in prison, Shakespeare has borrowed both phrases and incidents from Holinshed's narrative of the murder of the young princes, which the drama is to present later; and that the fanciful wooing of Lady Anne by the same Richard in the second scene owes its conception to Holinshed's account of the wooing of Princess Elizabeth, likewise narrated by Shakespeare in a later scene.¹¹ That is to say, in each of these dramas Shakespeare takes one episode from his source and uses it twice amid slightly differing circumstances and perhaps with different people.

Examples of purges of the plot from offensive or coarse incidents are found variously in connection with certain nunnery scenes in *The Troublesome Reign* but omitted from *King John*, with some details of the Portia story in *The Merchant of Venice*, with the Sebastian plot of *Twelfth Night*, so changed that Furness refused to acknowledge the undoubted original, and with other familiar episodes in the sources of *Measure for Measure* and *The Winter's Tale*. True it is that the plays still contain lines that were prudently expurgated from many nineteenth-century editions, and Granville-Barker can justly delineate Mercutio,

¹⁰ Paul V. Kreider, *Repetition in Shakespeare's Plays* (1941), see especially Appendix, pp. 261-96.

¹¹ R. A. Law, "Shakespeare's Changes in *Romeo and Juliet*," *Texas Studies in English*, no. 9 (1929), 95 ff; "*Richard the Third*: A Study in Shakespeare's Composition," *PMLA*, lx (1945), 693-5.

"dominating the stage with his lusty presence, vomiting his jolly indecencies." Yet it cannot be gainsaid that despite the license allowed to some lewd individuals, Shakespeare has set his own standards of good taste above the reach of contemporaries and pitched his plots on a higher level than he found them. Cordelia could never speak certain lines uttered by Cordella in the old *Leir* any more than Desdemona could unblushingly repeat the words of Emilia.

Far more important than any of these changes, naturally, are those in character conception and in creating or modifying of incident to provide motivation. In the *Romeo*, for example, we see added Tybalt's swashbuckling behavior in the first scene, the offense he takes on seeing Romeo at the Capulet banquet, and the mention by Romeo's friends of a challenge he has sent, all to account for his death and the subsequent banishment of the hero. At the same time the dramatist is careful to stress Romeo's unwillingness to participate actively in the family feud on every occasion so that we may sympathize with him when, his ire aroused by the death of his friend, he takes quick vengeance on the fiery Tybalt. Thus Tybalt and Romeo are made foils, but more sharply drawn foils are the mild, sober Benvolio with either Mercutio, his constant companion, or Tybalt again, while Romeo in the whole course of his dashing courtship has another foil in the gentle, conventional Paris, whom he fights and slays in the catastrophe. The death of Paris is not found in Brooke. Holinshed describes at some length the dreams of Richard III the night before his death, but it is Shakespeare that has given contrasting dreams to Richmond, his foil, and then made Richmond his slayer in battle next day. Shakespeare's consistent picturing of Hotspur as a foil to Prince Hal in *1 Henry IV* is matter of common knowledge, and he has further deliberately departed from the chronicles in making Hal personally meet Hotspur at Shrewsbury and slay him in single combat. The Gloucester subplot of *King Lear* is practically ended when Edgar slays his villain brother Edmund in the final scene, an episode not provided by Sidney, and though Holinshed relates the killing of Macbeth by Macduff, Shakespeare makes more of the climax. To have Brutus and Cassius slain by Mark Antony or Octavius Caesar would have been too great a departure from history before an Elizabethan audience, but it will be noted that both these Roman generals

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come on the stage in *Julius Caesar* immediately after the suicide of Brutus, and they join in exalting his personal character just as the play ends. Neither was it fitting that Aufidius, consistently played as the foil to Coriolanus in the tragedy of that name, should personally stab his rival in the last scene, but he plainly incites the Volscian mob to the lynching of Marcius and "stands on him" after he dies. Bolingbroke seems to be the actual murderer of his foil Richard II by proxy, but in the closing scene his agent, Exton, enters with Richard's corpse, and the final speech is uttered by Bolingbroke "in weeping after this untimely bier." The situation becomes almost a commonplace.

III

In order to understand clearly the contents of the Hamlet story as told by Belleforest in his *Histoires Tragiques*, we shall use the summary of Belleforest made by Professor T. M. Parrott, one of the most prominent living advocates of Shakespeare's indebtedness to Kyd. Parrott's summary follows:

There were once two brothers in Jutland, Horwendil and Feng. Horwendil was a famous warrior; he slew the King of Norway in single fight and married Gerutha, the King of Denmark's daughter. His jealous brother murdered him, married the widow, and became ruler of Jutland. The orphan son of Horwendil, Amleth, saved his life by feigning madness, groveling in the dirt, and talking what seemed sheer nonsense, but had, really, a hidden meaning. It may be noted in passing that this feigned madness is a constant feature of the legend and that it is quite simply motivated by the need of self-preservation. Had Amleth not seemed a hopeless idiot his uncle would quickly have sent him to follow his father. Even as it was, Feng grew suspicious and tried to learn whether the youth was mad or merely feigning. His first agent was a young woman—the original of Ophelia. The story here is somewhat confused, but it is clear that Amleth's sagacity and the maid's love for him enable him to escape the snare. A second attempt is made by a friend of Feng, who concealed himself in the straw of Geruth's chamber—a striking proof of the antiquity of the tale—in order to overhear a conversation between Amleth and his mother. Amleth, however, detects and kills the spy, rebukes his mother for her incestuous marriage, and tells her of his desire for revenge. Shortly after this Feng, who dared not slay Amleth openly, sent him to England with two attendants bearing a letter carved on wood—doubtless in the old runic letters of the North—bidding the King of England put him

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to death. On the voyage Amleth found and read the letter, and altered it so as to bid the English King kill the bearers and marry his daughter to the Prince. So it was done and after a year in England Amleth returned to Denmark, where he found Feng and his followers celebrating at a banquet a false report of his death. He plays his old part of a fool, gets the retainers drunk, fires the hall, and slays Feng with his own sword. On the morrow he makes a long speech to the people and becomes King of Jutland. His further adventures have no bearing on the play. He ruled as a wise and brave King and finally fell in battle against the King of Denmark.¹²

Now since this account contains no ghost crying Revenge nor a touch of Senecan "sentences," nobody will quarrel with those who attribute both elements to Kyd or whoever wrote the lost Hamlet play. But the case is not so clear for other details found in Shakespeare's version. Could any of these be safely accredited to his own invention without the medium of the *Ur-Hamlet*? Does the existing text give evidence of composition based solely on material to be found in Belleforest? Let us see.

First, Shakespeare's *Hamlet* begins *in medias res* on the night before the Ghost discloses to Hamlet the secret murder. This point of time apparently corresponds to the beginning of Chapter II in the 1608 English translation of Belleforest, where Hamlet decides to play mad. Omitted altogether are also the events covered in Chapters VI and VII of the English version, leaving only four of the seven chapters to be followed.¹³ As compared with Belleforest, the Shakespeare play contains in Act I additions of three visits of the Ghost; full exposition of state affairs, both foreign and domestic; the introduction of the Polonius family, with special details concerning the father's standing at court, the son's return to Paris, and the daughter's love affair with the Prince; the interference of Polonius in this affair and Ophelia's acceptance of his orders; the Ghost's injunction for revenge and Hamlet's immediate reply. The same rapid action and compression of time marks the entire play with the exception of Act II, which is largely devoted to prepara-

¹² T. M. Parrott in *W. Shakespeare, Twenty-three Plays and the Sonnets*, ed. Parrott, Hubler, and Telfer (1938), p. 669.

¹³ I refer to the "chapters" merely for convenience of designation, but these headings are used in the unsatisfactory 1608 English text; they are not used by Belleforest. For complete parallel texts of Belleforest's French and the English translation, see Israel Gollancz, *The Sources of Hamlet* (1926).

tion for the play-within-the-play of Act III. Time is again saved in the omission of Belleforest's episode of the lengthy visit to England. In Act IV, Hamlet sets forth for England, but with the assistance of the piratical "thieves of mercy" he returns safe to his native land. Thus Shakespeare's treatment of the Belleforest material, if there were no intervening play, would generally resemble his treatment of the Leir story.

In suggesting that *Hamlet* contains a secondary plot, one instantly recalls that the tragedy has become the proverbial one-man play and is commonly so presented on the stage. But more than once have critics protested against such interpretation.¹⁴ Any careful analysis of the drama will reveal great complexity in the plot. Professor Lawrence has recently expounded both learnedly and lucidly the Fortinbras episodes, the origin of which he accredits on slight evidence to Kyd.¹⁵ Of more importance is the subplot of the Polonius family, carefully developed throughout the play, with only a hint or two from Belleforest concerning a former sweetheart, employed to entrap Amleth, and a friend of the King, slain by Amleth as he was spying on him in his mother's chamber.

In Shakespeare the nameless sweetheart becomes Ophelia, is made daughter to the King's spying friend, now named Polonius, and is given a brother Laertes. This family of three balances the other family of Claudius, Gertrude, and Hamlet; all six characters enter the play together in the royal procession which opens Scene ii. In his initial speech, King Claudius hears and grants Laertes' petition to return to Paris, and immediately afterward rejects Hamlet's quite similar request to return to Wittenberg. Scene iii is altogether devoted to the Polonius family in their home, discussing the departure of Laertes and the love affair of Ophelia with Hamlet. After the two Ghost scenes that follow, Act II, Scene i, shows Polonius characteristically setting Reynaldo to spy on Laertes, while the next scene opens with Claudius setting Rosen-crantz and Guildenstern to spy on Hamlet. Thus in his exposition

¹⁴ For example, G. L. Kittredge, *Shakespeare: An Address* (1916), pp. 35-40; H. M. Jones, *The King in Hamlet* (Austin, Texas, 1921), pp. 9-11.

¹⁵ W. W. Lawrence, "Hamlet and Fortinbras," *PMLA*, lxi (1946), 673 ff. See also by the same author, "Hamlet's Sea-Voyage," *PMLA*, lix (1944), 45-70.

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Shakespeare separates the two families, carefully indicates the domestic situation in each of them, and balances the one against the other.

Already in Act II the two families have been more closely linked through the Hamlet-Ophelia love affair: the wooing of Ophelia by Hamlet, the efforts of father and brother to break off the relation, her consequent coldness to her lover, and his strange behavior to her. This last seems to me to have been suggested by Belleforest's account of Amleth's cool behavior towards the young woman who "from her infancy loved and favoured him." But the same incident in Belleforest is unquestionable basis, directly or indirectly, of III, i, where Claudius tells us that he and Polonius

have closely sent for Hamlet hither,
That he, as 'twere by accident, may here
Affront Ophelia.

Polonius is later to hide behind the arras in order to overhear Hamlet's conversation with the Queen. His action here merely foreshadows the situation to come. Ophelia once more appears prominently in the following scene, where "The Murder of Gonzago" is enacted and Hamlet can use her as a means to convince the court that he is mad. For several scenes thereafter she disappears from the stage, but serves pathetically as the central figure in her mad scene, resembling the sleepwalking of Lady Macbeth. Her death by drowning is announced in IV, vii, and her funeral with the fight between Laertes and Hamlet occurs in V, ii. Thus a series of incidents continuing through every act of the drama forms a significant part of a secondary plot. The one episode in Belleforest to be taken as origin of the Ophelia story is that of the decoy set for Hamlet.

Polonius, descended from the spying counselor killed by Hamlet in Belleforest, plays an important rôle at court and in his own home through seven scenes before his death, which marks the turning-point of Hamlet's fortunes. Despite stage tradition, he is no clown; he is Lord Chamberlain, confidant of King and Queen, much like Kyd's Hieronimo, yet not necessarily of Kyd's progeny.

Laertes, third member of the Polonius family, is unknown to Belleforest, and, I suspect, equally unknown to the author of the lost play.

For plainly he is a foil to Hamlet, possibly a student of the University of Paris as Hamlet is of Wittenberg, given to loose behavior, if we accept at face value the suspicions expressed by his sister and his father, an expert fencer like Hamlet, but unlike Hamlet, ready without delay to avenge the murder of his father even on the King. The Prince himself draws attention to the likeness between them when he declares, "By the image of my cause I see The portraiture of his." His weakness, however, develops in Acts IV and V as Hamlet grows strong, and he dies as the result of his own treachery. If this analysis be generally true, the play has a secondary plot in the fortunes of the Polonius family, which are entangled with those of Claudius and Hamlet in much the same way as the Gloucester family's misfortunes are interwoven with those of King Lear.

Parallel incidents, such as petitions to parents and King to return to Paris or to Wittenberg after the coronation, hiring of spies by suspicious parents to report on the respective sons, hiding behind the arras to overhear Hamlet's private conversations, the genuine madness of Ophelia balanced against that pretended by Hamlet, and, of course, the contrasting behavior of the two sons in seeking to avenge their fathers' deaths—all these tend to persuade me that Shakespeare was building up his own plot without the guidance of his predecessor.

Crude and indecorous situations in Belleforest are considerably tempered. Specifically, the assumed madness of Hamlet in the older story leads courtiers to entrap him in a solitary wooded spot, where they bring to him a beautiful woman, "inciting him to take their pleasures together, and to imbrace one another."¹⁶ Very different is the scene where Hamlet meets Ophelia in the castle and begs that he may be remembered in her orisons; and his unconventional dress in frightening her, "sewing in her closet," is merely reported on the stage. Ophelia's character is heightened far above that of her prototype. But the most striking case of refinement lies in Hamlet's treatment of the dead body of Polonius. True, in the play he promises to "lug the guts into the neighbour room," and plays hide and seek about the corpse with his school-fellows. Belleforest, on the other hand, relates that the Prince after thrusting with his sword through the coverings and pulling the half-

¹⁶ Israel Gollancz, ed., *The Sources of Hamlet*, p. 201.

dead counselor out by the heels, made an end of killing him, and then "cut his bodie in pieces, which he caused to be boyled, and then cast it into an open vaulte or privie, that so it mighte serve for foode to the hogges."¹⁷ Hamlet's excited conduct to Laertes at the funeral of Ophelia must have been suggested by Belleforest's tale of his return from England on the day that all the courtiers were celebrating his own funeral, "whome they esteemed dead," reveling and exchanging mocks much as the gravediggers do in the play. This enables Hamlet in Belleforest to procure his revenge. Tying all his drunken enemies to the ground in the palace, he sets that building on fire, goes to the King, and cuts his head "cleane from his shoulders." The final revenge that Shakespeare allows him is bloody enough but slightly more civilized. Though in all the episodes cited are traces of greater or less violence, they are tempered down from the original action.

One more assumption commonly made among the advocates of Kyd is that he alone must be credited with the ending of the tragedy and the fatal duel between Laertes and Hamlet. Such conjecture appears to me strangely unwarranted. That Kyd or any Elizabethan would end his tragedy with the violent death of his hero we may well believe, but the catastrophe of *Hamlet* is typically Shakespearian. It is carefully prepared for in the last three scenes of Act IV and the two scenes of Act V. First, the King with masterful tact quiets the threatened rebellion of Laertes by assuring him of his own innocence in the death of Polonius and promising the revenge that Laertes seeks. Then by means of Hamlet's letter to Horatio we know that Hamlet has escaped from death and is returning to Denmark. Next, the King and Laertes are discussing their common hatred of Hamlet and desire for revenge at the very moment that King Claudius receives a letter from him promising prompt return. At once they conspire his death by means of a duel with Laertes, in pretended friendliness but secret treachery, devising three means of unfair play to insure their victim's murder. Thus the hero of the play has two deadly foes to face, and the main plot is inextricably united with the subplot. The maimed funeral rites of Ophelia in Act V, Scene i, result in an unseemly tussle between Laertes and Hamlet, which prompts the King to promise Laertes, "This grave

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

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shall have a living monument." Finally, the Prince receives word from the King that he has wagered heavily on him in a proposed fencing bout with Laertes. Hamlet accepts the challenge, assures Horatio of his confidence in the outcome, proves the better fighter, but is fatally wounded as his two enemies intended. He has strength enough left, however, not only to wound Laertes in the exchange of weapons, thus unintentionally causing his death, but to turn on the King as soon as Laertes confesses the plot, stab him with the "unbated and envenom'd" weapon, and then force the poisoned drink down his throat. Moral justice asserts itself in the death of the chief villain, caught, as in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, by the very trap he has set for others. Moreover, the catastrophe closely approaches those we have noticed at the ends of *Richard III*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *1 Henry IV*, and *Macbeth*, and a bit less distinctly in several other of Shakespeare's dramas. For the protagonist here meets and personally overcomes both of his villainous antagonists. One of these villains repents and is forgiven in dying; the chief villain dies unmourned. Without further proof I am not willing to credit this to Kyd.

Both Kittredge and Howard Mumford Jones in their respective studies of *Hamlet* already cited¹⁸ stress the fact that Hamlet is "a family tragedy." Kittredge deplores the stage emphasis on the fortunes of the Polonius family rather than the King's family and the King himself. My own dissatisfaction arises from the critics' frequent failure to recognize the existence of the second family, which is, I think, the creation of Shakespeare, a genuinely devoted domestic group meriting a better fate than the violent end each member meets because of his relation to the hero of the story. For both Polonius and Laertes die by the hand of Hamlet while they are dealing treacherously with him; Ophelia's death comes from madness springing from the death of her father and the conduct of her lover. Not only does each one of the group become definitely individualized, but each plays an important rôle in the motivation of the main story. Garrulous old Polonius is active in ferreting out the cause of Hamlet's madness, suggests and supervises the use of his daughter as a decoy, introduces and cares for the visiting players, brings Hamlet word of his mother's request for a visit, and

¹⁸ See note 14, above.

arouses the Prince's ire a dozen times before he is stabbed behind the arras. Ophelia, while providing the love element necessary for every romantic tragedy, is used constantly along with her father in the second and third acts to indicate the success of Hamlet's assumption of madness and is herself convinced of its genuineness. Her own insanity and subsequent drowning in Act IV fix in Laertes more strongly the determination for complete revenge, a determination violently expressed at her grave, which brings on the immediate fight with Hamlet and the later fencing match. The story of Laertes follows somewhat the same lines as those of Paris in the *Romeo* and Aufidius in *Coriolanus* except that he is missing from any known source of the present play. He is introduced simultaneously with Hamlet, is given attention at once by the King, in the next scene objects to Hamlet's attentions to his sister, reflecting on the moral integrity of both lovers. Absent in Paris throughout Acts II and III, but not entirely forgotten, he returns to Elsinore near the end of Act IV so bent on revenge for his father's death that he leads a rebellion and is quieted only by the exercise of all the King's tact and skill. The same tact enables Claudius to make of Laertes his tool in the plot to kill Hamlet which forms the catastrophe, wiping out all living members of both groups in the play. Strongly contrasted with this closely knit structure is that offered by *The Spanish Tragedy*, in which the subplot of Villuppo so loosely joins the main plot and peters out at the beginning of Act III.

Other elements of *Hamlet*, which in origin have been more or less frequently attributed to Kyd, are the Fortinbras story, the play within the play, and Hamlet's refusal to kill the King at prayer. Professor Lawrence in the article previously cited has clearly explained the significance of the Fortinbras incidents and given Kyd as their probable source. The reason for this attribution is not evident since Lawrence stresses the contrast that Fortinbras presents to Hamlet and likewise recognizes the parallel between the situations of the two young men, each having failed to succeed his father on the throne when his uncle somehow "popped in between the election" and his hopes. The balancing of the two suggests Shakespeare. Kyd has also been awarded the device of the play within the play because he employed a similar trick in *The Spanish Tragedy*, not to detect the murderer but to avenge the

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murder. Yet Shakespeare has a play within the play of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, of *The Taming of the Shrew*, and of *1 Henry IV* (II, iv), all composed before *Hamlet*. No one denies to Shakespeare the long digressions in *Hamlet*, III, ii concerning the contemporary war of the theatres, or yet Hamlet's advice to the players in III, ii, both indisputably dependent on the presentation of "The Murder of Gonzago." Again, the chances seem to favor Shakespeare as the originator. The whole point of having Hamlet fail to kill the King at prayer rests on the nature of the two men: on the workings of conscience in Claudius and on the reasons Hamlet gives for rejecting this opportunity. If the King had been the villain Kyd is believed to have drawn, he would never have been troubled by conscience or fallen on his knees to utter a penitential prayer. The Hamlet Kyd is supposed to have portrayed was assuredly not a man so reflective by nature as to be swerved by theological reasoning from attaining an easy revenge. Again, the incident seems to me definitely Shakespearian.

The purpose of this paper is not to deny the possibility that Kyd wrote the lost play or the probability that to it Shakespeare was somewhat indebted. My aim is rather to question the validity of much theorizing based on unstable premises, with the counter suggestion that many situations in Shakespeare's version that are commonly attributed to Kyd might have sprung from sheer inventive genius of the author. If the old *King Leir* had not been accidentally preserved, could any scholar today reconstruct the principal source of Shakespeare's great tragedy?

POLONIUS: THE TYRANT'S EARS

By LILY B. CAMPBELL

I have had a long acquaintance with high-school graduates when they turn up as juniors and seniors in university Shakespeare courses. Most of them carry their high-school notions of Shakespeare into their university years; some seem destined to carry them to their graves. They look upon Shakespeare as a CLASSIC to be preserved like the ark of the covenant and revered from afar. In their general distaste for him as human nature's daily food they have, of course, a certain amount of support from some of the smart critics of the current theatre, but I find that most of them learned "quotations" and recited passages from Shakespeare before they heard or read the plays as they were written for the stage. Apparently among the chosen passages Polonius' advice to Laertes led all the rest, and in a surprising number of cases I have discovered that it is this speech of Polonius which is responsible for both the reverence and the unwillingness to advance to any more familiar acquaintance.

Now I insist that the scene of Laertes' departure is not the best foundation upon which to build an interpretation of Polonius' character. Yet even the most astute and best of Shakespeare's critics, who are all too well aware that Polonius does not act as wisely as here he talks, and who are committed to regard him as a figure in a drama, are most of them obsessed by this scene. Professor J. Q. Adams has been almost alone in regarding Polonius as a consistent as well as a comic character.¹ Nearly everyone else from Dr. Johnson to Granville-Barker has tried to reconcile his wisdom with his folly. All have found this scene bothersome. Dr. Johnson undertook to explain that Polonius was wise in retrospect but not wise in foresight. Coleridge found him a man of maxims:

Whilst he is descanting on matters of past experience, as in that excellent speech to Laertes before he sets out on his travels, he is admirable; but when he comes to advise or project, he is a mere dotard.²

1 Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Hamlet*, ed. J. Q. Adams (1929), pp. 203, 205-06.

2 From "Table-Talk," T. W. Raysor, *Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism* (1930), ii, 352. For Coleridge's appropriation of Dr. Johnson's comment on Polonius in his note on *Hamlet* II, iv (Cambridge ed., II, ii), see Raysor ii, 267.

Polonius: The Tyrant's Ears

Stoll concludes that "Polonius is sensible enough at first, yet as the need of a butt arises is indeed an 'ass.'"³ Shücking is at least logical in considering Polonius under the revealing heading of "Detached Scenes and Inserted Episodes," where he shares the spotlight with Bottom and Mercutio, for Shücking thinks that in this scene Shakespeare breaks the unity of character

and puts words and ideas into Polonius's mouth which proceed immediately from the poet's own personality and cannot be brought into connexion with the character and behaviour of the speaker.

Moreover, he suggests that by this means Shakespeare "satisfied the demand of the time that a tragedy be sententious."⁴ Granville-Barker does not make Shakespeare forget that it was Polonius and not the author who was talking, as Shücking would seem to do, but he does see Shakespeare as a bit unsure about what kind of a character he wishes to present:

We can, I think, see Shakespeare changing his mind a little about Polonius. In his first scene (not to count the single speech at the Council) he is far from being a "tedious old fool." His injunctions to Laertes and Ophelia are clear and terse, and contain sound worldly wisdom. The change comes with the charge to Reynaldo; and hence, perhaps, the seemingly undue length allowed to that minor matter; our first impressions of the character must be corrected.⁵

It seems to me that we shall be better able to understand Polonius if we first orient him in his surroundings. Approaching an analysis of his character by way of the scene of Laertes' departure and the preceding scene at court in which Laertes asks the king's leave to make the journey, we are apt to be lured into a misconception. Shücking was apparently thus led to assert:

The purpose of Polonius in *Hamlet*, quite apart from his share in the action, is principally to create an atmosphere of the Court. If we imagine this figure to be removed, the whole aspect of the Danish Court is changed. He is the Lord Chamberlain who by constantly taking up a respectful attitude toward the members of the royal house gives them their proper background, and by

³ E. E. Stoll, *Shakespeare Studies* (1927), pp. 452-3.

⁴ L. L. Schücking, *Character Problems in Shakespeare's Plays*, trans. G. Rawson (1937), p. 109.

⁵ Harley Granville-Barker, *Prefaces to Shakespeare: Third Series* (1937), p. 253.

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his fawning on them even in familiar conversations sets off and draws attention to their dignity. This obsequiousness and devotion to the Court are perfectly genuine in him. His part in the play is principally to represent a true servant of the Crown. The best proof that this is Shakespeare's own intention is again furnished by Polonius's self-characterization; he says of himself:

I hold my duty as I hold my soul
Both to my God and to my gracious king.⁶

But what kind of court is this in which Polonius is so conspicuous a figure? Here is the question Shücking fails to ask. Yet asking and answering it is all-important. We find Denmark hurriedly preparing for war. The ghost of the former king in armor is walking abroad by night as an omen and "precurse of fierce events." And on the throne sits a tyrant who has killed his brother, acquired his brother's throne, and with unseemly haste married his deceased brother's wife. The son of the murdered king haunts the court in mourning garb and melancholy mood. The new king is dominated by the suspicions generated by his own guilty conscience. It is in this court that Polonius takes chief place. It is this king whom he serves obsequiously.

There is in Plutarch's *Morals* a short discourse⁷ which I think throws a good deal of light upon the character of Polonius and upon the nature of his relationship to King Claudius. Plutarch was a writer particularly congenial to the thinking of the Elizabethans, and Shakespeare seems to have used material from the *Morals* elsewhere in *Hamlet*.⁸ But in any case his essay "Of Curiositie" is very pat to a discussion of the state of affairs at the Danish court as Shakespeare portrayed them. Plutarch here is intent upon teaching how to overcome curiosity, but he incidentally draws a character after the manner familiar to us in Theophrastus, defining and describing the man of curiosity, the busybody. He notes sig-

6 Shücking, *Character Problems*, p. 99.

7 *The Philosophie, commonlie called, The Morals*, trans. Philemon Holland (1603 but entered in the S.R. 1600). "Of Curiositie," pp. 133-44. There is an interesting character of "The Itch, or the Busy-body" in Thomas Adams, *Diseases of the Soule* (1616), quoting from Erasmus and instancing many of the characteristics noted by Plutarch. Adams says: "If he heares but a word of some State-act, he professeth to know it and the intention, as if he had beene of the Counsell." He hastes to publish everything. He comments on every action and answers a question before it is half-propounded. In fact, "he scalds his lips in every neighbours pottage." See also "Of a Busie Body" in Richard Flecknoe, *Heroick Portraits with other Miscellany Pieces* (1660) for another account of the type.

8 In the speech of Claudius to Hamlet, I, ii. See below.

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nificantly that tyrants always have to have about them such busybodies, for they must of necessity know all that happens, so that such persons come to be called "their eares; (promoters, I meane, and spies) who heare all and bring all unto their eares." It will be remembered that except for Hamlet and his friend Horatio the court circle about King Claudius and Queen Gertrude consists exclusively of such "eares" for the king: Polonius and his family, Rosencranz and Guildenstern, and later Osric. Whatever may be Polonius' office at court, whatever the official duties which are never made clear to us, Polonius is actually engaged in being the king's ears. And so are the others. They are the willing agents of a murderer, usurper, and tyrant.

Plutarch characterizes busybodies as always asking for news, their curiosity being a kind of incontinency, for they pass by all open information, seeking that which is forbidden. And Plutarch adds that "what thing soever busie bodies heare willingly, the same they love to tell and blurt out as quickly." Their activities he lists suggestively: "in other mens letters they keepe a puddering"; "they stand like eavesdroppers under their neighbours walles"; and they are "readie to intrude themselves" to listen, even to servants and women. Of special interest is Plutarch's comment that "as many times they are by this means not free from danger; so alwaies they meet with shame and infamie"; for it will be remembered that Hamlet addresses the body of Polonius as he discovers it behind the arras in his mother's closet in lines which seem to echo the words of the essay:

Thou wretched, rash, intruding fool, farewell!
I took thee for thy better; take thy fortune;
Thou find'st to be too busy is some danger.⁹

The close alliance of Polonius with King Claudius is apparent from the king's first words concerning him, for as the king asks Laertes to state his suit, he beams with desire to please the old man:

The head is not more native to the heart,
The hand more instrumental to the mouth,
Than is the throne of Denmark to thy father.
What would'st thou have, Laertes?¹⁰

⁹ *Ham.*, III, iv, 31-4. All references are to the English Arden Edition.

¹⁰ I, ii, 47-50.

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Laertes' request, duly approved by Polonius, is granted, and when next we see the family, Laertes is about to depart;¹¹ but he stays to give advice to Ophelia and then to hear advice from his father. As he finally leaves, however, Laertes bids Ophelia remember what he has said to her. Immediately the incontinency of Polonius' curiosity obtrudes:

What is't, Ophelia, he hath said to you?

The always docile Ophelia answers evasively that it was "something touching the Lord Hamlet." Polonius at once knows more than Ophelia does about the matter. "'Tis told me," he says and retails the gossip he has picked up about his daughter, taking the occasion to command her to repel Hamlet's advances.

Having pried into Ophelia's innocent affairs and sullied their innocence with his suspicions, Polonius next appears doing the same sort of thing with Laertes.¹² We know nothing about Laertes' conduct in Paris, but Polonius' curiosity is again at work. The bewildered Reynaldo does not understand why he is being sent to spy on Laertes and objects that such suggestions as Polonius would have him put to the Danes resident in Paris about Laertes' actions would dishonor the young man. Polonius protests that he does not want Laertes actually charged with incontinency; he wants Reynaldo merely to throw out "what forgeries you please" in order to make his acquaintance close the feast of gossip by reporting that Laertes has indeed been seen gaming or drinking or falling out at tennis or entering such and such a brothel. He would have him by the bait of falsehood catch the carp of truth.

Having sent Reynaldo by indirections to find directions out in regard to his son, Polonius now hears from Ophelia the sad story of Hamlet as the melancholy lover. He can hardly wait till she finishes her story before he cries: "Come, go with me; I will go seek the king." Plutarch says that "what thing soever busie bodies heare willingly, the same they love to tell and blurt out as quickly." And by the time Polonius actually is able to tell his news to the king,¹³ he has also been performing as Plutarch said busybodies always do, for "in other mens letters they keep a puddering," so that he is able to hand over to the king and queen a love letter from Hamlet addressed to his daughter "who in her duty and

11 I, iii.

12 II, i.

13 II, ii.

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obedience" has given it to him. The king recognizes in Polonius "a man faithful and honourable," who would not permit such a princely wooing of a commoner to go unchecked, but he would like to try the matter further. Polonius is ready with a scheme to spy upon Hamlet by using his daughter as a decoy while he and the king listen "behind an arras." In the meantime he is ready to intrude himself upon Hamlet to do a little testing of his own, and Hamlet baits him cleverly.

Hurrying to pass on the latest news, that of the arrival of the players whose presence has already been made known to Hamlet,¹⁴ Polonius busies himself while Hamlet talks to them, intruding his comments on the "rugged Pyrrhus" speech and the "mobled queen" phrase and the realistic acting and in general making himself a busybody until Hamlet sends him off to care for the rest of the players while the First Player is detained on the business of the play to be presented before the court.

If the third act of *Hamlet* does not present the busybodies "standing like eavesdroppers under their neighbours walles," as Plutarch said they were wont to do, it at least shows Polonius and his king as self-proclaimed "lawful espials" eavesdropping behind the arras while the decoy, Ophelia, reads on her book and meets her melancholy prince.

Later, at the play, Polonius buzzes about the king, commenting on Hamlet's choice of Ophelia as his companion for the evening, commanding "Give o'er the play!"; then when the king abruptly rises to depart, scurrying back to give Hamlet the message from his mother which has already been delivered by Guildenstern, and of course being mocked at by Hamlet for his pains.¹⁵

The news that Hamlet is going to his mother's closet Polonius hastens to pass on to the king also; but his taste for eavesdropping being insatiable, he adds:

Behind the arras I'll convey myself
To hear the process. . . .
And, as you said, and wisely was it said,
'Tis meet that some more audience than a mother,
Since nature makes them partial, should o'erhear
The speech, of vantage.

And as the king's ears, he promises to report at once:

14 II, ii, 410-16.

15 III, ii.

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I'll call upon you ere you go to bed,
And tell you what I know.¹⁶

Polonius is unfortunately not able to make good on this last promise, but he arrives at the appointed place in time to intrude some advice to the queen as to how she should deal with her son before he creeps behind the arras to listen. Hamlet's apostrophe to the corpse already quoted significantly uses the term *busy* as it ends with the moral, familiar from Plutarch:

Thou find'st to be too busy is some danger.¹⁷

To understand the rôle of Polonius in *Hamlet*, then, it is necessary to keep in mind that the court of Denmark at the time is centered about a king whose "offense is rank and smells to heaven,"¹⁸ and a queen to whose sick soul "Each toy seems prologue to some great amiss."¹⁹ Their awareness of their own sins makes such rulers draw close to them those who can be used to scent out their danger. Shakespeare recognized this fact in his pictures of other tyrants also, for spies and reporters are necessary complements to those who murder for their thrones. Macbeth confesses that among his nobles

There's not a one of them, but in his house
I keep a servant fee'd.²⁰

In Denmark King Claudius keeps court surrounded by his spies and agents, and Polonius is chief among them, the faithful ears and prompt reporter of a tyrant. Polonius is of supreme importance in the plot of the play, for he precipitates the action. He is also important in this picture of a tyrant and a tyrant's court.

But Polonius is a well-rounded and consistent character even as he plays his rôle of busybody. His proudest claim is his wordly wisdom. In prefacing Plutarch's discourse "Of Curiositie" with a "Summarie," the translator, Philemon Holland, noted that while anger, the subject of Plutarch's essay just preceding this, takes away reason so that it cannot be distinguished from fury except in its duration, "This curiositie which now is in hand," is "masked under the name of wisdom and habilitie of spirit." He concludes his summary by advising that "curious folk

¹⁶ III, iii, 27-35.

¹⁷ III, iv, 33.

¹⁸ III, iii, 36.

¹⁹ IV, v, 16-7.

²⁰ *Mac.*, III, iv, 130-1.

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ought to be ranged among the most mischievous and dangerous persons in the world." The current American slang term "Mr. Fix-It" describes, I think, this persistent assumption of wisdom on the part of the busy-body. It is what justifies intruding into other men's affairs. That is why Polonius is presented to us first as the wordly wise man. But it is this worldly wisdom of his which constitutes him the mischief-maker in the play.

Our first glimpse of Claudius, King of Denmark, is of a philosopher whose discretion has so fought with nature that he is able to think upon his murdered brother with wisest sorrow even as he rejoices in now having married his sometime sister "With mirth in funeral and with dirge in marriage." Having shown the way to the conquering of grief, he is able after a very brief interlude of state business to turn his attention to advising young Hamlet how to bear his sorrow. He offers the very best consolations of philosophy, some of them closely paralleling those offered by Plutarch to Apollonius and recorded in the *Morals*. A great many people have quoted

But, you must know, your father lost a father,
That father lost, lost his;

and have followed his argument that nature's "common theme/Is death of fathers." They have even quoted his reasonable protestations against "unprevailing woe," as he urges the sorrowing son to accept him as a substitute for his father and to be content with the assurance that he is the heir presumptive to the throne.²¹ No one has to my knowledge ever considered Claudius seriously as a great philosopher because he can proffer these fragments culled from the noblest of the consolations of philosophy. Yet when in the next scene the king's good servant Polonius offers some parting advice to his son, advice culled from the wisdom frequently offered in wisdom literature, critics are wont to take him seriously. Now I contend that Polonius' advice to Laertes is a good foil to the king's advice to Hamlet. The king is not a good man because he can quote moral philosophy; nor is Polonius a wise man because he can quote the world's wisdom. And neither son seems to have profited.

²¹ *Ham.*, I, ii. On the likeness of parts of this speech to "A Consolatorie Oratione Sent to Apollonius" in Plutarch's *Morals* see my *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes* (1930), p. 117.

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Polonius in his wisdom is not restricted to generalized rules of conduct. He understands life, and he has himself, in fact, experienced almost everything. When the tender Ophelia would plead that Lord Hamlet has attested his love "With almost all the holy vows of heaven," Polonius can save her, for

I do know,
When the blood burns, how prodigal the soul
Lends the tongue vows: . . .²²

Of course, his judgment turns out to have been wrong, and his command to Ophelia to admit Hamlet no more causes terrible mischief. But he has all the rules of thumb by which worldly wisdom must act.

We see again that he is an authority on love when Ophelia reports to him Hamlet's appearance on his visit to her "with his doublet all unbraced;/ No hat upon his head; his stockings foul'd,/ Ungarter'd, and down-gyved to his ankle;/ Pale as his shirt; his knees knocking each other"; and when she describes his very theatrical actions—holding her by the wrist at arm's length, his disengaged hand at his brow, then shaking her arm a bit, sighing a great sigh, nodding thrice, releasing her as he backed out of the room with his eyes fixed upon her. It will be remembered that Rosalind recited to Orlando the symptoms by which the man in love could be recognized; a lean cheek, eyes sunken with dark circles about them, an "unquestionable spirit," a neglected beard, ungartered hose, unbanded bonnet, unbuttoned sleeves, untied shoes, and everything about him "demonstrating a careless desolation."²³ Dowden as editor of the English Arden edition long ago pointed out the likeness of Hamlet to this stock character as Rosalind described him. Of course Polonius can read the symptoms aright when Ophelia tells her tale:

This is the very ecstasy of love;
Whose violent property fordoes itself
And leads the will to desperate undertakings,
As oft as any passion under heaven
That does afflict our natures.²⁴

And of course he wants to tell what he knows: "Come, go we to the king: / This must be known."

²² I, iii, 115 ff

²³ *A.Y.L.I.*, III, ii, 398.

²⁴ *Ham.*, II, ii, 101-6.

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When he finally reaches the king with his tale, Polonius is able, however, to do more than interpret the obvious; he can actually tell all the stages by which poor Hamlet declined "Into the madness wherein now he raves / And all we mourn for." Dover Wilson, like many critics before him, takes it all seriously as describing Hamlet rather than as being one of the regular exhibitions of a trait of Polonius' character. Indeed, he goes so far as to assert that the passage, "discounted as the mere garrulity of a foolish old man by critics who miss much in *Hamlet* by underestimating the intellectual powers of Claudius' chief councillor, is evidently meant to give us a medical history of Hamlet's condition since the revelation of the Ghost." He explains: "Dejection, distaste for food, insomnia, crazy behaviour, fits of delirium, and finally raving madness: such are the stages of the disorder noted by those best able to watch the patient closely." And then he adds with a trace of Polonius' own style of exposition that "the symptoms that Polonius records are all mental."²⁵ Now I insist that a dramatic character must be judged by what the author shows us or tells us on the stage. Shakespeare has given us the full story: Polonius in his worldly wisdom inferred Hamlet's devious intentions and gave command to Ophelia to repulse his advances; Ophelia did so, and Hamlet appeared before her in a scene which she reported to her father. Again Polonius draws his inferences out of his worldly wisdom, and being sure that Hamlet is the victim of love melancholy, he is now able to supply the stages by which the rejected lover reached his present sad state. That these stages are those which intervened between Polonius' command to Ophelia and her sudden fright when Hamlet appeared to her is clearly indicated:

I prescripts gave her,
That she should lock herself from his resort,
Admit no messengers, receive no tokens.
Which done, she took the fruits of my advice;
And he, repulsed, a short tale to make,
Fell into a sadness, then into a fast,
Thence to a watch, thence into a weakness,
Thence to a lightness, and by this declension
Into the madness wherein now he raves
And we all mourn for.²⁶

25 J. Dover Wilson, *What Happens in Hamlet* (1935), p. 211.

26 II, ii, 142-51.

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The device of showing what actually happened and then letting the audience hear the embroidered tale of that happening is a comic device familiar in Shakespeare and most effectively used in Falstaff's adventures. Polonius was surprised—and sorry—when he found out about Hamlet's madness from Ophelia. He had not then noted the sadness and the fasting and the gradual declension which he now describes and which Wilson thinks he "mentions as facts well known to the King and Queen." If he had noticed them, he could not have been surprised when Ophelia ran to him in her fright. No, it is not the progress of Hamlet's madness that is here in point but what Polonius in his wordly wisdom is able to embroider on what actually happens.

The king receives Polonius' news a bit coldly, and the old man is forced to argue:

Hath there been such a time, I'd fain know that,
That I have positively said 't is so,
When it proved otherwise.²⁷

The answer of the king is an evasive, "Not that I know." And he demands further evidence before he can accept his councillor's conclusions.

Always Polonius knows life, he would have us understand: he reproves Ophelia for being a green girl unwise in the ways of the world when she protests Hamlet's sincerity; he knows the habits of young men who are out to sow their wild oats when he sends Reynaldo to find out how Laertes is doing. When he undertakes now to test the victim of love melancholy and Hamlet hails him as a fishmonger, he recognizes what that means and for a very good reason; he himself has experienced almost the same madness:

yet he knew me not at first; he said I was a fishmonger: he is far gone, far gone: and truly in my youth I suffered much extremity for love; very near this.

Again Shakespeare points up Polonius' inability to penetrate to the real truth even when he has the evidence before him. Once Polonius notes "Though this be madness, yet there is method in 't." And again he comments "How pregnant sometimes his replies are!" But instead of realizing the significance of his own observations, he decides that this is "a happiness that often madness hits on" and cheerfully accepts Hamlet's

²⁷ II, ii, 153-5.

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insults. As he departs, Hamlet tags the scene, "These tedious old fools!"²⁸

As the worldly wise man Polonius is not only familiar with all the vagaries of love; he is also a connoisseur of the arts. He objects to the phrase "beautified Ophelia" in Hamlet's love letter: "That's an ill phrase, a vile phrase; 'beautified' is a vile phrase."²⁹ He is also a dramatic critic. When he has managed to get in just ahead of the players, he busies himself in assisting at Hamlet's interview with them. When Hamlet speaks the "rugged Pyrrhus" speech, Polonius is ready to applaud, "Fore God, my lord, well spoken, with good accent and good discretion." But when the First Player continues the speech, Polonius objects that "This is too long." Hamlet replies with an insulting suggestion that Polonius' taste does not go further than "a jig or a tale of bawdry." But Polonius is not deterred from continuing his rôle as a connoisseur of the drama, always aiming to please his betters. When Hamlet repeats after the Player the phrase "the mobled queen," Polonius reinforces his interest with "That's good; 'mobled queen' is good." He adds his unsolicited approval of the Hecuba speech: "Look, whether he has not turned his colour and has tears in 's eyes." But when, for once, Hamlet speaks to him courteously while getting rid of him by asking him to see the players well disposed, he indicates that he knows what is and what is not proper to be done for such people as actors and is reproved for his attitude.³⁰

There is no record of Polonius' having become an expert on poetic diction by writing poetry, but we find that as usual he speaks with the authority of experience when he is acting as a dramatic critic. Hamlet gives him his opportunity by asking, "My lord, you played once i' the university, you say?" and he eagerly takes the bait, "That did I, my lord, and was accounted a good actor." To Hamlet's further query as to his rôle, he boasts, "I did enact Julius Caesar; I was killed i' the Capitol; Brutus killed me." Hamlet again insults him with impunity.³¹

Busybody and worldly wise man as he is shown to be, Polonius is also pictured by Shakespeare as being exceedingly tedious by reason of his prolixity. In three scenes Shakespeare plays up this characteristic particularly. The first is, of course, the scene of the advice-giving. Laertes

28 II, ii, 189-225.

30 II, ii, 480-570.

29 II, ii, 111-2.

31 III, ii, 106-15.

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has taken leave of his father once. While he is saying farewell to Ophelia, Polonius rushes in admonishing him to hurry:

The wind sits in the shoulder of your sail,
And you are stay'd for.

Then having delayed him for the "few precepts" which ought to carry him through life, he again admonishes him:

The time invites you; go, your servants tend.³²

The second is the scene in which he explains the nature of Hamlet's affliction. His conversation is here such folly that even his most earnest apologists have been unable to conceal it. But what I wish to emphasize is that here again Shakespeare makes Polonius wise in the theory of effective speech even while he violates the rules he is enunciating. He proclaims that "brevity is the soul of wit,/ And tediousness the limbs and outward flourishes," even while he is in the midst of asserting that it is a waste of night, day, and time, "to expostulate . . . Why day is day, night night, and time is time." His elucidation of the case in hand—

Your noble son is mad:
Mad call I it; for, to define true madness,
What is't but to be nothing else but mad?

—brings the queen's anxious protest, "More matter, with less art." And Shakespeare represents Polonius as swearing to use no art, then commenting on one of his own rhetorical devices as "a foolish figure," then renewing his promise to use no art, and immediately launching into rhetorical excess. The culmination of his rhetorical orgy is the tracing of the case history of Hamlet as madman to which I have already referred.³³ The third of the outstanding effusions of his prolixity seems to me to be the obvious permutations and combinations of his discourse on dramatic genre in the second scene of Act Two. Polonius is never to be found using one word where three will do, but in these scenes Shakespeare seems to me to have pointed up his tediousness even more than elsewhere.

In analyzing any character in Shakespeare's plays it is necessary to see what other characters say about him and what he says about himself. I

³² I, iii, 52-84.

³³ II, ii, 86-151.

have already noted that the king speaks to Laertes of the close relation between the throne of Denmark and his father.³⁴ When Polonius announces the joyful return of the ambassadors from Norway, the king accepts the good news graciously:

Thou still hast been the father of good news.

To which tribute Polonius adds his own:

I hold my duty as I hold my soul,
Both to my God and to my gracious king;

and he announces himself as fathering still more good news:

And I do think, or else this brain of mine
Hunts not the trail of policy so sure
As it hath used to do, that I have found
The very cause of Hamlet's lunacy.

When the ambassadors have told their tale and the time has finally come for Polonius to tell his, the king interrupts his story to ask how Ophelia has received Hamlet's wooing of her, and Polonius replies, "What do you think of me?" to which query the king answers, "As of a man faithful and honourable." Yet at the end of the tale of rejected love and Hamlet's gradations of madness, the king turns to his queen to ask her whether she finds the account convincing. She replies, "It may be, very likely." Polonius demands to know whether he has ever been mistaken, and the king answers with such an equivocal "Not that I know," that Polonius protests:

If circumstances lead me, I will find
Where truth is hid, though it were hid indeed
Within the centre.

Still the king is not content but asks, "How may we try it further?"³⁵ At no time does he show any reliance upon Polonius' wisdom when decisions are to be made. Except that the queen speaks of him as "The unseen good old man,"³⁶ when she tells her husband of his murder, we have no further guides to his character from the king whom he served. At the news of his death Claudius shows no sign of sorrow.

34 I, ii, 46-50.

35 II, ii, 41-159.

36 IV, i, 12.

Polonius: The Tyrant's Ears

The king's only thought is of his own safety: "It had been so with us had we been there."³⁷

Though Claudius is murderer, usurper, and tyrant, I do not think that he, any more than Shakespeare's other characters, deceives the audience. What is evidenced in the play is that Polonius is necessary to the king as a gatherer and reporter of what goes on, but that the worldly wisdom with which he interprets that news leaves the king completely unmoved. Polonius was loyal to God and king—any king. He was never aware that there might be any distinction between the two loyalties, I should say. If he was associated with the king's criminal acts to gain the throne, there is no evidence of his guilt in the play; and since he is a dramatic character, that means that Shakespeare did not want us to associate him with the king's guilt. His acceptance of royalty was so subservient that he would no more question the ways of the king than of God. But the king never deviates from his own path. His fears are never calmed by Polonius' explanations.

Commentators have been wont to make much of Laertes' devotion to his father's memory, as they have of the king's kind words, when they defend Polonius. But I cannot discover evidence in the play to indicate that Laertes was concerned with anything except the honor of the family and more especially his own honor. Polonius' children were both respectful and obedient to their father. But they make no speeches in praise of him; nor do they reveal love or sorrow for him in such expressions of devotion as we hear elsewhere in Shakespeare. Laertes, however, accepts his honorable burden of vengeance with a determination and fixed purpose that make him a foil for Hamlet. The king in his famous "When sorrows come, they come not single spies," speech gives us the list of his sorrows: Ophelia's madness (which he lays to grief for her father), Hamlet's removal from Denmark, and the consequent unrest in his kingdom:

the people muddied,
Thick and unwholesome in their thoughts and whispers,
For good Polonius' death; and we have done but greenly,
In hugger-mugger to inter him; . . .
Last, and as much containing as all these,

37 IV, i, 13.

Polonius: The Tyrant's Ears

Her brother is in secret come from France,
Feeds on his wonder, keeps himself in clouds,
And wants not buzzers to infect his ear
With pestilent speeches of his father's death;
Wherein necessity, of matter beggar'd
Will nothing stick our person to arraign
In ear and ear.

Laertes at the head of his rabble bursts in to demand "Where's my father?" as one who in honor must exact vengeance for his father's wrongs. When the beautiful Ophelia has come in her pretty madness like a ghost to whet his demand for vengeance and has been allowed to go her unprotected way, when then the king has succeeded in convincing him of his own innocence and has prevailed on him to make a common undertaking, Laertes enumerates the wrongs done to his father:

His means of death, his obscure burial,
No trophy, sword, nor hatchment o'er his bones,
No noble rite, nor formal ostentation,
Cry to be heard, as 'twere from heaven to earth,
That I must call't in question.

There is no expression of deep grief and affection such as he feels for his sister, but there is much of filial duty.³⁸

Hamlet himself gives us an insistent characterization of Polonius that is clear and unequivocal; and since Hamlet is the hero of the play with whom the sympathy of the audience rests, his judgments must constitute a heavy weight in the balance. There is absolutely nothing in the play to indicate enmity between Hamlet and Polonius for political reasons "imagining that he had assisted his uncle in his usurpation," as Coleridge affirmed;³⁹ and what is not in the play is non-existent so far as a dramatic character is concerned. Nor does he seem to dislike Polonius so much as despise him. He certainly finds him a bore. Let us look at the record:

1. When Polonius has attempted to "board" him in the fishmonger scene: "These tedious old fools."

38 IV, v.

39 Coleridge, in Raysor, *Coleridge's Shak. Crit.*, ii, 267.

Polonius: The Tyrant's Ears

2. When Polonius comes to announce the players: "that great baby you see there is not yet out of his swaddling clouts . . . I will prophecy he comes to tell me of the players; mark it."

3. When he finds the body behind the arras: "Thou wretched, rash, intruding fool, farewell!"

4. When he leaves his mother's closet and is about to dispose of the body:

This man shall set me packing;

I'll lug the guts into the neighbour room.

Mother, good night. Indeed this counsellor

Is now most still, most secret, and most grave,

Who was in life a foolish prating knave.

5. When he is asked by the king "Where is Polonius?" and replies:

In heaven; send thither to see; if your messenger find him not there,
seek him i' the other place yourself. But indeed, if you find him not
within this month, you shall nose him as you go up the stairs into the
lobby. . . . He will stay till you come.⁴⁰

But all of Hamlet's recorded comments do not constitute such damning evidence of his lack of esteem for Polonius as does his almost invariably insulting treatment of him alive and dead. And Polonius' rather pleased acceptance of the flow of insult and vituperation and foolish baiting which he wins while trying to play detective is still more revealing. It does not require an initiation into possible indecencies in the fishmonger scene to recognize that Hamlet is treating his interlocutor with studied insolence, but Polonius is complacent. Nor does Polonius worry over the insults heaped upon his daughter in the nunnery scene; and he is actually delighted over Hamlet's preference for Ophelia as a companion at the play, though he cannot but hear the grossness with which the invitation is offered. The nadir of his folly is, however, probably to be observed in the scene in which Hamlet with complete disdain makes him look upon a passing cloud and recognize it in a moment too swift for change as in turn a camel and a weasel and a whale.

If there were any possible doubt as to Shakespeare's intent with regard to Polonius, it should only be necessary to consider Osric, who takes the place of Polonius in the last act of the play, and whom no one has tried to transform into a dignified character, so far as I can remember.

40 II, ii, 225 and 406-11; III, iv, 31 and 211-5; IV, iii, 36-40.

Polonius: The Tyrant's Ears

With Osric Hamlet uses the accepted formulas otherwise reserved for Polonius. He calls him a waterfly. He outdoes the would-be Armado in his replies to the high words with which that worthy worthy clothes his low matter as he baits him derisively. He makes Osric accept in a moment his changing fancy that the weather is cold with the wind northerly and that it is sultry and hot. He insults him outrageously, and Osric accepts his insults in high style.⁴¹

The one place, however, in which a dramatist inevitably records his own judgment of characters and their actions is in the plot. And the plot of *Hamlet* reveals Polonius as the "ears" of a tyrant, the chief councillor in a corrupt court, the steadfast reporter and spy and agent for the "incestuous, murderous, damned Dane." It shows that above all he is a busybody. He demands to be told the brother and sister confidences of his children. He insists upon knowing the innocent secrets between Hamlet and Ophelia. He secures his daughter's love letters to take them to the king. He puts a spy upon his son. He tries to act as a physician to test Hamlet's lunacy himself. He rushes about to be first to spread news which it is not his business to disseminate, as Shakespeare shows by making him enter to announce the players when they have already been announced, and by having him deliver the summons to Hamlet from his mother which has already been carried by Rosenkrantz. He hides to listen to Ophelia and Hamlet, and he hides to listen to Hamlet and his mother. He tells Ophelia how to act with her lover, and Hamlet's mother how to deal with her son. And at the end he is killed casually while at his business of eavesdropping, and his body is treated as worms' meat. The plot surely reveals his part in the play as an ignoble one.

The plot of the play also shows Polonius as the man wise in his own conceit who is wrong on every point. He thinks Hamlet to be toying with Ophelia's affections, but Hamlet says that he loved Ophelia more than forty thousand brothers, and Polonius merely deprives his daughter of the love of a prince. He demands that Ophelia return her lover's gifts and reject his suit, and he gives Hamlet the opportunity to play the distracted lover. He reads the signs of the melancholy lover as Ham-

41 V, ii, 83-187.

Polonius: The Tyrant's Ears

let intends he shall and decides that Hamlet is mad for Ophelia's love. But Hamlet is not mad. And the reason for putting on his antic disposition is better understood by the king, and even by the queen who thinks it "his father's death and our o'er hasty marriage." His folly shines particularly in the ease with which he is fooled, and it shows by contrast with the king's firm understanding of the truth even when he would like to believe otherwise. The king desires his school friends to find out why Hamlet "puts on this confusion," but Polonius never grasps the fact that it is put on. The king notes truly:

Love? his affections do not that way tend;
Nor what he spake, though it lack'd form a little,
Was not like madness. There's something in his soul
O'er which his melancholy sits on brood;⁴²

but Polonius comments that Hamlet's madness has method in it, finds his replies pregnant, then concludes that such is "a happiness that often madness hits on" and persists in his theory of rejected love as the cause of all the madman's troubles. The plot would therefore seem to show inexorably the folly of the worldly wise man who knows all the rules but does not understand anything.

Yet Polonius is important in the plot of *Hamlet*. It is his folly that determines the course of Hamlet's assumed melancholy. It is his death that precipitates the final action. It is his son who in seeking vengeance for the ignominy of his death and burial plunges all the chief actors into disaster. Polonius is not a tragic character, but he is the cause that makes other characters tragic.

To me Polonius seems also a unified character. His qualities are diversified. But all of them fit into his chief rôle, that of the man of curiosity whose intrusions into the affairs of others are duly reported to his king. He is accepted by the king as his ears but never as his brain. The king listens to his reports but never acts on his decisions. For, as Plutarch pointed out, such men are necessary to tyrants.

⁴² III, i, 1 and 170-4.

THE ORIGINAL STAGING OF *KING LEAR*

By JOHN C. ADAMS

Shakespeare took an active part in the creation of the Globe Playhouse in 1599. For the next ten years—the golden period of his genius—his plays first came alive on the boards of its multiple stage. The design and equipment of this stage, with its seven playing areas disposed on three levels together with “Hell” below and “Heaven” above, have only recently been ascertained. In this article honoring the memory of Joseph Quincy Adams I shall try to show how a play he greatly admired—*King Lear*—was produced on the stage for which it was written.

Scene 1. Staging: the rear stage (or “Study”) and the outer stage (or “Platform”). Length: 321 lines.

The play begins when the rear stage curtains open upon a setting of great splendor prepared in advance. “*Enter Kent, Gloucester, and Edmond.*”¹ No scenic properties are mentioned in the text, but the circumstances clearly indicate a hall of state. The Globe Company’s standard throne room set included a throne, a dais with canopy, carpets on the steps and floor, and colorful tapestries suspended on three walls.

In combined-stage scenes such as this the character of the whole is established by the study setting which forms a three-dimensional background measuring 23 feet wide, 12 feet high, and 8 feet deep. The platform, 29 feet deep and 41 feet wide (at the rear), serves as a large forward extension of the study, providing space for a full company of actors and for freedom of movement. Normally the first actors to appear enter in the rear stage. Actors entering later in the scene may use the doors of either stage unless special conditions arising from theatrical illusion obtain. At line 34:

*Sound a Sennet, Enter one bearing a Coronet, then Lear, then
the Dukes of Albany and Cornwall, next Gonorill, Regan,
Cordelia, with followers.*²

The procession enters through one of the two large platform doors.

1 The Folio is followed except as the notes indicate a Quarto reading.

2 Q1, Q2.

The Original Staging of King Lear

Elizabethan stage directions never indicate "stage right" or "stage left," but if one assumes that the procession enters through door "A," subsequent entrances and exits create the illusion of a great hall flanked by other rooms in the palace. Gloucester is ordered to bring in the foreign princes. At line 37 he and Edmund leave the stage through the opposite door ("B") as if to the guests' apartments. At line 190 Kent departs, perhaps through "A," for immediately thereafter Gloucester re-enters with France and Burgundy at "B." At line 269 Lear withdraws ("A") leading Burgundy and all but four of the company present. After bidding farewell to her two sisters Cordelia and France also depart ("B"?), leaving only two actors on stage. Up to this point the outer stage with its two doors is used freely, but as the scene draws to a close Goneril and Regan move back to the study for some twenty lines of dialogue to restore the theatrical illusion that the platform has had no identity of its own in this scene but has served instead merely as an extension of the shallow study. "*Exeunt.*" I.e., the stage curtains close.

Scene 2 (I. ii). Staging: the upper stage or "Chamber." Length: 200 lines.

In writing *King Lear* Shakespeare placed five of the twenty-six scenes in the upper stage. The ratio is a normal one. Each of the five times this stage is "discovered" it represents a room in the second floor of Gloucester's Castle. Like the set in Scene 1, this set is prepared in advance. Unlike the study set, however, the chamber set remains unchanged throughout the play. For as long as the Edmund sub-plot runs parallel to the main plot, it is staged on the second level of the multiple stage. As the two plots merge into one the staging merges also, and the final episodes of the combined action are played on the main level.

Almost no details of the setting are supplied by the text. We know, however, that the upper stage at the Globe measured 23 feet in width, 11 feet in height, and 10 feet in depth. Further, that it was equipped with a door in the rear wall opening to a corridor containing stairs up and down, and with tapestried hangings forming side walls through which actors could pass as if to or from adjoining rooms. Here chairs, a table, candles, and other furnishings suitable to the private quarters of a nobleman would be set out.

The Original Staging of King Lear

Scene 2 lasts approximately ten minutes.³ Not more than two actors are present at any one time.

Scene 3 (I. iii). Staging: the Study. Length: 26 lines.

During the course of Scene 2 the properties and wall hangings of Scene 1 were removed and a different set brought in to represent a hall in Albany's Castle. In Scene 1 the rear wall of the study was concealed by the royal dais, throne, and canopy. In Scenes 3 and 4 the rear wall is visible: the door there is needed. Moreover, a scenic contrast is desirable.

Horns offstage sound at line 10 to warn of Lear's return from hunting. The stage is cleared at line 26—Goneril leaving through the hangings at one side and Oswald through those opposite as if going to the kitchens. The stage curtains remain open.

Scene 4 (I. iv). Staging: the Study and Platform. Length: 371 lines.

With no appreciable pause Kent (in disguise) enters through the rear door as if from outside the Castle. At line 7: "*Hornes within. Enter Lear and Attendants.*" This group also enters through the rear door. As in Scene 1, Shakespeare observes the conditions of a combined-stage scene. He does so to give his actors freedom to move downstage and to have as many present as seems desirable. Study scenes are limited to the confines of the study and rarely involve more than ten actors. Here there are seven speaking parts (six of whom are present at one time) and an indeterminate number of Attendants.

Shakespeare begins the action at the back and brings it forward as the scene develops. (The distance from the back wall of the study to the forward rails of the platform was 37 feet; an actor standing well downstage was surrounded on three sides by the audience. When the yard and galleries were full, upwards of two thousand theatregoers stood or sat within 50 feet of him.) After the climax, marked by Lear's second departure through the rear door (at line 343), the action concludes in the study with a passage of twenty-seven lines of dialogue exchanged by the three remaining actors. The closing of the stage curtains marks the end of the scene.

³ See A. Hart, "The Time Allotted for Representation of Elizabethan and Jacobean Plays," *R.E.S.*, vii (1932), 392-413.

The Original Staging of King Lear

It is a basic principle of Elizabethan drama that a given stage may not be used in two successive scenes to represent two essentially different or widely separated places. This principle is never violated, but by 1594 playwrights had evolved a way to circumvent it. Examples of this technique are found here and elsewhere in *King Lear*. In order to open the next scene (which is unlocalized) upon the platform, Shakespeare must arrange for the actors of the present scene to return to the rear stage for at least one full minute before the scene ends. This concluding passage of dialogue, together with the closing of the study curtains, is the technical equivalent of a brief study scene inserted between two platform scenes.

Scene 5 (I. v). Staging: the Platform. Length: 54 lines.

"Enter Lear, Kent, Gentleman, and Foole" to the platform. Some interval of dramatic time has elapsed since we last saw Lear even though in fact it was not much more than a moment ago. His rage is stilled; he has written to Regan. Kent is now ordered to post to Gloucester:

Kent. I will not sleepe my Lord, till I have delivered your Letter.
Exit.

These lines prepare us for Kent's next appearance many miles from the present place and are typical of the threads that bind the scenes together. In Shakespeare's plays the dialogue, the logical sequence of events, and the corresponding movement from one stage to another enabled his audience to follow the action from beginning to end without difficulty, even when the scene shifts rapidly from place to place. In its ability to present a dramatic tale without interruption and without program notes, yet with as many scenes and settings as the dramatist desires, the Elizabethan drama anticipated the motion picture of today.

The platform scene before us is unlocalized. Only by inference are we given to understand that it is near Albany's Castle and that it is out of doors—inference drawn from the dialogue and action of the scene before (including Lear's departure through a door leading him to the Castle's exterior), and from the question, "How now are the Horses ready?" and the answer, "Ready my Lord." Such talk about horses is one of the commonest indications of an outer-stage scene.

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Scene 6 (II. i). Staging: the Chamber. Length: 131 lines.

This scene continues the plot begun by Edmund in Scene 2, and in dramatic time it follows close after. The setting is the same. The present scene is a "night scene," the illusion being created by lighted candles, links, or torches.

"*Enter Bastard, and Curan meeting.*"⁴ After reporting the latest gossip, Curan leaves at line 15. Edmund, as gifted an opportunist as Iago, goes to the rear door opening to the stairs and calls out

Brother, a word, discend; Brother I say,
My Father watches: O Sir, fly this place,
Intelligence is given where you are hid;

Enter Edgar.

You have now the good advantage of the night,
Have you not spoken 'gainst the Duke of Cornwall? . . .
Advise your selfe.

Edg. I am sure on't, not a word.

Bast. I heare my Father comming, pardon me:
In cunning, I must draw my Sword upon you:
Draw, seeme to defend your selfe,
Now quit you well.
Yeeld, come before my Father, light hoa, here.
Fly Brother, Torches, Torches, so farewell.

Exit Edgar.

Some blood drawne on me, would beget opinion . . .
Father, Father,

Stop, stop, no helpe?

*Enter Gloster, and Servants with Torches.*⁵

Because the Globe stagehouse was in fact three stories high, it was theatrically convincing for Edmund on the second level to summon Edgar down from rooms above. I have moved the direction marking Edgar's entrance from line 20 to line 23 because dramatists normally provide three or more lines of dialogue to allow time for an actor to pass from one level of the stage to another. Here as elsewhere in the Folio and Quarto texts of *Lear* the entrance direction reflects the prompter's cue in advance of the actor's appearance on the stage.

4 Q1. F has "*severally*," i.e., from opposite sides.

5 Torches were not restricted to exterior scenes. Cf. *Romeo*, I, v, 46 and 126.

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In chamber scenes as in study scenes the number of actors present rarely exceeds ten. Here many come and go, but at no time is the stage unduly crowded. Observe that Gloucester sends his servants in pursuit of Edgar some forty lines before the "*Tucket within*" which announces the arrival of Cornwall, Regan, and Attendants, at line 87.

Scene 7 (II. ii). Staging: the Study and Platform. Length: 180 lines.

Again the combined stage is localized by the rear-stage setting. Here the study represents the forecourt of Gloucester's Castle and the platform the parklands leading up to it.⁶ Approximately ten minutes (185 lines and some stage business) have elapsed since the stage curtains closed at the end of Scene 4. Ample time has been provided for removing the properties of the Albany set and substituting those required here.

The scenic properties now visible formed a standard Globe setting.⁷ Traverses (akin to modern "flats") painted in imitation of castle walls are suspended at the rear of the study (and at the sides as well?). In the middle of the rear traverse the usual curtained opening (measuring 5 to 6 feet in width) is supplied with a practicable door for use as the castle gate. The dialogue and action reveal to the audience that the time is now early in the morning directly following the events of the last two scenes, and further that the forecourt is part of Gloucester's Castle.

Enter Kent, and Steward severally.

Stew. Good dawning to thee Friend, art of this house?

Kent. I.

Stew. Where may we set our horses?

Kent. I'th'myre.

Kent and Oswald have entered the platform through opposite doors as if coming to the Castle by different routes. (Neither of these doors in this or in the next two scenes is used by an actor purporting to enter the Castle.) The talk about horses (which never appear on stage) serves to link the present with Scenes 4 and 5.

⁶ Cf. *Romeo*, V, iii, in which the study serves as the Capulet Tomb and the platform as the adjoining Churchyard.

⁷ Cf. the "base court" in *R. II*, III, iii, 175 ff.

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Kent's attack upon Oswald rouses those inside the Castle. At line 46:

*Stew. Helpe hoa, murther, murther.
Enter Bastard [with his Rapier drawn⁸], Cornwall, Regan,
Gloster, Servants.*

They enter through the "gate" and move downstage to stop the fray. Ninety lines later Cornwall has grasped all the issues involved, and to insult Lear in the person of his messenger calls out "Fetch forth the Stocks." This familiar property is brought on stage by servants entering through the "gate" and is placed at one side of the study (behind the curtain line). At line 157 Regan orders: "[Put in his legs,⁹] Come my good Lord, away. *Exit*." All but the hapless Kent and the troubled Gloucester leave through the "gate" into the Castle. Gloucester lingers for a moment, but Kent, fearful of recognition, gruffly dismisses him. After Gloucester follows his guests, Kent reads a private letter from Cordelia; but exhaustion overtakes him and "*He sleeps*."¹⁰ Needless to say, he cannot leave the stage, hence no "*Exit*" is entered in any early text. None the less, the stage curtains close at this point, if only to mark the passage of time. When next they are opened it will be supposed that Kent has sat in the stocks all day. Cornwall has ordered: "There shall he sit till Noone." Regan had improved on this: "Till noone? till night my Lord, and all night too." No doubt her command would have been carried out in full except for Lear's arrival in the late afternoon. On the Elizabethan stage such an interval of time is always provided for by an intervening scene.

Scene 8 (II. iii). Staging: the Platform. Length: 21 lines.

Having devised a logical means of holding the last full minute of Scene 7 inside the study, Shakespeare is free to place the present scene on the platform. We last saw Edgar rushing from his father's house. Here we see him slipping through the Castle grounds and learn of the steps he is taking to disguise himself. In addition to keeping Edgar's affairs before us, the scene serves two technical ends: it separates in dramatic time Scenes 7 and 9, and it prepares the audience to recognize Edgar when, disguised as Mad Tom, he next appears in Scene 13.

8 Q1 and Q2.

9 Only in Q1 and Q2.

10 Only in Q1 and Q2.

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Scene 9 (II. iv). Staging: the Study and Platform. Length 312 lines.

Lear, the Fool, and a Gentleman enter the platform as if drawing near to Gloucester's Castle.¹¹ It seems probable that their first steps are taken downstage in the direction of the audience, for they exchange a number of lines before Kent cries out from the forecourt: "Haile to thee Noble Master." Lear's complete surprise on then seeing Kent, and seeing him in the stocks, is clear from the dialogue:

Lear. Ha? Mak'st thou this shame thy pastime?

Kent. No my Lord.

Foole. Hah, ha, he weares Cruell Garters.

After drawing near and learning of Kent's reception at the hands of Regan, Lear demands (at line 58):

Where is this Daughter?

Kent. With the Earle Sir, here within.

Lear. Follow me not, stay here. *Exit.*

He leaves the stage through the "gate" in the rear of the study. Thirty lines later, more furious than before, he returns with Gloucester. Gloucester's explanations are rejected and he is sent back with orders to summon Cornwall and Regan forth. At line 128: "*Enter Cornwall, Regan, Gloster, Servants.*" Once Kent is set at liberty, the action tends to flow forward to the outer stage. At line 184 a "*Tucket within*" is heard. First Oswald (from the Castle) and then Goneril (with Attendants?) enters, the latter through a platform door to suggest that she, like Lear, has come toward the Castle and not from it.

The dreadful baiting of Lear takes place before at least a dozen spectators. At line 286:

Lear. No, Ile not weepe, I have full cause of weeping,

Storme and Tempest.

But this heart shal break into a hundred thousand flawes

Or ere Ile weepe; O Foole, I shall go mad.

*Exeunt Lear, Gloster, Kent, and Foole.*¹²

Corn. Let us withdraw, 'twill be a Storme.

¹¹ Cf. *Ham.*, V, i, 61: "*Enter Hamlet and Horatio afar off.*" Hamlet's entrance to the outer stage "*afar off*" from the gravediggers at work in the study closely parallels Lear's entrance and discovery of Kent in the stocks.

¹² Q1, Q2.

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Lear and his friends depart through a platform door. Cornwall, Regan, Goneril, Oswald, and the Attendants withdraw to the study where, eight lines later, they are rejoined by Gloucester who returns (through the platform) to beg a lodging in his own house for the stricken Lear. His plea is firmly denied, however, and the scene concludes twenty-one lines later:

Corn. Shut up your doores my Lord, 'tis a wild night,
My Regan counsels well: come out oth' storme. *Exeunt.*

As they pass through the "gate" the stage curtains close.

Once again we have seen the device of ending a combined-stage scene in the study so as to free the platform for use as a different place in the following scene.

Scene 10 (III. i). Staging: the Platform. Length: 55 lines.

"*Storme still.*¹³ *Enter Kent, and a Gentleman, severally.*" They enter the platform which is unlocalized except by the dialogue and the storm. I do not recall a single instance in the Elizabethan drama in which a storm takes part in the action of an inner-stage scene. Here in this heath scene, not far from Gloucester's Castle, the audience is under no misapprehension whatever. Word painting of the most powerful sort sets the stage in the open and buffets it with wind and rain and thunder.

In *King Lear*, as in all Elizabethan plays, the theatrical principle modern scholars term the "law of re-entry" is observed consistently. In Scene 9 and 10 an example is supplied by Kent. Kent enters as this scene opens, yet is presumed to be at some little distance from Gloucester's Castle, the place where he last appeared. To make this remove seem possible in a scheme of dramatic time, he was withdrawn ten or more lines (there 22 lines) before the close of Scene 9. Conversely, if an actor remains to the very close of the first of a pair of scenes representing two different places, his entrance to the second is delayed not less than ten lines.

¹³ I.e., incessantly.

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Scene II (III. ii). Staging: the Platform. Length: 95 lines.

This scene continues the one before it: the same heath, the same storm, and the same hour (nightfall?). It opens with the direction: "*Storme still. Enter Lear, and Foole.*" Kent returns at line 36. He tries to lead Lear to the rude shelter he has discovered.

Kent. Gracious my Lord, hard by heere is a Hovell,
Some friendship will it lend you 'gainst the Tempest:
Repose you there, while I to this hard house, . . .
returne, and force

Their scant'd curtesie.

Lear is at last persuaded. At line 70:

The Art of our Necessities is strange,
And can make vilde things precious. Come, your Hovel; . . .
Come bring us to this Hovell. *Exit.*

Scene 12 (III. iii). Staging: the Chamber. Length: 26 lines.

For the third time the upper stage curtains open and we pick up the thread of Edmund's plot. The stage setting is as before. "*Enter Gloster, and Edmund.*" The Quartos add: "*With lights.*" This and the next four scenes, fittingly enough, are "night" scenes. The present episode serves, as did Scene 8, both to mark the passage of time and to supply essential information.

Scene 13 (III. iv). Staging: the Platform. Length: 189 lines.

Lear, Kent, and the Fool return to the platform. The storm continues with unabated force. Kent does his best to induce Lear to enter the hovel before which they now stand. Given careful preparation in earlier scenes, the audience needs no particular stage set to represent the hovel here. We never see its interior. The Fool enters it by slipping through the edges of the rear-stage curtains, only to come running out again terrified by what he has found within. The disguised Edgar, summoned by Kent, comes forth to join those on the platform. His wild appearance and even wilder cries bring the final shock to Lear's exhausted mind. The scene before us is completely effective without the use of scenic devices. Once

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the "hovel" has served its sole dramatic purpose—bringing together in adversity hunted Edgar and heart-stricken Lear—it is swiftly forgotten. Shakespeare must lead this group back from the limitless heath towards Gloucester's Castle where, without straining at plausibility, they will come within the evil orbit of Cornwall and Regan.

At line 119: "*Enter Gloucester, with a Torch.*" The faithful noble knows well the risk he runs in aiding his king: "Yet have I ventured to come seeke you out, And bring you where both fire, and food is ready." Kent swiftly adopts this better plan, but it takes their combined efforts to persuade Lear, who then goes only on condition that his "philosopher" (Edgar) go too.

Scene 14 (III. v). Staging: the Chamber. Length: 26 lines.

The setting is as before in Scenes 2, 6, and 12. The stage curtains open, discovering Edmund in the act of betraying his father. Cornwall holds the letter which Gloucester had with special trust confided to his son. The scene needs but a few lines to achieve its dramatic purpose. It also separates two outer-stage scenes representing two different places, and provides an interval in time for Lear and his friends to transfer from one to the other.

Scene 15 (III. vi). Staging: the Study. Length: 121 lines.

Editors head this scene: "A farmhouse near Gloucester's Castle." "Farmhouse" will do for want of evidence. Clearly a simple room is intended, presumably near the Castle. The Folio directions indicate that Kent and Gloucester enter first, followed six lines later by Lear, Edgar, and the Fool. The Quartos place all five inside the room before the curtains open.

All actors entering or leaving the room appear to use the door at the rear of the study to create the impression of a hut with its one entry leading out of doors. The meanest hangings in the Globe property rooms will serve for the visible walls.

Glou. Heere is better then the open ayre, take it thankfully:
I will peece out the comfort with what addition I can: I
will not be long from you. *Exit.*

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Beginning at line 17 the Quartos supply thirty lines not found in the Folio in which stools, a bench, and cushions are referred to in a way to imply their use. For example:

Kent. How doe you sir? stand you not so amazed,
will you lie downe and rest upon the cushings? . . .
Now good my Lord, lye heere, and rest awhile.

It may be that Kent covers him with his cloak. The "curtains" which Lear tries to draw about his bed are, I doubt not, products of his imagination.

No sooner is Lear asleep than Gloucester returns in great alarm. At first he fails to see the King: "Where is the King my Master?" Kent replies, "Here Sir, but trouble him not, his wits are gon." But Lear's hiding place is known and a "plot of death" is upon him. He is carried out into the night by Kent and the silent Fool in the desperate hope of escaping to Dover and to friends. (From this point on many references are made to Dover, thus preparing the audience for the last eight scenes of the play which take place there.) The Folio ends the scene here. The Quartos add a soliloquy by Edgar, who leaves the hut fourteen lines later on the words, "Lurke, lurke."

Scene 16 (III. vii). Staging: the Chamber. Length: 107 lines.

The brutal climax of the sub-plot is reached in this scene. Much happens in a little time. It is played, as were all its preparatory episodes, in the chamber. The hour is not given. It must be midnight or thereabouts. At least eleven actors are required by the more detailed Quarto stage directions, but the number on stage at once never exceeds nine.

Enter Cornwall, Regan, Gonerill, Bastard, and [5] Servants.

Corn. Poste speedily to my Lord your husband, show him this Letter, the
Army of France is landed: seeke out the Traitor Glouster.

Reg. Hang him instantly.

Gon. Plucke out his eyes.

Corn. Leave him to my displeasure.

Editors add "*Exeunt some servants*" at line 3, and "*Exeunt other servants*" at line 23. There is no need to assume that more than two left the room at each command.

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In part to reduce the number of those present, Shakespeare withdraws Goneril, Edmund, and Oswald before Gloucester is brought in by armed guards. At line 27: "*Enter Gloucester, brought in by two or three.*"¹⁴ With Cornwall, Regan, and one servant already present, and with the larger option of the Quarto direction, those present reach seven—the minimum number required to sustain the concluding business of the scene.

The binding of Gloucester to a chair, the cruel yanking at his white beard, the hard insistent questioning, and finally the plucking out of his eyes—these follow in rapid succession. The protesting servant who dares to draw his sword against Cornwall is stabbed by Regan (line 80): "*Shee takes a sword and runs at him behind.*"¹⁵ The blind Gloucester, seeing the truth of things for the first time, is ordered away:

Reg. Go thrust him out at gates, and let him smell
His way to Dover. *Exit [one] with Gloucester.*

The Folio text ends the scene with the departure of Regan and her wounded husband. The Quartos append nine lines of chorus-like dialogue by the two remaining servants.

Scene 17 (IV. i). Staging: the Platform. Length: 80 lines.

Edgar, still disguised as Mad Tom, is crossing the heath when he encounters a gaffer leading his blind father: "*Enter Gloucester, and an Oldman.*" The night has given way to the morning, but the action carries out the dialogue of the scene before. Not noticed at first—does Edgar slip behind a "Tree," i.e., a stage post?—the son hears his father's anguished cry:

Oh deere Sonne Edgar,
The food of thy abused Fathers wrath:
Might I but live to see thee in my touch,
I'd say I had eyes againe.

Only then does Edgar step forward. "*Oldm.* How now? who's there? . . . 'Tis poore mad Tom." The gaffer is paid to fetch some clothes for Edgar who, continuing the rôle of the Bedlam beggar, undertakes to conduct Gloucester to Dover.

¹⁴ Q1, Q2. The Folio reads: "*Enter Gloucester, and Servants.*"

¹⁵ Q1, Q2.

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Scene 18 (IV. ii). Staging: the Study. Length: 97 lines.

Stagehands have removed the "farmhouse" set and have replaced the Albany set used in Scene 3. This is but the fourth change they have been called upon to make so far. Upwards of nine minutes (187 lines) have been provided for this shift. Again, 164 lines have intervened since the farewells of Scene 16—ample dramatic time for the journey from Gloucester's Castle to Albany's.

As the study curtains open Goneril is seen welcoming her traveling companion to her husband's Castle with hospitable words and more than hospitable glances:

Gon. Welcome my Lord. I mervell our mild husband

Not met us on the way. *Enter Steward.*¹⁶

Now, where's your Master?

Stew. Madam within, but never man so chang'd.

In Elizabethan plays the term "within" is frequently used to suggest an adjoining room. It should not be taken here to mean that this scene is acted on the platform.

Goneril directs Edmund to return to the Duke of Cornwall and promises to send Oswald with messages. She bestows a present, a kiss, and a farewell. Edmund has only just gone when Albany enters, determined to rebuke his wife for her treatment of Lear. The Folio reduces the ensuing quarrel by thirty-two lines (given in the Quartos), but enough remains to make their enmity clear. A messenger with a letter from Regan interrupts them and verbally adds the news that Cornwall died from the wound received in the scuffle after the blinding of Gloucester. At line 87 Goneril leaves the stage to write a reply to Regan, and Albany continues to question the messenger until the curtains close.

Scene 19 (IV. iii). Staging: the Platform. Length: 57 lines.

This scene is found only in the Quartos. Kent and a Gentleman from the recently landed French Army enter the platform. Their dialogue touches on the return to France of the French King, on the present command of Cordelia's forces, and on Lear's reported behavior. Kent offers

¹⁶ Q1, Q2. In F Oswald enters at the beginning of the scene.

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to conduct his friend to where Lear may be found, and the two leave together.

Scene 20 (IV. iv). Staging: the Platform. Length: 29 lines.

"*Enter with Drum and Colours, Cordelia, Gentlemen, and Soul-diours.*" Drum-and-colors processions always enter the platform. This brief scene, not specifically localized but by clear implication placed near Dover, exhibits Cordelia's deep concern for her father's condition and her calmness at the news that enemy forces are fast approaching.

Scene 21 (IV. v). Staging: the Chamber. Length: 40 lines.

For the fifth and last time the chamber curtains open upon the Gloucester Castle set. "*Enter Regan, and Steward.*" Regan closely questions Oswald about the disposition of her sister's army, but shows even stronger curiosity about the letter from Goneril to Edmund with which Oswald is entrusted. She fails to entice him into surrendering it, however, and has to be content with recommending that her own letter to Edmund be delivered in its stead. The scene ends with Oswald's dismissal and the closing of the curtains.

Scene 22 (IV. vi). Staging: the Study and Platform. Length: 293 lines.

In this justly famous scene Shakespeare employed a stage set that served him well in several plays.¹⁷ In its simplest form the set consisted of painted hangings suspended across the rear wall of the study and a few property trees at either end. This arrangement created a glade with entrances on opposite sides. (A cave mouth¹⁸ could be contrived in the rear wall, giving flexibility and a third means of access. Or appropriate properties could be added to create a bower,¹⁹ an orchard or garden,²⁰ or even a graveyard.²¹ The set appears in many other plays produced early and late by the Globe Company.²²)

17 *M.N.D.*, *M. Ado*, *A.Y.L.*, *Ham.*, *Timon*, *Cym.*, *Temp.*

18 For Timon, or for Belarius.

19 For Titania.

20 For Olivia, or for Leonato.

21 For Ophelia.

22 For example: *Satiromastix* (1601), sc. viii; *Merry Devil of Edmonton* (1602), IV, i; *Malcontent* (1604), III, ii; *Atheist's Tragedy* (1609), II, iv; *Two Noble Kinsmen* (1613), III, i, iii, and v; *Elder Brother* (1614), V, i; *Beggar's Bush* (1615), II, i, and III, v; *Prophetess* (1622), V, iii; etc.

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During the seven minutes required for Scenes 19, 20, and 21 the Albany set (Scene 18) has been removed and the "glade" made ready. The cutting of Scene 19 from the Folio text suggests that the change could be effected in half the time.

For all that *King Lear* runs to twenty-six scenes, and takes us to palaces, castles, courtyards, heaths, a farmhouse, and to woods, two encampments and a battlefield near Dover, one discovers that the Globe stagehands were called upon to make only five changes of scenic hangings and properties during the course of the play, and further that all these changes were effected in the study. One can only marvel at the craftsmanship which produces in *King Lear* so vast an effect with so little backstage labor.

Enter Gloucester, and Edgar.

Glou. When shall I come to th' top of that same hill?

Edg. You do climbe up it now. Look how we labor.

Glou. Me thinks the ground is even.

Thus begins the memorable "Cliffs of Dover" episode. Never for a moment is the audience expected to believe that Edgar has brought Gloucester to the edge of the Cliffs. His graphic description is patently imaginative. Listening with Gloucester's ears, the audience will share his illusion of standing at the lip of a precipice. Looking with Edgar's eyes, however, they will know that no precipice exists.

How is Gloucester's leap made convincing? When (at line 3) he insists the ground is "even" we see that it is even. The remark is one of several showing that the blinded man is more perceptive than formerly. But is the entire stage "even"? What happened in the last step or two (following line 10) to give plausibility to the action?

Edg. Come on Sir,

Heere's the place: stand still: how fearefull

And dizie 'tis, to cast ones eyes so low . . .

Glou. Set me where you stand.

Edg. Give me your hand:

You are now within a foote of th' extreme Verge:

For all beneath the Moone would I not leape upright.

Now the Elizabethan drama from beginning to end tended to support stage illusion by scenic realism. I incline therefore to believe that some property not incongruous with the setting—perhaps the oft-used

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"mossbank"—was placed in the middle of the Glade, and that on taking his father's hand Edgar helped him to mount. Let the top of the property be only a few inches above the study floor: it would supply a rim for the blind man's toe to feel out—a "verge" evident to the audience as well as to Gloucester's limited senses. His leap will then occur when it is apparent to all that he can advance no more. Pointed up with some such business, I believe, the scene would gain in dramatic effectiveness.

At line 47 Gloucester revives. Edgar, playing once more upon his innate credulity, induces him to "bear free and patient thoughts" and at line 80 the first part of the scene ends.

"*Enter Lear mad.*" This (Quarto) direction marks a shift of the action to the platform, Lear entering directly and Edgar coming downstage with Gloucester. For 110 lines Lear presents a pitiful sight. His incoherent speech—"reason in madness"—makes Gloucester forget his own woes. At line 191 three of the men sent by Cordelia to find Lear enter, but Lear escapes ("*Exit King running*") with two of the three men in pursuit. After replying to Edgar's questions, the third man leaves.

At line 220 Shakespeare takes up the concluding action of the scene. Edgar prepares to lead his father to some refuge: "Give me your hand, Ile leade you to some biding." But on retracing their steps (into the study) they encounter Oswald who recognizes Gloucester:

A proclaim'd prize: most happie
That eyelesse head of thine, was first fram'd flesh
To raise my fortunes . . . the Sword is out
That must destroy thee.

But for the second time Edgar rescues his father. The Quarto texts supply: "*They fight,*" and (at line 256) "*He [Oswald] dyes.*" Goneril's treasonable letter to Edmund is found and read. (Regan's is not mentioned; was the "serviceable Villaine" duteous to the end?) The burial Oswald asked for with his dying breath is hastily performed. Edgar (at line 280) draws the body to one side:

Heere, in the sands
Thee Ile rake up,²³ the poste unsanctified
Of murtherous Letchers.

²³ I.e., cover lightly.

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Note that Edgar does not leave the stage to perform his task. The flow of his comments is not even ruffled—evidence that the study is the scene of Oswald's death and burial.

Ten lines later a "*Drum afar off*" is heard, whereupon Edgar helps his ailing father to his feet and leads him off to find safety "with a friend." The study curtains close.

Scene 23 (IV. vii). Staging: the Platform. Length: 97 lines.

The actors for this scene enter directly to the platform. "*Enter Cordelia, Kent, and Gentleman.*"²⁴ The ten opening lines record Cordelia's gratitude to Kent. The second ten prepare us for the appearance—washed and in fresh garments—of Lear. At line 20: "*Enter Lear in a chaire carried by Servants.*"²⁵ Lear awakens in the open air (line 52): "Where am I? Faire day light? I am mightily abus'd." Editors head this scene "A tent in the French Camp." Where the notion of a tent comes from is not clear. No early text supports it. There was insufficient time (one minute only) between the end of Scene 22 and the appearance of Lear in which to change the study setting from a glade to a tent. The upper stage was never used for tent scenes, and the outer stage rarely (and never, to my knowledge, after 1594).

Cured of his brain sickness, but greatly enfeebled and leaning affectionately on Cordelia, Lear walks off the stage at line 85. The servants follow, removing the chair. In the Quartos, Kent with a Gentleman lingers for thirteen lines of talk which turn the attention of the audience upon the pending battle: "Tis time to looke about, The powers of the kingdome approach apace."

Scene 24 (V. i). Staging: the Platform. Length: 69 lines.

Battle scenes abound in the Elizabethan drama, and techniques of presenting them date from the time when the platform was the only stage. In Scene 20 Cordelia and her forces were seen marching towards their camp near Dover. Scene 23 showed her in the camp, pitched on one side of the field where the battle is soon to be joined. The present

²⁴ As in Scene 20, the Quartos substitute "Doctor" here and in the speech headings for "Gentleman."

²⁵ The Quartos do not indicate how Lear is brought in.

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scene brings her two sisters and their armies to the other side of the field. The Globe platform, large though it is, is not asked to show both camps at once, but in time-honored fashion it may represent first one and then the other, and also parts of the field between.

In this scene Regan's army arrives first (line 1): "*Enter with Drumme and Colours, Edmund, Regan. Gentlemen, and Souldiers.*" Goneril's is not far behind (line 17): "*Enter with Drum and Colours, Albany, Gonerill, Soldiers.*" Neither sister, in this fateful hour, has much thought for the coming battle. The attitude of both is expressed in an aside by Goneril: "I had rather loose the battell Then that sister should loosen [Edmund] and me."²⁶ Albany, alert to the true rôle Edmund is playing, and wishing to avoid a battle with King Lear, proposes a general conference: "Let's then determine with th'ancient of warre On our proceeding." At line 37, "*Exeunt both the Armies.*" As they file off towards their camp Edgar, in his peasant's disguise, appears and holds Albany back. Giving him the letter he found on Oswald's body, Edgar adds that he can also produce a champion to "prove what is avouched there." This done, he leaves.

Edmund returns to report on the strength of Cordelia's army; Albany goes in haste (line 54), and Edmund reviews his evil plans in a soliloquy of fourteen lines before leaving the stage.

Scene 25 (V. ii). Staging: the Platform. Length: 11 lines.

Though technically a new scene because the stage is cleared, this and the next are parts of one long scene beginning with the arrival of the armies of Regan and Goneril.

*Alarum within. Enter with Drumme and Colours,
Lear, Cordelia, and Souldiers, over the Stage,
and Exeunt.*

Evidently Cordelia has opened the attack by advancing upon the forces of her sisters. As she and her troops pass across the platform and out through the opposite door, Edgar appears with Gloucester. He leads his father as far as one of the two stage posts that support the roof over the platform.

²⁶ Only in Q1, Q2.

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Edg. Heere Father, take the shadow of this Tree
For your good hoast: pray that the right may thrive:
If ever I returne to you againe,
Ile bring you comfort.

Glo. Grace go with you Sir. *Exit* [Edgar].
Alarum and Retreat within.

Enter Edgar.

Edg. Away old man, give me your hand, away:
King Lear hath lost, he and his Daughter tane . . .
Exeunt.

Scene 26 (V. iii). Staging: the Platform. Length: 326 lines.

This scene continues the two before it, and will end the play.

*Enter in conquest with Drum and Colours, Edmund,
Lear, and Cordelia, as prisoners, Souldiers, Capitaine.*

Edmund sends Lear and Cordelia off to prison under guard (line 25), and sends the Captain after them with secret orders (at line 39). "*Flourish. Enter Albany, Gonerill, Regan, Soldiers.*" Edmund's insolent answer to Albany's demand for the royal prisoners provokes a sharp exchange between Regan and Goneril. Events then crowd upon events: Albany's challenge to Edmund, the thwarting of Edmund's conspiracy, the departure of the poisoned Regan, the dramatic announcement by the Herald and the blowing of the trumpets, the arrival of Edgar encased in unblazoned armor, the overthrow of Edmund, Goneril's frenzied exit, Edgar's recital of Gloucester's death, and (at line 222) the entrance of a Gentleman bearing a bloody knife who comes to report that Regan has died from Goneril's poison and Goneril has committed suicide.

Kent slowly enters (at line 229) seeking Lear:

I am come
To bid my King and Master aye good night.
Is he not here?
Alb. Great thing of us forgot,
Speake Edmund, where's the King?

Just then the bodies of Goneril and Regan are brought in, a sight which spurs Edmund to confess having ordered the murder of Lear and Cor-

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delia in prison. Edgar races off to rescue them, and Edmund is conveyed offstage to die. At line 257: "*Enter Lear with Cordelia [dead] in his armes* [Edgar, Captain, and others following]." Edgar was too late. It had been Lear who killed the slave that was hanging Cordelia, and it is Lear's last strength that carries her to this place. Does he lay her on the ground? Does he sit on the ground beside her and hold her head on his lap? Does his hand now tremble all the time as it does when he holds the feather to her lips? At such a time of heartbreak small wonder that faithful Kent goes unrecognized by Lear, or that the news of Edmund's death is called "but a trifle here." Albany draws his friends apart to plan for the future of the realm, but in the middle of his speech he breaks off—"O see, see!"—and all rush back to Lear, who utters his last anguished cry for Cordelia, slumps to earth, and dies.

"*A Dead March*" carries the bodies of Lear and his three daughters from the stage.

"THOU, NATURE, ART MY GODDESS":
EDMUND AND RENAISSANCE FREE-THOUGHT

By R. C. BALD

I

Charles Lamb notwithstanding, the long stage history of Tate's version of *King Lear*, with its happy ending, is symptomatic of an unwillingness on the part of certain minds to face the pain, and even more the irrationality, of the suffering inflicted in Shakespeare's play. The eighteenth century in particular must have felt that the blinding of Gloucester on the stage flouted all its notions of decorum, and that the strangling of Cordelia was a violent challenge to its ideals of order and justice. Dr. Johnson, we know, disliked the blinding of Gloucester, and confessed that the death of Cordelia so shocked him when he first read the play that he did not reread the last scenes until he had to edit them. In more recent times, too, Bradley has not hesitated to admit his feelings of dissatisfaction with the ending of the play. Yet there was no execution of Cordelia, no death of Lear at the climax of his suffering, in the old tale, and Shakespeare added the parallel plot of Gloucester and his sons from an unrelated source. The events which have brought pain and distress to some of the most sensitive and intelligent readers of the play were deliberately grafted on to the story by Shakespeare himself.

No one can have been more conscious than the author that these events were distressing, and it is not surprising, therefore, that even within the play the accumulation of suffering causes terror and surprise. Such suffering is inexplicable in terms of any conventional system of religion or morality; hence the bewildered attempts of some of the characters to find some other solution. One of them is forced to postulate malicious unreason in whatever gods may be:

As flies to wanton boys are we to the gods,
They kill us for their sport;

another takes refuge in astrology:

It is the stars,
The stars above us, govern our condition,

"Thou, Nature, Art My Goddess":

Else one self mate and mate could not beget
Such different issues;

a third sees only the workings of the blind goddess Fortune:

The wheel is come full circle; I am here;

and a fourth can do no more than invoke the crude primitivism of the *lex talionis*:

The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices
Make instruments to plague us:
The dark and vicious place where thee he got
Cost him his eyes.

But the spectator rejects this last explanation with instant revulsion, and Albany's ejaculation,

This shows you are above,
You justicers, that these our nether crimes
So speedily can venge,

is the cry of a man clutching at the one fact that stands between him and the collapse of his beliefs. Justice is certainly not the theme of *King Lear*, and the other interpretations are mere horrified exclamations at the incomprehensibility of suffering.

Shakespeare himself is sometimes the best commentator on his plays, and there is no clearer statement of the underlying conception of *King Lear* than a passage from the famous speech of Ulysses in *Troilus and Cressida*:

How could communities,
Degrees in schools and brotherhoods in cities,
Peaceful commerce from dividable shores,
The primogenitive and due of birth,
Prerogative of age, crowns, sceptres, laurels,
But by degree stand in authentic place?
Take but degree away, untune that string,
And hark what discord follows! each thing meets
In mere oppugnancy: the bounded waters
Should lift their bosoms higher than the shores,
And make a sop of all this solid globe:
Strength should be lord of imbecility,
And the rude son should strike his father dead.

The extent to which the familiar concept of the great chain of being, which is at the basis of Ulysses' speech, determined the patterns of Shakespeare's thought is part of the theme of Theodore Spencer's *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man*, so here it may merely be noticed in passing that the lines quoted adumbrate nearly all the principal situations of the play. The prerogatives of age and of crowns are denied, and "the bond cracked 'twixt son and father." A world of chaos is produced: in Lear's mind, in all human relationships, and in the very elements as well. The storm is no mere symbol but, like "these late eclipses in the sun and moon," a symptom of the universal disharmony; macrocosm and microcosm interact on one another. In this chaos justice has no place and men's minds grope for, but do not find, an intelligible meaning in it. Force is triumphant for a time, and the balance between right and wrong is restored only when the evil that has been unleashed brings about its own destruction.

In *King Lear* the key word to denote the regulating principle not merely in human relationships but within the cosmos as well is not "order" or "degree" but "nature." "Nature" and its derivatives ("natural," "unnatural," "unnaturalness," and "disnaturaed"¹) occur more frequently in this than in any other play of Shakespeare, and most often with reference to the relation of parent and child. Of the many such passages, three may be noticed in passing. It is profoundly significant that Lear, in the agony of disillusionment, should lose all sense of security and order, and at the height of his frenzy should call down universal destruction on humanity:

And thou, all-shaking thunder,
Smite flat the thick rotundity of the world!
Crack nature's moulds, all germins spill at once
That make ingrateful man!

Nor is this cry the mere expression of the fury of a passing moment; later in the play we see that its reverberations have lingered on, and, as if in reply, there comes this partial reassurance from the lips of another character:

¹ These last two are nonce-words in Shakespeare.

"Thou, Nature, Art My Goddess":

Thou hast one daughter
Who redeems nature from the general curse
Which twain have brought her to.

A third passage, that in which Albany passes judgment on Goneril,

The nature that contemns it origin
Cannot be bordered certain in itself;
She that herself will sliver and disbranch
From her material sap, perforce must wither
And come to deadly use,

brings with it a sense of detachment that gives it more validity as a clue to the significance of the play than any appeal to fortune or the stars.

The concept of nature behind these passages is an old one which had played an important part in the development of European thought. It had its origins in the early stages of Greek philosophy, it had been given prominence by the Stoics, and in the phrase *ius naturale* had dominated all mediaeval speculation on the organization of society. "In natural law is expressed the dignity and power of man, and thus of his reason, which allows him, alone of created beings, to participate in the rational order of the universe. This explains the stress which is laid in Thomistic philosophy upon the ideas of reason and order (*ordinatio*), which in turn are developed in a complete and elaborate philosophy of law."² From mediaeval philosophy and jurisprudence the notion of nature as the order giving coherence to relationships within the family, the nation, and the state had passed into general currency, although of course the still wider cosmological connotation was not forgotten, and could not be while the concept of an all-embracing order continued to dominate European thought.

Man's uniqueness, it was held, lay in his central place in the scale of being, midway between the inanimate and the divine, between pure matter and pure mind. His superiority over the rest of creation consisted not merely in the possession of reason but in the nature of his will, with its capacity for choice. "Thou shalt have the power to degenerate into the lowest forms of life, the animal; thou shalt have the power, out of thy soul's judgment, to be reborn into the higher forms of life which

2 A. P. d'Entrèves, *The Mediaeval Contribution to Political Thought*, pp. 21-2.

Edmund and Renaissance Free-Thought

are divine;" this, in the words of Pico della Mirandola, had been God's gift to man.³ And man's higher faculties can never betray him; he can only be misled by those that he shares with the lower part of creation: "All our errors proceed from the irrational part of our nature, which we have in common with [animals], and not from that which constitutes us men."⁴ Thus, when man allows himself to be dominated by the animal in his nature he really becomes worse than the lower order of creation, as Donne makes clear in one of his verse letters to Sir Henry Wotton:

Angels sinn'd first, then Devils, and then man.
Onely perchance beasts sinne not; wretched wee
Are beasts in all, but white integritie.

This capacity of man to debase himself below his proper level and sink to that of the beast haunts Shakespeare's imagination throughout *King Lear*. Debasement is the inevitable accompaniment—is, indeed, an aspect—of the violation of the principle of degree. When Gloucester describes Edgar as an "unnatural, detested, brutish villain—worse than brutish!" the collocation of adjectives is no accident: Edgar's imputed treachery is in defiance of nature, and his moral being is therefore depraved.

This depravity, from which Edgar is of course free, has in reality infected Goneril, Regan, Edmund, and Cornwall. Shakespeare emphasizes it again and again by the imagery he uses. The incessant references to the lower animals and man's likeness to them have been catalogued by Bradley who, though he noticed them and commented on them, did not fully understand their significance.⁵ They are there to enforce the truth that when men abrogate their humanity they sink to the level of brutes, and that with the triumph of the animal chaos ensues.

II

There is in the play one reference to nature which stands apart from all the others. The opening lines of Edmund's first soliloquy,

3 *Oratio de hominis dignitate*, translated by Elizabeth Forbes, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, iii (1942), 348.

4 G. B. Gelli, *Circe*, translated by H. Layng (1744), p. 251.

5 *Shakespearean Tragedy*, pp. 266–8. Bradley seems to have deduced, somewhat ruefully, that Shakespeare was not a dog-lover.

"Thou, Nature, Art My Goddess":

Thou, Nature, art my goddess; to thy law
My services are bound. Wherefore should I
Stand in the plague of custom, and permit
The curiosity of nations to deprive me
For that I am some twelve or fourteen moonshines
Lag of a brother?

present a concept of nature more different than Wordsworth's from Pope's, and diametrically opposed to that which has so far been alluded to. Edmund's "nature" is an ironic echo of that invoked by the other characters of the play, just as his statement that in betraying his father to Cornwall "nature gives way to loyalty" is an ironic echo of his father's praise of him as "loyal and natural boy." His "nature" is a disruptive force, the antithesis of order and degree, and in its name he violates the very principles for which it should stand. This conception of nature implies a savage primitivism; it is related to the early, unorganized stages of society when human life was close to that of animals and when action prompted by instinct or impulse was unfettered by the rule of law.

Such a concept of nature had some currency in antiquity,⁶ and in the Middle Ages the political philosophers, in spite of their preoccupation with *ius naturale*, never altogether lost sight of nature as a wild and unchecked force. Gregory VII, writing in 1081, traced the origins of organized society to the imposition of laws by violence, and much later writers, such as Nicholas of Cusa and the author of *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, admitted that, since men were free by nature, some superior force was necessary to impose order and organization on them.⁷ But such statements are no more than eddies on the main current of European thought. There are also occasional references in the literature of the Middle Ages to nature as the justification of freedom and licentiousness; the most famous of them is a passage in Jean de Meun's continuation of *Le Roman de la Rose*.⁸ Only with the growth of free thought in the period after the liberating effects of the Renaissance and the Reforma-

6 See Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, xlii, 91-2, and Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, v, 960-5.

7 See the passages quoted by G. H. Sabine, *History of Political Thought*, at pp. 234, 319, 381.

8 Lines 14587-628.

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tion had been felt did this rival concept of nature win any currency again, and even then it probably circulated surreptitiously, for, as we shall see, it was regarded as dangerous.

Some of the more daring of Donne's youthful poems introduce this concept of nature.⁹ In the elegy *Variety* he exclaims:

How happy were our Syres in ancient time,
Who held plurality of loves no crime! . . .
Women were then no sooner asked than won,
And what they did was honest and well done.
But since this title honour hath been us'd,
Our weak credulity hath been abus'd;
The golden laws of nature are repeal'd,
Which our first Fathers in such reverence held;
Our liberty's revers'd, our Charter's gone,
And we're made servants to opinion,

and in another elegy, *Change*, he asks:

Foxes and goats; all beasts change when they please,
Shall women, more hot, wily, wild than these,
Be bound to one man, and did Nature then
Idly make them apter to endure than men?¹⁰

Donne's appeal to nature is a limited one since, like the Duenna in *Le Roman de la Rose*, he invokes it primarily as a justification for sexual freedom, though in the lyric *Confined Love* he suggests a wider validity for the principle by means of an analogy with the heavenly bodies as well as with the lower animals:

Are Sunne, Moone, or Starres by law forbidden
To smile where they list, or lend away their light?
Are birds divorc'd, or are they chidden
If they leave their mate, or lie abroad a-night?
Beasts doe no joyntures lose
Though they new lovers choose,
But we are made worse than those.

9 Professor L. I. Bredvold, in "The Naturalism of Donne in relation to some Renaissance Traditions," *J.E.G.P.*, xxii (1923), 471-502, first drew attention to this aspect of Donne's poetry.

10 Cf. also *The Progresse of the Soule*, lines 191-203.

"Thou, Nature, Art My Goddess":

In *Confined Love* law and in *Variety* opinion are the forces which have deprived man of his original freedom; they are obviously closely related to "custom" and "the curiosity of nations," the organized powers against which Edmund rebels.

Donne's early poems antedate *King Lear*, but some of the most important seventeenth-century references to the revolutionary doctrine of nature appeared after Shakespeare's death, and came not from England but from France. Giulio-Cesare Vanini, who was burnt at the stake for his impieties at Toulouse in 1619, had caused an earlier scandal with his dialogues *De Admirandis Naturae Arcanis*. In reply to the question, In what religion did the ancient philosophers hold that God could be truly and devoutly worshipped? he had answered in his own person: "In vnica Naturæ lege, quam ipsa Natura, quæ Deus est (est enim principium motus) in omnium Gentium animos inscripsit: cæteras verò leges non nisi figmenta & illusiones esse asserebant."¹¹ The case of the court poet Théophile de Viau a few years later attracted even wider notoriety. He was apprehended on account of his writings in 1623, and after a lengthy imprisonment and a trial by the Parlement of Paris was sentenced in 1625 to perpetual banishment. In his first interrogation he was accused of denying any God but Nature, and taxed with the authorship of such lines as these:

J'approuve qu'un chacun suive en tout la nature;
Son empire est plaisant et sa loy n'est pas dure.

Je pense que chacun auroit assez d'esprit
Suivant la libre traint que nature prescript;
Qui suivra son génie et gardera sa foy
Pour vivre bienheureux il vivra comme moy.

Ne t'oppose jamais aux droitz de la nature.¹²

Thus torn from their context, these passages seem more heterodox than they are. This is especially true of the last, which comes from a consolatory poem addressed to one of Théophile's patrons on the death of

¹¹ Ed. 1616, p. 366.

¹² F. Lachèvre, *Le Procès du Poète Théophile de Viau*, 1, 375-7.

his father. In its setting the line is as commonplace as Claudius's exhortation to Hamlet:

Fie, 'tis a fault to heaven,
A fault against the dead, a fault to nature,
To reason most absurd, whose common theme
Is death of fathers, and who still had cried,
From the first corse till he that died today,
"This must be so."

None the less, the fact that exception was taken to such passages in Théophile's writings is the clearest possible evidence of the sensitiveness of the French authorities to anything savouring of subversive doctrine.

The proceedings against Théophile were part of a campaign against infidelity and free thought in France. One writer made the statement, which he afterwards retracted, that at this time the number of atheists in the kingdom had risen to fifty thousand.¹³ Soon after the proceedings against Théophile were begun there appeared an elaborate work, directed especially against Vanini and Théophile, in which the doctrines of the free-thinkers were formulated and refuted. *La Doctrine curieuse des beaux esprits de ce temps* by the Jesuit father François Garassus was a quarto of over a thousand pages, and was preceded by eight libertine maxims, to each of which a whole book was devoted. Of these the sixth is as follows:

Il n'y a point d'autre divinité ny puissance souveraine au monde que la Nature, laquelle il faut contenter en toutes choses, sans rien refuser à nostre corps ou à nos sens de ce qu'ils désirent de nous en l'exercice de leurs puissances et facultez naturelles:

and when Garassus comes to treat this topic more fully in the text he comes to the conclusion that

par leurs Maximes ils [les beaux-esprits] veulent rendre l'homme semblable aux bestes brutes: car disant qu'il faut suivre en tout & contenter la Nature, c'est à dire, la partie animale, ils veulent dire, qu'il faut suivre l'inclination bestialle, boire quand la brutalité le demande, manger quand l'appetit vient, dormir quand on est seul, et vaquer à ses plaisirs impudiques quand la brutalité y pousse.¹⁴

¹³ *Ibid.*, i, xxxv.

¹⁴ P. 687.

"Thou, Nature, Art My Goddess":

This naturalism is the core of the libertine doctrine, though not the whole of it. Garassus has in effect collected for refutation most of the tenets of the free-thinkers of his day. Another of the maxims, that "Les beaux-esprits ne croyent point en Dieu que par bien-séance, et par maxime d'estat," smacks of Machiavelli, and one is not surprised to learn near the end of the book that in the libertine's library the place of honour is given to the works of Pomponazzi, Paracelsus, and Machiavelli.

Edmund's appeal to nature becomes intelligible in the light of the poems of Théophile and the polemics of Garassus, though *King Lear* was written nearly twenty years before they appeared. Edmund's lines prove that some of the doctrines of the free-thinkers, which stirred Church and State to action in France in 1623, were familiar enough in England just after the turn of the century for an allusion to them to be immediately comprehensible to an audience at the Globe.

It has been shown by Professor Warner G. Rice that Edmund's soliloquy is probably indebted to the eighteenth of Ortensio Landi's *Paradossi*: "Non è cosa biasmevole l'esser bastardo."¹⁵ Nevertheless, the whole tone of the speech is different from that of Landi's witty ingenuities, and no possible indebtedness to him can account for its first five lines. Landi says nothing of the libertine doctrine of nature, and there is as yet no reference by Edmund to his bastardy—merely to the fact that he is the younger son. "The primogenitive and due of birth," which for Ulysses was a vital part of human organization, has for Edmund no better basis than the irrationality of custom, and his appeal to nature is his justification for his attempt to overthrow it.

It says much for the sureness of Shakespeare's tact that though he made Edmund an adherent of this naturalistic doctrine he made no attempt to develop its sensual implications. Such sensualism as there is in the play is concentrated in the characters of Goneril and Regan, and Edmund is perfectly cold-blooded in pitting the one sister against the other for his own advantage. He is a Machiavellian, not a voluptuary.

The dramatic effect of Edmund's soliloquy is arresting. The fortunes of Vanini and Théophile show that their tenets shocked and enraged

¹⁵ "The *Paradossi* of Ortensio Landi," in *Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature by Members of the English Department of the University of Michigan*, 1932, pp. 59-74.

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the conventionally minded. Their opinions were regarded as heterodox and subversive, and were countered with the same fury and persecution as certain political opinions have had to face in the twentieth century. Edmund's words, therefore, which are spoken on the first occasion on which he is alone and has an opportunity to reveal himself to the audience, were deliberately intended to shock and startle. They proclaim him at once as an extreme and dangerous individualist who scorns the conventional restraints and for whom the ordinary bonds of society and morality have no meaning. The evil in Goneril and Regan, gradually revealed as the play progresses, seems, though equally a violation of the bond between child and parent, to be instinctive and unreasoned. Edmund's, on the other hand, is from the outset calculated and reasoned; anarchy is his creed.

III

Another manifestation of Edmund's individualism, which occurs a little later in the same scene as his invocation of nature, is to be found in his contemptuous rejection of his father's appeal to astrology. Once again he is alone on the stage, and there can be no question that his words represent his real thoughts:

This is an excellent foppery of the world, that when we are sick in fortune—often the surfeit of our own behaviour—we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, and the stars: as if we were villains by necessity, fools by heavenly compulsion; knaves, thieves, and treachers by spherical predominance; drunkards, liars and adulterers by an enforced obedience of planetary influence; and all that we are evil in, by a divine thrusting on: an admirable evasion of whoremaster man, to lay his goatish disposition to the charge of a star. . . . Tut, I should have been that I am had the maidenliest star in the firmament twinkled on my bastardizing.

Such sentiments find so ready an endorsement in the modern mind that one scarcely stops to examine them or consider them in relation to the speaker and the situation. Yet it is far from certain that these lines represent Shakespeare's own attitude. It is true that Shakespeare puts similar words into the mouths of some of his other characters; one immediately calls to mind

The fault, dear Brutus, is not in the stars
But in ourselves, that we are underlings,

"Thou, Nature, Art My Goddess":

and, from a very similar context,

Virtue, a fig! 'Tis in ourselves that we are thus or thus. Our bodies are our gardens, to which our wills are gardeners . . . either to have it sterile with idleness, or manured with industry; why, the power and corrigible authority of this lies in our wills.

But Cassius in the act of inveigling Brutus to join the conspiracy against Caesar and Iago subverting the feeble Roderigo to his purpose can scarcely be reckoned as the safest exponents of moral principles. Why is it that only Shakespeare's villains and conspirators express such ideas?

It is self-evident that the presentation of an idea by a speaker in a drama, particularly in one of Shakespeare's, must always be considered in relation to its context, and especially to what may be called, for want of a better term, its character context. For instance, Ulysses' speech on degree is meant to be taken seriously. It comes as the climax to those that have preceded it; Ulysses' reputation for sagacity is familiar to all his auditors; and Agamemnon not merely anticipates "music, wit, and oracle" from him, but commends his wisdom at the close. On the other hand, in the speeches which prompt Edmund's scorn there is little doubt that Gloucester reveals himself as a superstitious old man, far too prone to view the future with misgiving, even though his faith in order and degree is at bottom the same as that of Ulysses. But his rather excessive trust in astrology does not involve the abrogation by the audience of his perception of discord.

The leading authority on Elizabethan astrology, Professor D. C. Allen, concludes that very few of the literary men of the period rejected it altogether; the weight of tradition was too strong. It was difficult to escape the feeling that the stars must have some influence on the characters and actions of human beings, but most intelligent men had a very natural distrust of the professional astrologer and almanac-maker, and probably agreed with those writers who maintained that the influence of the stars could be countered by education, climate, or the will. Only the free-thinkers, Professor Allen maintains, rejected astrology altogether.¹⁶ There is little reason to doubt that we have here a fair summary of Shakespeare's attitude. While he would have hesitated to deny that

¹⁶ *The Star-crossed Renaissance*, pp. 182-6.

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the stars could affect men's lives, there is nothing to suggest that he had so much faith in their influence as to deny the freedom of the will. Free-will is of the essence of tragedy, which cannot exist under determinism, and astrology is only a crude form of determinism. As an explanation of the tragic mystery, the inadequacy of Kent's

It is the stars,
The stars above us, govern our conditions

is patent even in the play in which it occurs.

On the other hand, Edmund, Iago, and Cassius, with their rejection of traditional modes of thought and their violent assertion of the individual, are all free-thinkers. Each of them is embittered, and his individualism is in part the outcome of resentment. Such individualism, Shakespeare implies, is subversive, for it threatens the higher principle of order. Gloucester's perception of discord, in spite of its false premises, is fundamentally sound, and the thought of Ulysses' great speech is at the very foundation of Shakespeare's feeling about nature and society. In no other play than *King Lear* has Shakespeare shown so clearly his conception of the horror of the violation of degree,¹⁷ and some of that horror is made explicit in the character of Edmund.

¹⁷ The play which comes closest to *King Lear* in its expression (in some respects even more violent) of horror at the violation of degree and order is, of course, *Timon of Athens*. Timon's speech in IV. i is the very antithesis of Ulysses' speech, and there is perhaps no more convincing proof of the significance for Shakespeare's mind of the ideas which he had made Ulysses expound than the way in which he portrays Timon's misanthropy as seeking to overthrow its principles point by point.

ANOTHER *OTHELLO* TOO MODERN

By ELMER EDGAR STOLL

Quamobrem dissentientium inter se reprehensiones non sunt vituperandae—
De Finibus I. viii. 27.

At the close of my previous article, in *ELH.*, March 1946, as I dealt with the improbable crediting of calumny, I quoted Mr. Granville-Barker's words on *King Lear* as applying still better to *Othello*: "A dramatist may postulate any situation he has the means to interpret, if he will abide by the logic of it after." Also I quoted Goethe's dictum, repeated by Yeats, as in a certain limited measure holding good: "Art is art because it is not nature." And now, as I approach a still more modern interpretation of the tragedy I find an appropriate preliminary, I think, in the words of Lanson. To *Othello*, a far less familiar story in Elizabethan England than *King Lear*, and one in which the whole tragedy, not merely the underplot, depends upon slander and impenetrable villainy, they particularly apply, besides offering a somewhat similar circumstantial illustration of the dramatic process. After exhibiting the high improbability of the central situation in Corneille's *Cid*, *Cinna*, and *Horace*, and after putting the question, in allusion to the subjects of both Greek and French classic tragedy, whether one has often seen fathers willing to cut the throats of daughters for a wind, sons who marry their mothers, lovers who vow, if not accepted as husbands, to kill their mistresses' children, Lanson continues:

Il n'est pas besoin que le fait tragique soit un fait divers de l'expérience quotidienne; il suffit qu'il contienne en son ampleur tout un ordre de faits, qu'il soit comme le "développement" prodigieux et fidèle d'une image cachée dans l'obscurité indécise du réel.

Il le sera si par la préparation scénique il est réduit de son invraisemblance singulière à la vraisemblance commune, si de faits donnés et acceptés, vrais ou vraisemblables, le poète nous conduit au fait extraordinaire par des liaisons si exactes, si justes, que nous ne puissions nous refuser à recevoir l'effet, ayant connu les causes, et que l'impossible de tout à l'heure nous apparaisse maintenant comme possible et même comme nécessaire.

Il faut pour cela, que les actes hors nature soient le produit de sentiments naturels . . . que toutes les passions . . . nous aient l'air d'être les effets des principes que nous sentons en nous, et que . . . les personnes tragiques ne

nous semblent pas des êtres artificiellement grossis et grandis mais des créatures affranchies des entraves extérieures ou intérieures qui nous lient dans la vie ordinaire . . .¹

Or, as Macaulay says of poetry in his essay on Milton: "After the first suppositions have been made, everything ought to be consistent; but those suppositions require a degree of credulity which almost amounts to a partial and temporary derangement of the intellect." Or, as Oscar Wilde has it, himself here leaning on Aristotle, "Man can believe the impossible, but man can never believe the improbable."

The impossible (or the improbable) made probable is, moreover, as on the authority not only here of Macaulay and Lanson but also of Aristotle and Corneille himself, which I have so pertinaciously cited, the special and peculiar element of the greatest poetic art. "The marvellous is certainly required in tragedy," says the Stagirite, though in the epic more practicable "because the agents are not visibly before one" (*cap.* xxiv); and in both he much prefers "a likely impossibility to an unconvincing possibility" (*cap.* xxiv, xxv). "Les grands sujets de la tragédie," and the Norman might well have added, "de la comédie"—witness Aristophanes, Ben Jonson, and Molière, as well as Shakespeare—"doivent toujours aller au delà du vraisemblable." Nowadays he would have added even the novel—Richardson (in *Clarissa*), Fielding (in *Tom Jones*), Scott, Dickens, Hugo, Balzac, Hardy. Stevenson and Yeats, dealing with Balzac, and Professor Elton, discussing Dickens, seem in accord, to judge by Stevenson's words as he celebrates the dramatic novel, in which

passion is the be-all and the end-all, the plot and the situation, the protagonist and the *deus ex machina* in one. The [chief] characters . . . become transfigured and raised out of themselves by passion . . . nice portraiture is not required.²

"What unreality there is," says of Dickens Gissing the novelist, "arises from the necessities of plot." The necessities (sometimes) of passion, I would say, under the aegis of Mr. L. A. G. Strong, the living novelist, as he holds that to Shakespeare "melodrama offered the chance to exhibit character at its highest pitch of intensity"; and from what

1 *Corneille* (1898), pp. 180-1.

2 Cf. my *From Shakespeare to Joyce* (1944), pp. 171-2.

Gissing has elsewhere said it would seem that he would quite agree. In the hands of the masters improbabilities are opportunities, as when Orestes harkens to the promptings of Apollo, Macbeth to those of the Weird Sisters and his Lady, Othello to those of Iago; and as I have elsewhere shown,³ when Tess kills Alec, Stendhal's Julien shoots Madame de Rênal or his Duchess of Sanseverina brings about the death of the Prince. So De Quincey says of Achilles, "In the sternest of his acts we read the anguish of his grief"; and Professor Gilbert Murray, "It is not the rage and cruelty that move us, but if they were not there we should not be moved so much."⁴ For as Hardy himself said, "Art is the secret of how to produce by a false thing the effect of a true."

Now Dickens, Chesterton maintains, "writes realism in order to make the incredible credible"; whereas "Thackeray writes it in order to make us recognize an old friend." The others, too, make us recognize old friends such as Major Pendennis; but for the sake of those who are scarcely such, Realism reassures us. Capulet and the Nurse, Benvolio and Mercutio, the Friar and the Servants, credibilize the high-flying lovers. Thus, in the venture, Shakespeare, like other great tragic poets, from Æschylus to Ibsen and including Corneille himself, relies somewhat on the minor characters, which, less strained by the exigencies of the situation, less dominated by passion, are more immediately, unmistakably human. And in Corneille Lanson finds that not only the "*réalité familière des caractères et des scènes de second plan*" but also "*les manières, si je puis dire, simples et communes de tous les personnages enveloppent l'idéal héroïque et nous le rendent plus abordable.*"⁵ If true of Corneille, how much truer, then, of Shakespeare! None of the Frenchman's heroes with whom I am acquainted himself momentarily approaches us—comes in high passion down to the level of simple humanity—as Othello does in "O, ill-starr'd *wench!*" or "Cold, cold, my *girl!* Even like thy chastity"; or as Lear, before he has lost his wits, absent-mindedly reading a riddle for the jester (I, v, 40) and, after

3 *From Shakespeare to Joyce*, pp. 184-92, 198-202.

4 *My Shakespeare and Other Masters* (1940), pp. 123, 154, 378-9.

5 *Corneille* (1898), pp. 178-9. Of the chief figures even in the contemporary novel Mauriac, the eminent practitioner of the art, observes: "Moins un personnage a d'importance, plus il a des chances d'avoir été pris à la réalité." Cf. *Shakespeare to Joyce*, pp. 67, 174-5; Huxley, *Iconoclasts* (1913), p. 92.

he has regained them, saying of the dead Cordelia (in an Elizabethan colloquialism), "And my *poor fool* is hanged," or, when almost at his last gasp, begging a bystander to "undo this button"; or as Hamlet, who, least of all, keeps to the *style noble*: "*Ah, ha, boy!*" . . . "Art thou there, *truepenny?*" . . . "Perchance to dream! Ay, *there's the rub*" . . . "*shuffl'd off this mortal coil*" . . . "Now might I do it *pat*" . . . "*trip* him that his heels may *kick* at heaven" . . . "makes *mouths* at th' invisible event" . . . "*popp'd in* between the election and my hopes." Both he and Lear can descend to the level even of comedy, even of prose. "It is the complete naturalness of the prose," says Mr. Rylands,⁶ "that makes the soliloquies so convincing." Prose and verse together, he says again, create characters as it were in another dimension; and the momentary, incidental comedy, I would add, brings the tragedy home. "Shakespeare approximates the remote," says Johnson, "and familiarises the wonderful."

Criticism being, as the late Professor Frederick Tupper observed, "largely a study in emphasis" (which is, of course, the emphasis of the author), to that it should sympathetically but equably and impartially respond. The interpretation of *Othello* with which I now undertake to deal—still more modern as I said above—is so, however, in the opposite direction; and is by one who (I cannot but think) seems to have learned the lesson of the autonomy of art only too well, and after a fashion that Goethe or the others, not to mention Shakespeare himself, would hardly have approved. With the impossible or improbable he has no dealings; and for him art is art, pretty nearly, because it *is* nature. Of art reaching so far beyond her he seems to have no conception, and consequently of the artifices whereby we are won over and reconciled he has no need. So little of Professor Murray's opinion that "the main reason for Realism is to produce illusion, and in particular to keep up illusion when it is in danger of breaking down," he is for Realism from start to finish, and seems impatient of "these shadows of imagination," as Coleridge calls them, which require "that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment which constitutes poetic faith." His belief, on the contrary, is whole-hearted and complete.

6 G. H. W. Rylands, *Words and Poetry* (1928), pp. 159, 165. In the first quotation, read: prose scenes.

In the last chapter of his book *Of Irony* (1935) Professor G. G. Sedgewick, dealing here with *Othello*, waves aside not only conventions and postulates but also even psychology, finding the course of events convincing (mysteriously) quite of itself, through the preparations employed and an irony all-pervading and -prevailing. Simply by the perilousness of Othello and Desdemona's union and the formidableness of the villain, we are led to expect and even "demand" the prodigious outcome as in the play we have it:

the actual facts that are laid before [the spectator] have a very great body, sufficient of itself to induce an expectation of catastrophe. . . . That body of knowledge . . . is given shape and direction and momentum by the mind of Iago; the most powerful mind, perhaps, to which Shakespeare gave the shape of illusion. . . . These two forces—the body of knowledge and the force that directs it—are surely *meant* [italics the writer's] to produce in the spectator a certain attitude of mind towards the marriage. . . . And this attitude is evoked at the very beginning to support the sense that the marriage, romantic and noble though it may be in itself, is at the very least subject to great risks. Further, it is meant to create, as the play proceeds, an expectation that a catastrophe is not only probable but inevitable [p. 75].

So (p. 87) "the illusion created in *Othello* by the end of the first act," says the critic, "is to me irresistible." And later (p. 91):

We have already got beyond need of "psychological justification" or likelihood; in fact, in the theatre we never have any such scientific need. And in the theatre, a chain of visible acts prepares far more competently for reversal of fortune than any amount of thick-piled convention. It is the preparation proper to a play; and, in this play at least, the chain is visible to the eye of irony alone.

A play cryptic, then, and a difficult; esoteric, really; for the one eye, not those of the multitudinous, heterogeneous intelligences at the Globe. Still, with that eye, as we are to learn, all of these are presumed, improbably enough, to be from the outset provided.

It is remarkable how deeply impressed Mr. Sedgewick is by Iago's and Roderigo's case against the Moor and by the inherent riskiness of his marriage. By Iago's speaking out to Brabantio "our minds are tainted," his words "stick" (p. 79); and on p. 86 he says: "Iago's words and cast of mind are indeed ugly and false; but the falsehood has in it a real grain of truth that is denied by no one in the stage-life." The first

Since Professor T. W. Baldwin has amply demonstrated that Shakespeare's "small Latine" was actually the classical training that constituted the very solid curriculum of the English grammar school of the sixteenth century, there is need, now that the necessary tools are available, to analyze what Shakespeare did with the training that he shared with his contemporaries. The question for scholarly and critical studies to answer is no longer one of his indebtedness to some particular Latin poem for ideas or images, but of how and why, in accord with the doctrine of imitation which he learned from his schooling, he selected, combined, and transmuted the material which first fired his imagination. The student, in analyses of this type, can also exploit the advantage of being able to ascertain, from the school texts of the time, the metaphors, comparisons, and *sententiae* that were selected for special attention and prospective imitation by the pupil. In many editions of classical authors prepared for schoolroom use, such passages were singled out by some device, such as being printed in distinctive type. Moreover, they were collected in the printed commonplace-books that came to occupy a favored position in the reference library of the aspiring writer.

Knowing the passages that the Renaissance master chose for special emphasis from the schoolroom classics, the modern scholar can study the way in which various Elizabethans adapted them to their own purposes in their English writings. Investigations of this sort would go much further than the mere collecting of apparently parallel passages, and would avoid the usual fallacies of the parallel-passage method, such as asserting that resemblances in the phraseology of Renaissance commonplaces prove either that one passage was derived directly from the other, or that they indicate identity of authorship, or that they provide a means for dating literary works. Such studies would, on the contrary, enforce a realization that certain ideas owed their pervasiveness to their having been impressed upon every educated man of the period during his impressionable school years. The ultimate source of these ideas, for the Renaissance, was the grammar-school author in

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and he even quotes Roderigo to that effect:

What a full fortune does the thick-lips owe!

But the "phrase" used by Iago's "silly gentleman" is surely not "*ominous*"; and the Moor's speech, spoken only in self-defence, not in arrogance, is, in our present-day parlance, glossed as "My natural abilities, my lawful claim as Desdemona's husband, and my unblemished affection."⁸ On pages 84-5, moreover, the critic insists that in scene iii the Moor and Desdemona in going off together are "isolating themselves." Ostracism, and social suicide, of which there is not the slightest evidence in the play! "Inevitable" is Mr. Sedgewick's word about the outcome, directly or indirectly repeated. "The love of Othello and Desdemona is in itself unclouded," says Mr. Middleton Murry, appreciably nearer to Shakespeare; "and had there been no Iago it would have endured to death."⁹

Some light on the subject of the miscegenation is thrown by Cinthio, the source. What Mr. Sedgewick seems to have on his mind is a black's infatuation with a white. In the *novella* (what to Mr. Sedgewick would be still more "horrible," no doubt) it is the other way round. It is Desdemona that fell in love—*s'innamorò*—with the Moor; but "drawn by his valor"—*dalla virtù*; "and he, vanquished by the beauty and the noble sentiments of Desdemona, returned her love." It is as in Shakespeare:

My story being done,
She gave me for my pains a world of sighs.
She swore, in faith, 'twas strange, 'twas passing strange,
'Twas pitiful, 'twas wondrous pitiful.
She wish'd she had not heard it; yet she wish'd
That Heaven had made her such a man. She thank'd me,
And bade me, if I had a friend that lov'd her,
I should but teach him how to tell my story,
And that would woo her. Upon this hint I spake;

8 Or, by Professor Kittredge, as: "My past deeds (which have all been honourable) my title as general-in-chief (which vouches for my honour) and my unblemished conscience." Othello is no more guilty of *hybris* than Hippolytus, justifying himself, in the celebrated words to Theseus:

Le jour n'est pas plus pur que le fond de mon coeur.

9 *Countries of the Mind* (1922), pp. 25-6. Cf. my *Shakespeare and Other Masters*, pp. 197-8, and Murry's *Shakespeare* (1936), ch. xiv, xv.

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She lov'd me for the dangers I had pass'd,
And I lov'd her that she did pity them.
(I, iii, 158-68)

Professor Kittredge (and others) are, of course, justified in insisting that in Elizabethan English generally "hint" means no more than "occasion" or "opportunity"; but in the context the word (as even the substitutes would) means more, and the great scholar seems to be doing violence to both wording and situation, as well as the character, by making the pronoun "her," in l. 163, the accusative case. On hearing such a story, in response to her own request, a delicate romantic maiden—"never bold," "of spirit so still and quiet that her motion blushed at herself"—does not thereupon repudiate her sex or deny her nature, and, as in the silly old song, "wish that I were born a boy"; but falls in love with the man who tells it, thus taking the initiative, indeed, but—perfect love casteth out fear—only like Shakespeare's other truly romantic heroines, Silvia, Rosalind, Portia of Belmont, Helena of Rousillon, and Miranda. They all, in their timorous advances or eager surrender, hint; and both Silvia and Julia, as well as Viola, Imogen, and Helena of Athens (still more venturesomely but faithfully romantic), even go out, like Spenser's Una and Britomart, seeking the object of their desire.¹⁰ In so doing they may temporarily take to boys' clothing, but not at all in the spirit of tomboys, amazons, or suffragettes. Romance, at its height it overrides decorum. Or if here Desdemona herself might seem to have a perverted taste, or be embracing an Adlerian "masculine protest," Shakespeare, again following Cinthio, has duly provided against it—

She lov'd me for the *dangers* I had pass'd
and

I saw Othello's visage in his *mind*.

"If hint in this passage had the modern meaning," says Professor Kittredge again, "Othello's 'Upon this hint I spake' would be unpardonable." But the immediate situation—love itself—demands it, in both Othello's interest and also Desdemona's own. The Moor is charged with using "spells and medicines"; the pair are threatened with divorce; and

¹⁰ Cf. *Shakespeare to Joyce*, pp. 244-5.

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nothing could be more delicate or irreproachable than the hero's confutation—

How I did thrive in this fair lady's love,
And she in mine.

Which is before an adequately romantic court, we must likewise remember—

Or came it by request and such fair question,
asks the First Senator,

As soul to soul affordeth?

and never was self-exoneration lighter in touch or more exquisitely chivalrous than Othello's at its close:

This only is the witchcraft I have us'd.
Here comes the lady; let her witness it.

"Der wunderschöne Zug!" exclaims who but a German philologist, like the Duke himself:

I think this tale would win my daughter too.

To put the blame on the interracial and runaway marriage, moreover, is like giving Othello, as many critics do, something of a jealous or suspicious predisposition, which Shakespeare, on the other hand, is repeatedly careful to deny him; or like giving Desdemona "enough of the 'supersubtle Venetian' of Iago's description," as Mr. Shaw would do, "to strengthen the case for Othello's jealousy"; or like allowing for a lapse of time, as still other critics would do, and letting Desdemona and Cassio make the voyage together: for any of these would be implicitly, as with Mr. Sedgewick it is expressly and at the outset, to throw the advantage of the initial postulate quite away. That is, it would heighten the plausibility but reduce the sympathy—reduce also Iago's power, upon which Mr. Sedgewick is so insistent—and consequently the irony, of course. There may be, as too often there is, an irony in reaping what you have sown; but as the tragedy is written, you reap what you have not sown. An enemy hath done this, as in the parable, while men slept. The irony here lies also in being repeatedly so near to seeing the truth, as when the hero once cries out "If thou dost slander

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her and torture me," and when Emilia twice suspects some "wretch," some "eternal villain" (IV, ii, 15, 130), has put the notion into Othello's head;¹¹ or, quite as much, in Othello's and Desdemona's being so obviously far from seeing it, as when the villain, by the *optique du théâtre* (which we presently notice), shows his colors—in either case that is the point of the repeated "honest" and "honesty" on not only the hero's but others' lips, which "maddens" Mr. Sedgewick—or (more than ever) in really seeing it, as when the hero, deluded, stands denuded, stripped bare by his own hand:

Cold, cold, my girl,
Even like thy chastity.

Iago himself does not share Mr. Sedgewick's quite matter-of-fact expectations. Except in stirring up Brabantio, under cover of darkness, he does not insist upon race or color. What he says to Roderigo, from time to time, is dexterously, flexibly suited to the occasion; the same is true of what he later says to Othello, after he has got him excited; but in soliloquy (II, i), having already told Roderigo that "these Moors are changeable" and that "Desdemona must change for youth" (on this point he several times touches), he goes so far as to acknowledge that the Moor

Is of a constant, loving, noble nature,
And I dare think he'll prove to Desdemona
A most dear husband.

In any case, what he later intimates to the Moor concerning the perilousness of the union is not at all what Mr. Sedgewick has in mind, but a positive perversion in the woman herself:

Not to affect many proposed matches
Of her own clime, complexion,¹² and degree,

.

Foh! one may smell in such a will most rank,
(III, iii, 229)

¹¹ Her suspicion, going no farther, has caused the critics much trouble, Bradley, for instance (*Shak. Trag.* (1908), pp. 439-40); but it is the chief support to the convention of slander and to the impression of Iago's impenetrable honesty. (See below.) And Othello, she knows, as well as Desdemona and Iago, would not have got the notion of himself.

¹² "Temperament," as Professor Kittredge says, not color.

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and in Venetian women generally:

I know our country disposition well;
In Venice they do let Heaven see the pranks
They dare not show their husbands . . .
(III, iii, 201)

What Mr. Sedgewick has in mind, and Shakespeare apparently has not, is instinctive racial antipathy or misunderstanding: that (together with the isolation) is what, he thinks, is in store. In Cinthio the Ensign once touches upon Othello's color, to which he declares, Desdemona "has taken an aversion"; but not so Iago. And in Cinthio, while suffering from the Moor's jealousy after it has been aroused by the Ensign, Desdemona tells his wife she "fears Italian ladies may learn from me not to wed a man whom nature and habitude of life estrange from us";¹³ but in Shakespeare she does nothing of the sort, nor does Iago suggest it.

And Shakespeare himself does not seem to share Mr. Sedgewick's notion of a postulate. "Spectators have really no need to carry into the theatre an elaborate apparatus of convention" (p. 78, etc.). Yes, in Shakespearian tragedy they have really no need to; for, though not at all elaborate, it is, in two notable instances, and of quite the same sort, there at hand already. As I indicated in the preceding discussion, in both *Othello* and *King Lear* the initial postulate of calumny credited is in a pair of lines (and where it should be, at the outset of the action) explicitly and precisely provided—

That thinks men honest that but seem to be so . . .
(I, iii, 406)

Whose nature is so far from doing harms
That he suspects none.
(I, ii, 196)

And this was, by the Elizabethan audience, probably even more readily accepted than another convention, which (though not occurring in this tragedy) Mr. Sedgewick could not so lightly throw overboard—disguise. By that, as not by the calumny, they are called upon to distrust, not their wits merely, but their very eyes and ears.¹⁴ And certainly the convention,

¹³ Cui la Natura, et il Cielo, et il modo di vita disgiunge da noi.

¹⁴ *Shakespeare and Other Masters*, p. 270.

as furnished in the lines half quoted above, presents no such difficulties to an audience as the passage here already quoted from page 75 in Mr. Sedgewick. There he, at the same time, discloses, "I read the play now with the effects of dramatic irony playing all round me"; and as he says later, "beyond the need of psychological justification or likelihood." Whereas only in the postulates Macaulay and Lanson—besides Shakespeare himself, apparently—demand such licentious freedom from the fetters of realism. "After the first suppositions . . . everything ought to be consistent"; "par des liaisons si exactes, si justes, que nous ne puissions nous refuser à recevoir l'effet." To Mr. Sedgewick the postulate provided is unimportant, either non-existent or superfluous. "His plays," says Sir Walter Raleigh of Shakespeare, on the other hand, "open with a postulate."¹⁵ For, besides *Othello*, where the hero does not know his wife, friend, or enemy, and *Lear*, where two fathers do not know their own children, and *Timon*, where the hero does not know the grateful dependents from the false, there is play after play, tragedy or comedy, from *Titus Andronicus* to *Cymbeline*, where villainy prevails. And there is *Hamlet*, with the Ghost's disclosures and the injudicious lunacy, as well as *Macbeth*, with the prophecies partly fulfilled even in the third scene; and in the second scene of *1 Henry IV*, Prince Hal's apology for consorting with the roisterers, of which the clever Mr. James Agate says in the London *Sunday Times*, Aug. 25, 1946, quoting Quiller-Couch to support him, that he knows no more revolting passage in the whole of English literature. He, too, knows not how to value a postulate. Yet no less authoritative a personage than Henry James, parenthetically in his "Art of Fiction," speaks of the truth that even the novelist of our day "assumes, the premises that we must grant him." Such assumptions are to be found not only in *La Peau de Chagrin* but also where no supernatural or fantastic element is involved, as in *La Cousine Bette*; and in James's own stories where it is involved, like *The Turn of the Screw*, it is provided with psychological preparations, not only in the mind of the reader, through report within report, remoteness of time and place, skepticism or superstitiousness in the teller, but also in the excited and predisposed mind of the ghost-seer. (Cf. *Shakespeare*

¹⁵ *Shakespeare* (1907), p. 134, *bis*. Also, "his opening scenes are often a kind of postulate," as in *King Lear*, *Hamlet*, and the *Merchant of Venice*.

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Studies, p. 234.) Coleridge himself, recognizing and repeatedly insisting that Othello is not jealous by nature,^{15a} might seem to be accepting the convention of the calumniator credited as he pronounces the belief "forced upon him by Iago." That—the postulate—instead of a psychology nearly as specious, may be one of the impossibilities which Aristotle would have considered justifiable, because "they make the effect of some portion of the work more striking" (*cap.* xxv). Which is life "at high tide," as Yeats much prefers it—as, I suppose, in *Hamlet*, *Lear*, *Macbeth*, and nearly all of Shakespearian and Athenian drama, where, alike, is "something of an old wives' tale."¹⁶

Even with a postulate, "something of old wives' tale," we must, however, remember, *Othello* remains; and the advantage of the device lies mainly in the story-telling and the sympathy. Here, "after the first suppositions," *not* "everything is consistent." For a hero "not easily jealous" the Moor is a little too quickly and readily responsive to Iago's suggestions or innuendos.¹⁷ But the situation demands it: drama must be swift and compressed, and the response to a temptation that begins in the third Scene of the third Act cannot well be so hesitant or resistant as Macaulay's or Lanson's consistency would demand. And for the same purposes of situation Desdemona changes too. Though so tactful with her father in hiding her feelings—to the point of eloping—she is not tactful with her husband at all in disclosing her feelings so completely as she espouses Cassio's cause; and though so firm and self-assertive in choosing between her husband and her father, she is submissiveness itself under the authority and anger of the Moor.

Curiously, though, Mr. Sedgewick does half recognize the structure supporting and credibilizing the convention of slander (pp. 89-90)—the fact that everybody else is taken in by Iago's honesty and sagacity, including his own wife. Of this, however, the spectators have need only to save the hero's reputation with them in point of credulity or sus-

15a T. M. Raysor, ed., *Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism* (1930), i, 125; ii, 276, 350.

16 *Essays* (1924), p. 342. Cf. *PMLA* (March, 1948), "Symbolism in Coleridge," where *The Ancient Mariner* is treated as such a tale; requiring, as Lowes has it, that "for the poets, we accept the poet's premises."

17 This matter I have in later discussions too much neglected. Cf. my "Mainly Controversy," *P.Q.*, xxiv (1945), 314; my "Othello All-Too Modern," *ELH.*, xiii (1946), 52. But see my *Othello* (1915), pp. 10, 16, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25, 31, 34. The change in Desdemona, however, is natural.

piciousness, for upon the other characters the action puts no particular strain. Yet Iago's reputation in Venice for honesty and sagacity is not enough. Only by the postulate of thinking men honest that but seem to be so, can, in Othello's mind or that of the spectators, Iago, tale-telling, outweigh Cassio and Desdemona, unquestioned and unheard.

On the other hand, the critic immediately refuses, or (more probably) fails, to recognize the *optique du théâtre*, though that convention is no farther from life than the other and, manifestly, would give his irony greater scope. That is, for the effect on the audience, Iago plays the hypocrite besides being one; just as Tartuffe does, to the dissatisfaction of La Bruyère, who was not a dramatist, but to the satisfaction of Dumas fils, who was one, and as Antony in his funeral oration plays the demagogue besides being one, to the satisfaction (as we shall see) of Mr. Eliot, who is a dramatist too. Twice at length (pp. 37, 92) Mr. Sedgewick quotes Iago's speech after the quarrel between Cassio and Montano as if quite convincing to those on the stage, without his perceiving this double effect. Before that the villain has looked "dead for grieving," and presently mutters,

And would in action glorious I had lost
Those legs that brought me to a part of it.

Then, bid tell the whole truth, he rises, less unconvincingly indeed, to the occasion:

Touch me not so near.
I had rather have this tongue cut from my mouth
Than it should do offence to Michael Cassio,

yet concludes, in Pecksniffian forbearance:

But men are men; the best sometimes forget.

Our Ancient surrendering legs and tongue—where now, I wonder, is Mr. Sedgewick's "eye of irony" or that of his audience? The hypocrisy is here as evident as in his later maneuvers when beginning the temptation—in his upsetting echoes, his shrugs and lifted eyebrows:

Indeed!
Oth. Indeed! ay, indeed:—discern'st thou aught in that?
Is he not honest?

Iago. Honest, my lord?

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Oth. Honest, ay, honest.

Iago. My lord, for aught I know.

Oth. What dost thou think?

Iago. Think, my lord?

(Honest, in another sense—frank in manner—that, pretty conspicuously, is not.) Or as when, Othello declaring Iago conspires against his friend,

If thou but think'st him wrong'd and mak'st his ear
A stranger to thy thoughts,

the histrionic Ancient dominates as he deprecates, and ends up with the words:

It were not for your quiet nor your good,
Nor for my manhood, honesty, and wisdom,
To let you know my thoughts.

(III, iii, 152-4)

"Thoughts, thoughts, meditations and apprehensions—it is as if he had them there in his hand, half opened it, then held it behind him, and in the last drawling, tantalizing line, half-opened it again, lest they might after all be forgotten."¹⁸

Now Iago, both a hypocrite and also playing the hypocrite, is, of course, like Tartuffe, a psychological incongruity. In our day, the latter, then, like (for that matter) the virtuous playing the virtuous, is as liable to be misunderstood as Iago. So Charles Lamb, Webster's White Devil being in court, is taken in by her "innocence-resembling boldness," which is pretty transparently brazen; and of Ford's Spartan Calantha, dancing on after news of the death of father, of friend, of lover, he exclaims, "Who would be less weak than Calantha, who can be so strong?" In the latter case the dramatist himself overdoes, like Shakespeare with Brutus, though this character is commonly misunderstood in the opposite direction—as parading his virtue—when he acts as if he had not heard of Portia's death. But as Mr. C. S. Lewis (and others) have noticed,¹⁹ "all art faces the spectator"; theatrical art, moreover, being, unlike the novel, story compressed and telescoped, is

¹⁸ *Shakespeare and Other Masters*, p. 264; and cf. pp. 261-5, 341-2, on the *optique* as recognized also by Sainte-Beuve and Sarcey. In my recognizing this double aspect Mr. Sedgewick finds only inconsistency.

¹⁹ *Preface to Paradise Lost* (1942), p. 19; my *Poets and Playwrights* (1930), p. 29.

many-sided. It must hold a promiscuous, heterogeneous audience together; and the actors are to face now them, now other actors on the stage. Even when there is no conscious (or unconscious) feigning there may be *optique du théâtre*. As Mr. Eliot observes:

A speech in a play should never appear to be intended to move us as it might conceivably move others in the play, for it is essential that we should preserve our position of spectators, and observe always from the outside, though with complete understanding. . . . The object of our attention is not the speech of Antony (*Bedeutung*) but the effect of his speech upon the mob, and Antony's intention, his preparation and consciousness of the effect.²⁰

In playing the hypocrite, therefore, as Antony, harping on "honorable men" and obviously maneuvering, both plays the demagogue and also is one, and (I would add) somewhat as Falstaff, with his story of the knaves in buckram and Kendal green, both plays the braggart and also is one; so Iago or Tartuffe is not betraying himself, nor is the dramatist bungling with him; for this is drama, not reality; and the hypocrite, as well as the innocent, the two scoundrels play supremely well. And no wonder that Mr. Sedgewick is "maddened" by the repeated "honest," for in life many in Venice or Cyprus would soon have been; but on this improbable unanimity concerning the impression Iago produces the probability of the tragedy depends. Fortunately, he himself is not one of those few and queerest of readers, who, like Venice and Cyprus on the stage, have thought this man really honest "that but seems to be so"; yet only the convincingly—honestly—played honesty is he willing to see.

Why, though, this double rôle? As reality, how much more plausible if the villain did not twist or turn, advance or retreat, tease and tantalize, shrug or echo, raise his finger or (in Othello's own words) "contract and purse thy brow."²¹ As I have already intimated, but shown more fully elsewhere, the double rôle is to give the villain greater range of action and expression.²² In the Temptation scene from which I have quoted a little above, and even in the scenes where he is manipulating

²⁰ *The Sacred Wood* (1920), p. 75. Here, perhaps, in Mr. Eliot's words, if not in those of La Bruyère and Dumas fils, Mr. Sedgewick may find the explanation of the "two apparently contradictory views" of Iago's demeanor he speaks of, pp. 90-1.

²¹ III, iii, 113.

²² *Shakespeare and Other Masters*, pp. 255, 263.

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Roderigo, Iago, in the amplitude of his imposture, is highly poetical: hinting and reiterating, cajoling or commanding, fluctuating or rhapsodizing, he becomes an oracle, of an unholy sort. And as I have also said,

the emotional advantages of neither convention—the calumniator credited or the *optique*—can be exploited, the contrast and irony be fully developed, except as the two conventions are combined; that is, the innocent person made unable to penetrate, not merely a pretense that is almost imperceptible, but one that is now and then apparent. What, indeed, is the use of the fiction of a greater credulity than in life if there is not, before our eyes, something more than in life to be credited?

This *optique* in the characterization, by the way, is really like that in disguise, and that in overt impersonation or feigning, as when Hamlet plays the lunatic. For the audience (again) the actor fills two rôles, not one. And there is even something of a parallel in the references to the time and place of the action. Here again is telescoping, a double effect, perceptible not only in Elizabethan drama but also, despite the poet's efforts to avoid it, in the classical, whether French or ancient—"long time" and "short time," one set of references to make the violent and precipitate action more plausible, another to make it swifter and more exciting—but an inconsistency, though jeered at in *Othello* by Rymmer, which has since the day of Christopher North been in that drama and others of Shakespeare's rightly considered an artistic exploit. It was partly, of course, unconscious and incidental, the result of compressing an epical narrative—*novella* or legend—into the three-hour theatrical mould; and this not like the classical, which presented only the final stages of the story, but comprising the initial as well. Yet it was artful, too, as designed for a play to be acted, not read. On the one hand the references do not openly clash; on the other, they do not produce any obviously puzzling effect of ambiguity or paradox. In a single scene—the long one of the Temptation—as the hero, after being off the stage for forty lines, reappears, Iago, to make it conspicuous, gloats over the change in him—"Not poppy nor mandragora" and the rest. But in life itself change demands time, and so Othello declares he slept the next night well, finding not Cassio's kisses on her lips, as if at least a day had intervened. Whereas no day does; and in scene after scene, with "good morrow"—"dinner"—"supper"—"tonight"—"this night, Iago"—

"by midnight"—the action rushes to a conclusion. In the theatre neither effect interferes with the other, not plausibility with rapidity of movement, nor *vice versa*. And so with the hypocrisy, the apparent and the veiled.

For, it is to be remembered, we (as there we ourselves remember) are in the theatre; and if right spectators, are, as both Dr. Johnson and Coleridge noticed, neither completely deluded nor completely judicial in temper.²³ As an audience, somewhat as if a mob, we, for the time, live contagiously in our impressions and emotions, keeping our powers of comparison and judgment suspended, and exercising them only when expected or when the impressions really clash. As the late Granville-Barker put it,

the audience must not only be made to hear but to listen, to want to hear; to feel also and imagine (not to think; they should not be let think till the play is over, and about many plays not even then). They have somehow to be *transported out of themselves* into the imagined world of the play.²⁴

Which is even what Longinus had said, and Shakespeare criticism, in its realism, has generally ignored.²⁵

In the process of the *optique*, moreover, as I have already suggested, the irony is developed or accentuated, the suspense heightened. Will the hero (or another character) now detect the hypocrisy, or will he not, and how? The suspense is momentary (except as it arouses expectations of later detection): the irony is more abiding. Really, as I have said elsewhere, the *optique* often is only a form of irony, which likewise requires repetitions and reminders of the contrast involved. But except as the initial postulate has been accepted and remembered, along with Iago's honesty and sagacity in the eyes of not only the hero but all the others, the impression produced by the characters is stupidity, and the effect of the drama not irony but, as upon the late Poet Laureate, "exasperation." And either that or this, of course, would never do.

²³ Coleridge's *Letters* (1895), p. 663. Coleridge himself says, as "in dreams." But I think, rather, that the spectator surrenders like the Wedding-Guest and "listens like a three years' child." In dreams there is *no* censorship; not so in theatre or nursery.

²⁴ *Dramatic Method* (1931), p. 32. This principle (in keeping with his words cited above, at the beginning of the article) the great critic himself ignores in his interpretation of *Othello* (1945).

²⁵ *On the Sublime*, I. 4; XV. 2.

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On contrast, furthermore, as in fact we have seen, irony itself, of which Mr. Sedgewick makes so much, depends—that is, generally, on a contrast between reality and human failure to perceive it. For the effect, then, the reality must be there. Subsequently to the initial postulate—“after the first suppositions,” as Macaulay has it—along with the villain’s conventionally established reputation for honesty and sagacity and the accommodation to the audience in the *optique du théâtre*, there must be the “psychological justification or likelihood” that Mr. Sedgewick sweeps away. There must be at least the “semblance of truth” that both Coleridge and Plutarch²⁶ directly speak of and Aristotle, like most sound critics since, continually implies. Or if a contemporary authority is demanded, Mr. Percy Lubbock, who more than implies it (*italics his own*): “Fiction must *look* true.”²⁷ That is, subordinately, if not predominantly, there must be a fairly discernible relation of cause and effect between the acting and the thinking or feeling of the characters—a psychology, in short, though, as I myself have frequently insisted, not of a “scientific,” a bookish kind. Once the machinery of imposture is got under way it moves on acceptably enough: the most unplausible incident—Othello’s being taken in while overhearing Iago’s manipulated colloquy with Cassio, in Act IV, scene i—is the plausible consequence of the unplausible but already accepted jealous rage. Mr. Sedgewick says much of illusion; but it must be, in Sarcey’s words, “l’illusion de la vérité.” Without some measure of “justification or likelihood” there will be no illusion; and without the illusion, no irony. For one half of the contrast will be then missing, and the failure to perceive the reality not perceived. That is the case, I cannot but think, with Mr. Sedgewick’s interpretation.

Strangely, but in the circumstances naturally enough, Mr. Sedgewick, having by his procedure so little basis for his irony left, insists upon it; and, so, to the considerable diminution of the pity and fear. He insists, indeed, that by his irony this effect is heightened; but how he does not

26 *How to Study Poetry*, 25 B: “yet it (poetry) does not forsake the semblance of truth, since imitation depends upon plausibility for its allurements”; *Biographia Literaria*, chap. xiv: “yet so as to transfer from our inward nature a human interest and a semblance of truth sufficient to procure for those shadows of imagination that willing suspension of disbelief, for the moment, which constitutes poetic faith.”

27 *Craft of Fiction* (n.d.), p. 132.

show, nor do I see. He considers the tragic outcome, as we have it, both inherently "inevitable" and also to the spectator desirable. The spectator not only accepts the catastrophe without any doubts, but positively demands its coming (pp. 76, 87, 94). Here, again, the critic is one-sided. At a tragedy—and especially upon a stage hung with black!—the spectator does expect a tragic outcome; and even in a play like this, the story of which was not familiar, the preparations—the hero's own foreboding²⁸ as well as the villain's prophecy—encourage the expectation. So far, he desires it. But—and that is the note of tragedy—he also fears it. There is (again) a double effect; but the fear and pity should outweigh the demand or desire. And he certainly would have the "doubts" if the action carries with it no more "justification or likelihood," whether realistically or conventionally created, than Mr. Sedgewick allows.

The fundamental trouble with Mr. Sedgewick (if I may say so) is his conception of the audience. For him, as we have seen, the mere situation (without the postulate and from the outset) is not only rather horrible but inherently perilous; and in the eyes of the audience, also, he thinks it is. But the main reason for his taking it that the audience not only expect but demand a tragic outcome is, as I have intimated, that they are "ironists." That is, Mr. Sedgewick believes not only (as he says) in "specific dramatic irony" but a "general dramatic irony." "The whole attitude of the interested spectator is ironic; by the very fact that he is such a spectator, he is an ironist" (p. 29). I should say that he is rightly so only when by the dramatist invited or provoked to be, as when (though this, as we have seen, is not to the critic's liking) Iago is called honest, or when the Moor, already excited, exclaims,

Why, why is this?
Think'st thou I'd make a life of jealousy?
.
.
.
.
.
No, Iago;
I'll see before I doubt, when I doubt, prove;
And on the proof, there is no more but this,
Away at once with love and jealousy.

Normally, at tragedy if not at comedy, the spectator is open-minded and

²⁸ II, i, 191 ff.

Another Othello Too Modern

open-hearted, sympathetic, not critical or aloof. If the right sort of spectator, he is almost wholly responsive to the dramatist, anxiously on the side of the hero and the heroine, and considerably better provided than Mr. Sedgewick seems to be against the arts of the villain. That is, he would not be impressed with Iago's "case" against the marriage, in which Iago himself, as is apparent,²⁹ does not really believe. It would be a difficult customer for the dramatist to handle, one "the current of whose mind is powerfully set" by the first scene, and whose "mind is tainted with the grossness of Iago's images," which "stick." *This* "foul story about a stranger is" *not* "bound to colour reception of him when we meet him" (p. 79). Even in this first scene, Iago's diabolical chicanery is perfectly apparent—"I am not what I am"!—or if not sufficiently so, a spectator's "irony" would be more likely to move, not in company with it, but, as I have already intimated, in the opposite direction, and speedily penetrate to it.

29 If nowhere else, at II, i, 297-300; II, iii, 341-68; IV, i, 45-9.

THE "COPY" FOR THE SECOND QUARTO OF
OTHELLO (1630)

By CHARLTON HINMAN

It is generally agreed that the first two editions of Shakespeare's *Othello*, the quarto of 1622 (Q1) and the First Folio version of 1623 (F), were printed from different manuscripts of at least approximately equal authority. An editor of the play is therefore initially confronted with an unusually difficult textual problem; but this problem has been further complicated by the suggestion that a third early edition, the quarto of 1630 (Q2), may in part have been derived from an "independent" third manuscript. Thus not only would we have a rather embarrassing wealth of "authority" for the text of *Othello*, but Q2 would be of far higher textual value than any other post-1623 quarto of a play by Shakespeare. Although the validity of the "independent manuscript" theory has been doubted, some of our most distinguished textual scholars still hesitate to reject this theory altogether;¹ whereas even editors of *Othello* who have been willing, without explanation, to deny any textual authority whatever to Q2 have yet invariably (and at times altogether unnecessarily) adopted some of its readings; and editors who have not unequivocally rejected the "independent manuscript" hypothesis have been equally inconsistent in their use of the Q2 text. Hence it seems desirable to re-examine the hypothesis. No doubt it has continued to be somewhat vaguely entertained chiefly because very little really positive evidence either for or against it has been advanced for many years. It now seems possible, however, to present evidence that has not heretofore been fully exploited—and perhaps

1 "If the critics are right," wrote Dr. Greg noncommittally in 1928, "not only were the first quarto and the folio printed from independent manuscripts, but in 1630 a second quarto, printed from the first, included passages only found in the folio, but printed them, not from the folio, but from an independent manuscript. Thus we appear to have two collateral authorities for the shorter text of 1622, and likewise two collateral authorities for the additional passages first printed in 1623." (W. W. Greg, "Principles of Emendation in Shakespeare," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xiv (1928), 180.) Sir Edmund Chambers felt, in 1930, that the "independent manuscript" theory had been suggested "perhaps unnecessarily" (*William Shakespeare* (1930), i, 461), and Dr. Greg has comparatively recently indicated (in *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare* (1942), p. 111) that he shares this feeling; but both have reserved final judgment.

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even to demonstrate, once and for all, either that Q₂ represents one of "two collateral authorities" for certain parts of *Othello*, or that it can no longer possibly be supposed to be derived from any manuscript version of the play or to possess any shred of textual authority.

Despite Collier's complaint that "nothing like sufficient attention" had until then been paid to the 1630 quarto of *Othello*—since, he declared, this quarto "was unquestionably printed from a manuscript different from that used for the quarto of 1622, or for the folio of 1623"²—it was rather the more moderate statement of the Cambridge editors that effectively established the "independent manuscript" theory. In 1866 Clark and Wright correctly observed that "the Quarto of 1630 must have been printed from a copy of the Quarto of 1622, which had received additions and corrections"—and they presently added that "these additions and corrections, though agreeing for the most part with the first Folio, which had appeared in the interval, were derived from an independent source."³ Evans strongly endorsed this view, and offered evidence to support it, in his Introduction to the Praetorius facsimile of Q₂ (1885), and in the following year it was accepted by Furness, the editor of the New Variorum *Othello*—though only after the cautious qualification that "it by no means follows that 'this independent source' was Shakespeare or his MS."⁴ Since then opinions among commentators have varied widely. In 1912 Dr. Parrott, while apparently accepting the independent manuscript theory, yet held Q₂ to be of "little value."⁵ In 1924 the [American] Arden edition declared bluntly (p. vi) that Q₂ has "no independent value," whereas the 1934 revision of the [English] Arden edition still speaks confidently (p. xii) of "the three principal texts." The New Temple editor, writing in 1935, mentions the possibility that Q₂'s additions to Q₁ may have been derived, not from an *independent* manuscript, but from the manuscript that was used as printer's copy for F; yet he presently declares that the man who prepared the copy for Q₂ "cannot be proved, nor I think supposed, to have had access to any MS."⁶

2 *The Works of William Shakespeare* (1843), vii, 494.

3 *The Works of William Shakespeare* (1866). Quoted from the second edition (1892), viii, p. xiii.

4 "New Variorum" Shakespeare (1886), vi, 343.

5 *Othello*, "The Tudor Shakespeare" (1912), p. viii.

6 *Othello*, "New Temple Shakespeare," ed. M. R. Ridley (1935), p. xv.

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Kittredge more categorically denies Q₂ any authority⁷—but then proceeds to adopt a number of its readings even in places where both Q₁ and F furnish a perfectly acceptable text. It is above all this kind of deference to the authority of Q₂, in practice if not in theory, that indicates the need for inquiring further into the real nature of the copy from which this edition was printed.

That Q₂ was for the most part printed from a copy of Q₁ is immediately apparent when the two are closely compared. In the earlier seventeenth century even a book that was intended throughout to be an exact reprint of an earlier edition ordinarily shows abundant signs, in small formal details, of the habits and individual preferences of the later compositor. Hence the similarity between the two *Othello* quartos, of which the second is certainly not a mere reprint of the first, is striking indeed: true textual variants apart, Q₂ characteristically reproduces minor typographical peculiarities of Q₁, including some of its obvious errors, more closely than we could possibly have hoped.

If one compares, for example, the passage I. iii. 312–33 [Globe 312–37] in Q₁ and Q₂ one finds that Q₂ changes one comma to a question mark, inserts one comma, and reads two capital I's and one capital A for the corresponding lower-case letters; but that otherwise it corresponds with Q₁ not only word for word and letter for letter (with at least three noticeable spellings, *Ginny*, *Isop*, and *syen*), but also in line division. And this close similarity is observable throughout. It reproduces the stage-directions of Q₁, and also an unusual typographical feature of Q₁, the use of dots between phrases.⁸

Even more striking, perhaps, are other similarities. At IV, i, 184 [Globe numbering, as always hereafter], Othello asks, of the fatal handkerchief that he has just seen Bianca bring back to Cassio, "Was that mine?" In Q₁ this speech appears in the last text-line of K₁^r, where the catchword is "*Iag*."—showing that Iago's all-important answer to this question, "Yours, by this hand . . .", was actually before the compositor and was

⁷ *The Tragedy of Othello* . . ., ed. by George Lyman Kittredge (1941), p. vii. The same text appears, of course, both in Kittredge's one-volume complete Shakespeare (1936) and in the newly published (1946) collection of the sixteen plays he had edited separately between 1939 and 1945. Both these books, as well as the separate *Othello*, will doubtless be very widely used for many years.

⁸ Ridley, *op. cit.*, p. xv. I quote Mr. Ridley's evidence here chiefly because it cites instances of Q₂'s reproduction of unusual Q₁ spellings. Other instances, as we shall see later, have an important bearing on the source of some of Q₂'s variant readings.

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certainly not meant to be cut; yet the reply was accidentally omitted and K₁^v begins "*Oth.* [unnecessary, of course, when Iago's reply is left out] I would have him nine yeares a killing." The error here, in view of the catchword and the unnecessary "*Oth.*", would seem to cry out for correction. Yet Q₂ slavishly follows Q₁—except that it omits the second "*Oth.*", printing both the question and the reaction to the answer as one speech (leaving, however, the short question in a separate line despite the fact that it is obviously prose). Such evidence shows conclusively that the bulk of the Q₂ text was derived immediately from a copy of Q₁. Yet it is equally certain that this copy of Q₁ had been more or less carefully prepared for the printing house by someone who had access to at least *some* other version of the play; for scattered through every part of Q₂ are undoubtedly passages, Shakespearian, that do not appear in Q₁. Here Q₂ generally presents the same text as F; and although elsewhere Q₂ is commonly in agreement with Q₁, it nevertheless adopts many of F's variant readings—and in fact usually agrees with F in readings which are clearly preferable to the corresponding ones in Q₁. Q₂ presents a number of readings, however, that appear in neither Q₁ nor F; and obviously it is in these that we must seek evidence for any independent authority that Q₂ may be thought to possess. If these unique readings came from some manuscript, they must be allowed whatever authority can properly be assigned to that manuscript. Yet any unique reading in Q₂ may be only the result of a change made quite independently of any real authority, either by the editor who prepared the copy for the printing house or, later, by the printers themselves. Or, finally, it may represent nothing more than plain error—for which, again, either the editor or some workman in the printing house may have been responsible. And since obvious printing-house error, at least insofar as it can be divorced from editorial tampering, is of relatively small moment, our essential problem is clearly to find out whether Q₂'s more important unique readings are likely to have come from a manuscript source or whether they are only, at best, the unauthoritative result of editorial process. This problem is admittedly not one upon which much purely objective evidence, one way or the other, can ordinarily be brought to bear; yet it happens that the source of some of the most interesting of Q₂'s readings which have been supposed to

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indicate manuscript authority can be quite positively determined—and even examined; for it still survives.

Before considering these readings, however, we ought to investigate those merely formal peculiarities of Q₂ that cannot possibly have been derived from Q₁. Both Q₂ and F present us with what is universally received as substantially the text that Shakespeare wrote—a text about 160 lines longer than the one preserved in Q₁. The materials that account for this difference appear *passim* throughout the play and range in extent from scores of single words and phrases to more than thirty passages of anywhere from one to twenty-two lines (some eleven passages of more than five lines making up about three-quarters of the total). Since in all of these additions⁹ to the Q₁ text Q₂ must obviously be based either upon F or upon some manuscript version of the play, differences between Q₂ and F are here of especial interest. And just as trifling typographical details serve to demonstrate that Q₂ was in the main printed directly from Q₁, so even very small things may give significant hints as to the nature of the copy for Q₂ in those parts of the *Othello* text common only to the two later editions.

Minor differences in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and the like are the rule rather than the exception throughout the various passages peculiar to Q₂ and F. Clearly F had no such influence over the typographical peculiarities of Q₂ as Q₁ usually exercised. But it should be remembered that, whatever the true source of the addition passages in Q₂, these passages must have been *written down* for the use of the Q₂ compositor, and hence that the copy for them must inevitably have been, in a sense, manuscript copy. Some commentators have appeared to assume that the editing and the printing of Q₂ were concomitant: that the compositor had a copy both of Q₁ and of some other text before him, and that he conflated the two as he set. Not only is this unlikely on the face of it, but there is positive evidence to the contrary. The editor

⁹ We need not suppose them later additions to an originally shorter play. At least for the most part they are restorations of original material that was omitted from the first edition. Q₁ undoubtedly represents a text that was cut for dramatic purposes, though cutting does not account for all of its omissions: some were clearly accidental. F, too, appears to have suffered a few accidental omissions, and Q₂ is in fact the longest of the three, for it includes both the passages by which F augments the Q₁ text and also passages which, though present in Q₁, were inadvertently omitted from F.

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of the Q₂ text seems clearly to have written down, both in a copy of Q₁ itself (when only brief passages were involved) and on separate sheets (when the material was too extensive to be interlined or written in a margin), all of the very numerous changes and additions that he wished the new edition to include. When based upon copy of this kind, Q₂ could not be expected to reproduce the minor typographical peculiarities of F with anything like the exactness with which, when following printed copy, it normally reproduces those of Q₁. Yet it might perhaps show certain lineation peculiarities that could be satisfactorily accounted for in no other way. And if the Q₂ editor took his additions from printed F rather than from some manuscript version of the play, the reprint might still, just possibly, show signs of this fact as well. Q₂ actually contains evidence of both kinds; and its mislineations, first of all, afford us a clear picture of at least the major part of the copy for the passages which it adds to the Q₁ text.

We have already noticed that, in addition to a large number of single words and phrases in prose speeches, there are more than thirty passages in the received *Othello* text that are peculiar to Q₂ and F as against the shorter Q₁. In some of these passages Q₂ and F differ in line-arrangement. At I, iii, 16, Q₂ simply adds "by Signior *Angelo*" to a regular verse-line of Q₁, whereas the addition in F is given a separate line. At IV, i, 122, where both later texts again add only a single phrase to the Q₁ version, Q₂ again differs from F—though both are here peccant in printing as verse what is in fact prose. At V, i, 82–3, in a short single-speech addition to the Q₁ text, Q₂ first produces a grossly hypermetrical verse and then adds, in a second line, the final word that the compositor clearly could not squeeze into the line above. F prints this line-and-a-half verse-speech correctly. Finally (as regards short speeches), at V, ii, 151–4, Q₂ rightly prints as a single line the first regular verse of this four-line passage, where F, for no very clear reason,¹⁰ has divided the verse into two separately printed half-lines; but Q₂ at once proceeds to condense what follows into yet another hypermetrical verse, whereas F's lineation is here correct.

¹⁰ Chambers (*Shakespeare*, i, 459–60) suggests that this was a peculiarity of the MS. from which F was set. But see McKerrow's later argument, that printing-house origin is likely, in *Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare* (1939), pp. 47–9.

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As regards the eleven passages that exceed five lines, Q₂ and F show interesting lineation differences in four (at III, iii, 453; IV, ii, 151; IV, iii, 30; and V, ii, 188)—interesting in that the first three are all irregular in precisely the same way in Q₂, where F is regular, and in that the fourth again (as at V, ii, 151) corrects F's printing of a single verse in two separate lines. In each of the first three cases the passage augments a speech in Q₁ that there ends with an incomplete verse-line. Invariably F begins its augmentation by completing this partial line; Q₂, however, invariably gives the first part-line of the addition a separate type-line. At IV, iii, 30, for example, Q₁ ends Desdemona's speech about poor Barbara's song thus:

And she died singing it, that song to night,
Will not goe from my mind

F augments by continuing:

[Will not go from my mind:] I have much to do,
But to go hang my head all at one side
And sing . . .

Q₂ adds the same material but presents it thus:

[Will not go from my mind:]
I have much to doe;
But to goe hang my head all at one side, and sing . . .¹¹

No very elaborate analysis is required to indicate that the eight passages described above present us with mislineation phenomena of two different kinds. First there are the four mislined *short* passages. Like the numerous similar additions which Q₂ prints correctly in every particular, these four are at least in the right place; but here the compositor has failed to distinguish properly between verse and prose. This is precisely the kind of mislineation that we might expect in passages that had been written directly onto the copy of Q₁ that served as the principal basis for

¹¹ This passage (IV, iii, 30-53) differs from the other two in that it alone is not perfectly regular *after* the first half-line: here the first and second whole lines of the addition (lines 31-2) are mistakenly printed as prose. This is distinctly atypical of the lineation differences between Q₂ and F in extended additions to the Q₁ text, and I am unable to explain its occurrence in this passage; but it is certainly not the kind of error that is likely to have appeared in any manuscript version of the whole play.

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the reprint. It is not the kind of mislineation that is likely to have stood in any manuscript of the play—nor can error of this kind easily be reconciled with the initially improbable theory that the Q₂ compositor sometimes set directly from printed F. But on this point there is yet stronger evidence. The three passages in Q₂ which all misline in the opposite way, by printing a single verse in two separate lines rather than by producing hypermetrical verse, are respectively of 7+, 13+, and 22+ lines. It is hardly to be supposed that passages of such length could be written directly onto a copy of Q₁. Doubtless they (and probably all other additions of more than about five lines) had to be written on separate slips of paper and interleaved at their proper places in the copy of Q₁ being used—with appropriate marks for indicating where the interleaved material was to be added. Evidently the passages so written out were as a rule properly divided into regular verse-lines, as is so specifically suggested by the fourth of the long passages in which Q₂ differs from F in line arrangement, since here (at V, ii, 188, in a nine-line addition to Q₁) Q₂ rightly prints in one line what F prints in two; and correct lineation is characteristic of all Q₂'s longer additions to Q₁—except where, as happens three times, the addition begins with a part-line that *should* fill out the incomplete part-line immediately before it.¹² Now for each of these three passages a part-line would of course quite properly stand alone at the beginning of a slip of paper on which the whole passage was written out; and this appears to be the only reasonable explanation of why this part-line was also printed separately in Q₂. Because the compositor here followed his manuscript copy, not wisely but too well, Q₂ not only differs from F but both wastes space and introduces formal irregularity.¹³ Such peculiarities certainly do not mean that parts of Q₂ are derived from some manuscript version of *Othello*. They mean only that an editor's transcription almost invariably stands between Q₂ and the true source of its additions to the Q₁ text. In every instance where Q₂ corrects or augments Q₁—except for a few

12 The single mislineation that occurs elsewhere than at the very beginning of an addition is that at IV, iii, 31-2, commented upon in the previous note.

13 That the Q₂ compositor was ordinarily careful *not* to waste space in his type-pages is evident throughout the book, particularly in his refusing separate lines to stage directions and the like—even when (as at I, i, 1 [S.N.]; I, iii, 410 [S.D.]; "*Scena 1.*" after "*Actus 2.*") they are printed separately in Q₁.

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trivial changes that the Q2 compositor may have made on his own authority—the copy for the new reading was unquestionably a transcript, whether written on a printed page or on a separate slip of paper, made by an editor-copyist. And that the material transcribed was always taken, though often not without some editorial modification, only from printed F is at least strongly suggested by traces in Q2 of purely formal peculiarities of F that neither the labors of the editor nor the transcription process nor the habits and preferences of the compositor succeeded in obliterating wholly.

The lavish use of parentheses seems to have been standard practice in Jaggard's printing house, at least for some of his compositors, quite independently of the punctuation of the copy being printed. Even Folio plays that were set up directly from a printed quarto are likely to show, like 1 *Henry IV*, an abundance of parentheses in F that do not appear in Q. So the chances are good that any given set of parentheses in a Folio play is of printing-house origin—and hence that the bulk of the very numerous sets in the Folio *Othello* did not come from the manuscript on which it is based. The chances favoring printing-house origin seem even stronger, however, when parentheses are improperly used: when they are obviously not needed at all, or when they betray the compositor's failure to understand the sentence that he is punctuating (so that he closes parentheses either too soon or too late), or when through carelessness parentheses are never closed. Now there are at least two instances in the passages of *Othello* that are peculiar to Q2 and F where F misuses parenthesis marks.¹⁴ At IV, iii, 53, F fails to close parentheses, and at IV, iii, 92 it closes them prematurely. In the first of these instances Q2 follows F in setting the first parenthesis. But F fails to close—and here we seem to get a clear glimpse of Q2's editor at work: in Q2 the parentheses are closed, but closed in the wrong place! In the second instance, where the parenthetical material is long and the sentence structure somewhat complex, so that the Q2 editor might well have seen nothing that required change, the reprint exactly reproduces the

¹⁴ I do not attempt to find instances where the use of parentheses is so unnecessary as to be considered actual misuse, though the sets at I, i, 123; I, i, 134; and IV, i, 42 might be taken as examples of this. In two of these Q2 follows F exactly; in the third (at I, i, 134) Q2 rather lamely attempts to improve matters by not closing parentheses until after the first phrase in the following line.

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mispointing of F. Thus we seem to have at least some evidence that Q2 was influenced, however mediately, by minor formal peculiarities in F that almost certainly originated in Jaggard's printing house, not in the manuscript behind F nor in any other manuscript.

As for spellings, F's very unusual "Gundelier" (I, i, 126)¹⁵ is of course not certainly of printing-house origin. The reappearance of the same rare form in Q2 nevertheless provides one more rather striking indication that the quarto was here derived only from F. The fact that Q2 (unlike F) italicizes the word, as if it were a proper name, is perhaps also significant. Misunderstood as indicating the place of Othello's origin, it is the more likely to have been taken over unchanged into the transcript for this passage.

Our chief interest, however, lies not so much in Q2's *formal* as in its *verbal* peculiarities; for it is these that have been supposed to indicate manuscript authority. Hence to these we must now turn—again, in due course, to the passages represented only by Q2 and F, but first of all to those which are contained in all three of the early editions and in which Q2 differs from both the others.

Most of Q2's unique readings in parts of the play common to all three texts require no special notice. Some, as previous commentators have frequently pointed out, are mere printing-house errors; others are evidently the result of inept editorial tampering;¹⁶ not one has been generally accepted by modern editors; and few indeed even suggest any manuscript authority. Of those few that do indicate possible manuscript origin, however, two are of especial interest—one because it is undoubtedly a harder reading than that provided in both Q1 and F, the other because it has been adopted in the recent edition which is perhaps more widely used at present than any other.

At IV, i, 23–9, Iago speaks of certain voluble knaves who have "Conuincd or supplied" themselves mistresses. "Conuincd" is the reading of

¹⁵ The *N.E.D.* cites but one occurrence of "gundelier" for "gondolier"—that in the *Othello* passage now in question.

¹⁶ In any passage where both Q1 and F, though variant, have possible readings, and where Q2 shows nothing that does not appear in one or the other of the earlier editions yet so conflates them as to produce an unsatisfactory text (as at I, iii, 399–400 and III, iii, 148–51), we seem justified in ascribing Q2's uniqueness to editorial activity. Even a successful conflation (such as that at IV, ii, 54–5) is of course *likely* to be editorial; but here we seem on less certain ground.

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both Q1 and F—and all modern editors accept it, often pointing out in a note that the word here has some such sense as “won over.” Q2, however, reads “Coniured” for “Conuincd”; and since “Coniured” is surely the harder reading, yet a possible one, and since either variant could conceivably represent a minim misreading of the manuscript form of the other, Q2’s “Coniured” strongly suggests a manuscript source. Indeed it is difficult to account for in any other way—except for evidence presently to be advanced, which accounts also for Q2’s reading at IV, i, 78. Here the usually accepted reading, from Q1, is “A passion most unsuting [Q1, “vnsuting”] such a man.” F, obviously garbled, reads “A passion most resulting such a man,” and Q2 reads “A passion most vnfitting such a man.” Since the Folio version makes no sense, and could represent a misreading of either of the other words, our only choice is between the “vnsuting” of Q1 and the “vnfitting” of Q2—which has nothing greatly to recommend it over the other reading even on esthetic grounds but is somewhat hard to explain, except as unconscious substitution made by the Q2 compositor, *if* the perfectly acceptable Q1 reading were present before his eyes. Possibly this is why the Kittredge text of *Othello* here follows Q2. The word in the copy before the Q2 compositor’s eyes at this point, however, actually was “vnfitting”; and “Coniured”, not “Conuincd”, is also what stood in his copy as he set IV, i, 23–9.

A detailed collation of thirteen¹⁷ of the extant copies of Q1 has shown that at least six of its formes were subject to stop-press correction, one of the six still surviving in three different states. Inner I is one of these formes; and at I3^v, 8 (IV, i, 28) the uncorrected state reads “Coniured”—just as at I4^r, 20 (IV, i, 78) it reads “vnfitting.” That, moreover, Q2 took these readings from a copy of Q1 that contained the uncorrected state of inner I, rather than from some other source, is made abundantly clear by further comparisons of Q2 and Q1. The proofreader of Q1’s inner I was unusually fastidious about small details that nowhere else in the book were given the same attention.¹⁸ He quite unnecessarily re-

¹⁷ I have not yet collated six of the total nineteen—nos. 769, 799, 802, 803, 811, and 814 in the Bartlett and Pollard *Census* (2nd ed., 1939). Until very recently even photographic reproductions of these British copies were impossible to obtain.

¹⁸ A detailed analysis of the proofreading for Q1 appears in my unpublished disserta-

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quired that the spelling *Cipres*, at I2^r, line 16 (III, iv, 142), be changed to *Cypres*; and at I4^r, line 25 (IV, i, 83) he called for another obvious sophistication. The uncorrected state here reads "geeres, the gibes", whereas the corrected state has "Ieeres, the Iibes" (F here reads "Fleeres, the Gybes"). In both these instances, as in the three words mentioned in the quotation from Mr. Ridley given above (see footnote 8), Q2 exactly reproduces the spellings, though here the uncorrected spellings, of Q1; and in fact the closeness with which the later quarto follows the earlier in minor typographical peculiarities—and even, as at I2^r, line 19 (III, iv, 145) and at I3^v, line 1 (IV, i, 22), reproduces some of its errors—is observable throughout this part of the text, as generally. Thus there can be little doubt as to Q2's source for "Coniured" and "vnfitting"; but the correction of these two words in Q1 requires a further comment. Inner I in Q1 was proofread, as we have seen, with unusual care; and at least in these two instances, the reader seems actually to have compared his proof-sheet with the manuscript from which it was set. Otherwise, at any rate, it is hard to understand why these two words, which make little if any better sense in the later state than in the earlier, were ever changed. It seems remotely possible, in view of the purely arbitrary spelling changes mentioned above, that here too we are only dealing with sophistications; but the probability is strong indeed that these two *verbal* changes rest upon manuscript authority. If so the Q2 readings in question (one of which is also the reading of the Kittredge text) ultimately represent only the *misreadings* of the Q1 compositor. In any case their immediate source is the uncorrected state of an earlier *printed* version of the play.¹⁹

In the passages of *Othello* represented only by Q2 and F the case is somewhat altered; for here, among about a score of verbal differences between the two texts, five Q2 readings have been almost universally adopted by modern editors. The rest—for these minor variants, too, may have a bearing on the nature of the copy for Q2—fall into two

tion, *The Printing of the First Quarto of "Othello"* (University of Virginia, 1941), pp. 293–301.

¹⁹ Uncorrected inner I is to be found in at least four extant copies of Q1: the Boston Public Library, the Cohen, the Rosenbach, and the Capell copies (*Census*, nos. 797, 801, 813, and 814).

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distinct classes. About half represent obvious errors. Some of these²⁰ are probably, though not certainly, due merely to the carelessness of the Q2 compositor; others²¹ may rather be the product of the intermediate transcription process discussed above; one, however, although it can easily be explained otherwise, looks very much like editorial tampering with a somewhat unusual (yet perfectly good) reading in F, "th'Ariall blew [aerial blue]" at II, i, 39. Here Q2 reads "th'Ayre all blue"—which is distinctly unsatisfactory. The other half of Q2's generally unadopted departures from F in the passages peculiar to these two texts are all at least *possible* readings;²² yet not one of them can reasonably be taken to suggest any other source than F itself—subject, indeed, to occasional alteration (generally in the direction of simplification) of a kind for which not even an editor would necessarily be required: a mere compositor would be capable of making most, if not all, of these little changes. The Q2 compositor, to be sure, was evidently not given to independent emendation: it is clear from the passages which he set directly from Q1 that his habit was to "follow copy" very faithfully. But since Q2 certainly *is* an edited text, and since the passages now in question must have been set from transcripts prepared by the editor, there is surely nothing surprising in such small differences between Q2 and F.

Our final evidence for manuscript authority behind Q2, therefore, must be sought in the five readings now generally accepted into the *Othello* text in place of the corresponding readings of F. The immediately striking fact about these is that they represent, in four cases out of five, not alternative good readings, but corrections: four of the corresponding Folio readings are unquestionably wrong, so that an editor working from F would here be obliged to introduce new readings if his own text were to make sense. In the fifth instance (at I, iii, 388) Q2 reads "Ile goe sell all my land" where F has "Ile sell all my Land." Here both readings make sense; but so small and unimportant a difference—especially in the absence of other and more significant "good" readings

20 E.g., "no" (touched up to "not" in the Praetorius facsimile of Q2) for "not" at I, ii, 72, and the omission of "love" after "false" at IV, iii, 55.

21 E.g., "portable" for "probable" at I, ii, 76, and "kindes" for "kinde" at IV, iii, 63.

22 E.g., "discourse, or thought" at IV, ii, 153 (where F has the somewhat harder "discourse of thought"), "murderer" at V, ii, 187 (where F has "Murder"), and "smell a villany" at V, ii, 191 (where F reads "smel't: O villany").

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in Q2 where F is also "good" but different—is hardly evidence of manuscript authority behind Q2. Here again even a compositor could easily have been responsible for the variant reading.²³

In two of the four readings in which F is definitely wrong, the quarto seems unquestionably right. At III, iii, 386, where F has "My name", Q2 reads "her name"; and at IV, iii, 41, at the beginning of the Willow Song, F reads "singing" and Q2 has "sighing." For neither of these Q2 readings does there seem any possible alternative—nor yet any need for supposing more than reasonably careful editorial work. To perceive that F's "singing" is wrong might well be thought to require more care than could be expected from an editor who failed to correct, despite obvious physical signs of error, Q1's omission (noticed above) of Iago's important reply to Othello's question about the handkerchief. Yet even a compositor may have known that the right word here was "sighing";²⁴ and, as we shall presently see, the Q2 editor probably transcribed this passage from a copy of F that read "sining"—an error much more obviously in need of correction than "singing."

The remaining two readings are also definitely wrong in F, but here Q2 is not so certainly right. At III, iii, 455, F says of the icy current of the Pontic Sea that it ne'er "keepes" retiring ebb—which makes no sense. Evidently it is an anticipation error caused by the other "keepes" that appears in the same line. Q2 reads "feels" for F's incorrect "keepes." Quite possibly this is right, as all modern editors consider it; but in view of the obvious need for *some* change, only editorial "improvement" need be supposed. Nor is there any reason for certainty that "knows" or "makes" (both of which, among others, have been suggested) is not what Shakespeare here wrote.²⁵ Finally, at IV, ii, 155, F tells us that Desdemona's senses had not "Delighted them: or any other Forme", whereas Q2 reads "Delighted them in any other forme." Again F is

23 The present writer is in disagreement with almost all modern editors in finding the Folio reading perfectly acceptable here—and in feeling that the Q2 reading, since it certainly cannot be proved authoritative (to put the case conservatively), has no proper place in any modern text of *Othello*.

24 It is at least possible that the Willow Song was traditional before Shakespeare wrote *Othello*; and it was doubtless familiar to many people by 1630. See Chambers, *Shakespeare*, i, 462.

25 See the "New Variorum" *Othello*, p. 211, note 518.

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clearly in need of correction; but again Q2's reading is not one that requires us to suppose manuscript authority, and Rowe's "Delighted them on any other form"²⁶ may conceivably be right.

Thus not one of Q2's five generally accepted unique readings lends any real support to the "independent manuscript" hypothesis. Each of the most acceptable four apparently represents no more than a simple correction of an obvious error in F; and at least two of these would undoubtedly have found their way into the received *Othello* text had Q2 never been printed. Yet such arguments can only establish that the passages in Q2 that are not represented in Q1 are far *more likely* to have come from F than from some manuscript version of the play. There remains at least one very positive indication (quite apart from the punctuation and spelling peculiarities noticed above) that printed F *actually was* used by the Q2 editor.

Like the inner forme of sheet I in Q1, forme vv3^r:4^v of the First Folio (pp. 333:336 in the Tragedies) survives in two states;²⁷ and the uncorrected state contains, in the passages of the text peculiar to Q2 and F, two notable errors. One of these, "sining" for "sighing" at the beginning of the Willow Song (IV, iii, 41; p. 333, col. b, line 51, in F), was eventually miscorrected to "singing." This later reading, as noticed above, is not so obviously wrong that the Q2 editor would have been sure to correct it; whereas he could hardly have failed to amend uncorrected F's "sining" had he worked from a copy of F that contained it. The certainly correct "sighing" of Q2 is therefore eminently consistent with a less certainly incorrect Q2 reading in the preceding line. At IV, iii, 38-40, where Desdemona and her maid are gossiping about the handsome Lodovico, Emilia speaks of a lady who "would have walk'd barefoot [Q2, "barefooted"] to Palestine for a touch of his nether lip." Thus *corrected* F. Q2 here reads "his neither lip"—as does also the uncorrected state of F. The Q2 editor evidently saw nothing wrong with this spell-

26 See the "New Variorum" *Othello*, p. 269, first textual note.

27 The uncorrected state may be seen in the Lee facsimile of the Chatsworth-Devonshire copy. It appears also in Folger copies 15, 31, 47, and 69; and 47, the Jonas-Folger copy, also shows the proofreader's actual corrections on vv3^r (p. 333). Photographs of vv3^r in Folger copies 15, 31, and 47 (and also 10, which has the corrected state) accompany my article "A Proof-sheet in the First Folio of Shakespeare," *Library*, 4th Ser., xxiii (1942), 101-07.

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ing.²⁸ Yet the Folio proofreader had required it to be corrected. This fact, together with the numerous *N.E.D.* examples which show that "nether" was certainly the usual seventeenth-century spelling, makes it improbable in the extreme that an editor would have changed *corrected* F's "nether" to the "neither" that appears in Q₂; whereas an editor working from *uncorrected* F might easily have taken over this unusual, if not definitely wrong, spelling into his transcript.²⁹ Thus the appearance of "neither" at IV, iii, 40 in Q₂ seems a clear indication that the quarto is here based upon a copy of F that contained the uncorrected state of forme vv3^r:4^v.

From the various kinds of evidence presented above it seems legitimate to conclude that the 1630 quarto of *Othello* is of no textual authority and of little textual value. Modern editors may well be interested, when neither Q₁ nor F presents an acceptable reading, in the emendations made by an early Caroline editor; and in all four of the instances where F is definitely wrong in a passage unrepresented by Q₁ the Q₂ reading should probably be accepted into the *Othello* text—not as authoritative, but only as probably right. For it seems virtually certain that Q₂ is nowhere based upon any manuscript version of the play. The Q₂ reading which perhaps most strongly suggests manuscript authority ("Coniured," at IV, i, 28) was actually taken, as we have seen, from an uncorrected state of the Q₁ text; nowhere are there any definite signs that Q₂'s truly unique readings are other than editorial in source; there is abundant evidence that the greater part of Q₂ was printed directly from Q₁; and there are certain positive indications, both in minor formal peculiarities and in text, that the passages in Q₂ that do not appear in Q₁ came only from F—and from a copy of F that also contained at least one uncorrected forme.

What the Q₂ compositor worked from, therefore, was first of all a copy of Q₁ that contained the uncorrected state of inner I. Written into

28 But he may simply have been careless once more. The *N.E.D.* lists "neither" as a seventeenth-century variant of "nether"; but as no examples of this spelling are given, evidence for it is undoubtedly slight. Indeed the evidence may be *only* this instance in Q₂—where the spelling now seems clearly a mere reproduction of what the Folio proofreader, at least, obviously considered wrong.

29 We have already noticed the reappearance in Q₂ of F's very unusual spelling of "gondolier" at I, i, 126 (see footnote 15).

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this, but without clear indications of the proper line-division for new verses, were very numerous corrections and additions. None of the additions so written exceeded five lines in length. All were taken, though often with some editorial modification—sometimes the result of an attempt to conflate passages that in Q₁ and F are variant—from F. And interleaved in the copy of Q₁ that was thus prepared for the printers were several slips of paper. These contained some eleven passages, all of more than five lines, of further additions. Here the verse-lines were at least for the most part properly divided, even the three which began with a part-line. All of these passages were also taken, again not without some corrections and emendations by the editor-copyist, from F. Despite the transcription process they retained a few of F's spelling and punctuation irregularities, and one passage preserved a verbal error that appears only in the uncorrected state of the Folio text. Thus the copy of F used by the Q₂ editor seems also, like his copy of Q₁, to have contained at least one uncorrected forme. In any event it seems clear that the 1630 quarto of *Othello* was printed from materials of the kind described above—and that, although unquestionably an edited text, it is derived essentially only from Q₁ and F.

It will be obvious that my conclusion, that Q₂ has no real textual authority and ought to be dealt with accordingly by modern editors, is based largely upon evidence derived from collating different copies of Q₁ and of F. It was to enable us to make such collations, and by studying the evidence they produce to try to get nearer to the true text of Shakespeare, that Mr. Folger founded the great library that bears his name; and it was bibliographical investigation of this kind that Dr. Adams, both as Director of that library and as independent scholar, did so much to foster and advance. I should be happy if the present essay could be regarded as a small token of my gratitude toward them both.

SHAKESPEARE'S ENOBARBUS

By ELKIN CALHOUN WILSON

A reader easily falls under the spell of Shakespeare's Cleopatra; but the student of *Antony and Cleopatra* must resist her charms long enough to look at the part that Domitius Enobarbus, first friend to Antony, plays in the tragedy that she dominates.

In Shakespeare's source for the drama, Sir Thomas North's translation of Jacques Amyot's rendering of Plutarch's *Life of Marcus Antonius*, the Enobarbus that we know is barely hinted at in three brief passages:

But though he [Antony] had an excellent tongue at will, . . . yet being ashamed for respects, he would not speake vnto them [the Parthians] at his remouing, but willed *Domitius Ænobarbus* to do it.

So *Antonius*, through the perswasions of *Domitius*, commaunded *Cleopatra* to returne againe into Ægypt, and there to vnderstand the successe of this warre.

Furthermore, he delt very friendly and curteously with *Domitius*, and against *Cleopatraes* minde. For, he being sicke of an agewe when he went and tooke a litle boate to goe to *Caesars* campe, *Antonius* was very sory for it, but yet he sent after him all his caryage, trayne, and men: and the same *Domitius*, as though he gaue him to vnderstand that he repented his open treason, he died immediately after.¹

Enobarbus's rank with Antony, his desertion, Antony's generosity toward him that seemingly evoked his repentance, and his death soon thereafter are no more than suggestive facts in North. But Shakespeare

¹ *The lives of the noble Grecians and Romanes* (1579), pp. 989, 996, 1000. Shakespeare may have known one or more of the numerous dramas and narrative poems inspired in Renaissance Europe by the story of Antony and Cleopatra. But it is not necessary to look beyond North's rich prose and Shakespeare's genius for the source of *Antony and Cleopatra*. There is no trace of Enobarbus in any of the French, Italian, German, and English plays about Antony and Cleopatra—Étienne Jodelle's *Cléopâtre Captive* (1552), Robert Garnier's *Marc-Antoine* (1578), Nicolas de Montreux's *Tragédie de Cléopâtre* (1595), Alessandro Spinello's *Cleopatra* (1540), Cesare De' Cesari's *Cleopatra* (1552), Celso Pistorelli's *Marc'Antonio e Cleopatra* (1576), Battista Giraldi Cinthio's *Cleopatra* (1583), Hans Sachs's *Tragedi* (1560), the Countess of Pembroke's *Antoine* (1592), Samuel Daniel's *Cleopatra* (1594), and Samuel Brandon's *The Vertuous Octavia* (1598).

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found in them the embryo of one of his most distinctive characters, vital to the structure of his play.

We first meet Enobarbus in I, ii, a room in Cleopatra's palace where Charmian, Iras, Alexas, and a soothsayer create a vivid impression of the voluptuousness of Cleopatra's court. As wanton Charmian is about to have her palm read, Enobarbus commands, "Bring in the banquet quickly; wine enough Cleopatra's health to drink." Soon, following Alexas's remark, "We'll know all our fortunes," Enobarbus's characteristic wit first flashes: "Mine, and most of our fortunes, to-night, shall be—drunk to bed."² The loose tongues of Charmian and Iras are proving more than a match for the soothsayer when Cleopatra enters. Enobarbus, in humorous jest, exclaims, "Hush! Here comes Antony."³ When Cleopatra asks for Antony, Enobarbus answers her briefly and courteously. She requests him to bring Antony to her—and seductively hurries away just as her captive approaches. Antony, sobered by news of Fulvia's death, declares that he must from "this enchanting queen break off." Enobarbus banteringly cries, "Why, then we kill all our women. We see how mortal an unkindness is to them. If they suffer our departure, death's the word." But in his next speech, a reply to Antony's "I must be gone," his clear sense of Antony's folly pierces through his banter: "Under a compelling occasion, let women die. It were pity to cast them away for nothing, though, between them and a great cause, they should be esteemed nothing." Nowhere in the play is there a more incisive judgment on Antony's conduct. Mockingly Enobarbus salutes the "wonderful piece of work" that holds his master in thrall; yet comprehension of Cleopatra's spell is within his irony—"Her passions are made of nothing but the finest part of pure

² This remark and Enobarbus's high spirits at the galley feast led G. G. Gervinus (*Shakespeare* (Leipzig, 1862), ii, 338-9) to make Enobarbus a debauchee and drunkard symbolizing Roman decadence. Equally misguided was M. J. Wolff (*Shakespeare: Der Dichter und sein Werk* (Munich), ii [1908], 266): "Gleich Antonius ist er Genuszmensch, aber nicht wie sein Herr aus einem leidenschaftlichen Hang, aus der Freudebedürftigkeit einer grossen Natur, sondern weil vor seinem klugen Blick kein höheres Ideal standhält, weil er nichts als das Materielle erkennt."

³ Some editors, the late Professor G. L. Kittredge among them, place Cleopatra's entrance after the remark of Enobarbus, though the First Folio shows the stage direction "Enter Cleopatra" before it. Enobarbus would be speaking well in character if jocosely referring to Cleopatra as Antony as soon as he saw her. All of my quotations are from the Kittredge edition of the play (1941).

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love." Enobarbus is too alive to the humor of the situation not to continue in his *goguenard* vein until Antony, wincing, commands that his "light answers" cease.

By the end of Act I Enobarbus is before us as Antony's privileged friend and chief officer, a robust Roman at ease in the Alexandrian court, but not subdued to it. Through an acute eye for the comic aspect of things as they are, he beholds his master's infatuation with understanding, yet remarks upon it with detachment and justice.

Act II, ii, the house of Lepidus in Rome, opens with Lepidus asking Enobarbus to entreat his captain to soft and gentle speech in dealing with Caesar. Enobarbus's reply, dignified and loyal to Antony, is colored by his characteristic wit and jocosity, terse and salty. Antony and Ventidius, then Caesar, Maecenas, and Agrippa, arrive. Caesar makes complaint against Antony, who answers him nobly. When Antony pays tribute to Fulvia's high-spiritedness, Enobarbus breaks in: "Would we had all such wives, that the men might go to wars with the women!" And when Lepidus approves Maecenas's move for peace between Antony and Caesar, Enobarbus continues:

Or, if you borrow one another's love for the instant, you may, when you hear no more words of Pompey, return to it again. You shall have time to wrangle when you have nothing else to do.

Ant. Thou art a soldier only. Speak no more.

Eno. That truth should be silent I had almost forgot.

Ant. You wrong this presence; therefore speak no more.

Eno. Go to, then! your considerate stone.

The pithy, philosophical comment of Enobarbus continually suggests the formal chorus of classical drama. Yet his comment is so intimately expressive of his character that the detachment of his chorus-like voice never sounds extraneous to the immediate scene in which it rings.⁴ "That truth should be silent I had almost forgot" half echoes Lear's Fool in his fearless allegiance to his infatuated master even when

⁴ Contrast the commentary dialogue between Demetrius and Philo that opens the play. Throughout it they remain unindividualized and have no real part in the action. Though they help give the audience perspective, they sound like aloof and censorious judges compared with Enobarbus. Having insight, sympathy, humor, and an intimate place in the action, he sounds like truth itself.

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fidelity demands words of bitter truth.⁵ Enobarbus has spoken bluntly, but truthfully; Antony's rebuke is in deference to his peers.

After the lords of the world have arranged that Antony shall marry Octavia as a bond of amity with her brother, they leave the stage to their followers, of whom Enobarbus is chief. Maecenas welcomes him to Rome and Agrippa salutes him as "good Enobarbus." In telling of the wonders of Egypt Enobarbus passes naturally to the familiar description of Cleopatra in her barge. Some have wrongly thought its gorgeous poetry inconsistent with the nature of Enobarbus.⁶ Enobarbus has already acknowledged, however ironically, the spell of Antony's "serpent of old Nile," and there is moving poetry in his last speeches. When the occasion demands plain, terse speech he commands it like any blunt soldier; but here he is fascinated by the magnificence of the scene he recollects, and, thanks to his style, we are too. His humor seasons his speeches and prevents his eloquence from slipping into rhetoric.⁷ When Maecenas declares "Now Antony must leave her utterly," Enobarbus replies:

Never! He will not.
Age cannot wither her nor custom stale
Her infinite variety. Other women cloy
The appetites they feed, but she makes hungry
Where most she satisfies; for vilest things
Become themselves in her, that the holy priests
Bless her when she is riggish.

5 Compare the Fool's "Truth's a dog must to kennel; he must be whipp'd out, when Lady the brach may stand by th' fire and stink" (I, iv, 124-6).

6 Hartley Coleridge (*Essays and Marginalia* [1851], ii, 184) wrote: "Beautiful as this description is, one might almost desire that it had been uttered by a more interesting personage. Dryden has transferred it to Antony—copied it pretty closely—or perhaps kept closer to Plutarch's prose. The poetry he almost suppresses; but he certainly introduces the story more artfully. Narration for its own sake is not, however, a frequent fault of Shakespeare." What more interesting personage to give it to than Enobarbus, or more fit, in view of the consistency between the speech and the character, once his full stature is seen, and in view of the dramatic gain by having the only clear-headed person in the play pay such a tribute to Cleopatra's charm? Dryden gains nothing by giving it to Antony, passion's slave, and Cleopatra's. It is not narration for its own sake, but for the sake of persuading us of Cleopatra's power.

7 Kittredge (p. 150) noted the skill with which Shakespeare "makes the style return gradually, in the latter part of the description, to the humorous manner habitual with the speaker."

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"Never!" rings with the finality of fate. Ultimate words about Cleopatra, as well as about Antony, come from Enobarbus. But he is not blinded or bewitched by the Gypsy.⁸ He simply describes a woman for whom an Antony would conceivably throw away a world.⁹

Enobarbus next appears in II, vi, near Misenum, with Caesar, Lepidus, Menas, Agrippa, Pompey, and Antony. Pompey and Antony adjust misunderstandings and the triumvirs make an agreement with Pompey. Talk turns to revels in Egypt.

Pom. Then so much have I heard;
And I have heard Apollodorus carried—

Eno. No more of that! He did so.

Pom. What, I pray you?

Eno. A certain queen to Caesar in a mattress.

Pom. I know thee now. How far'st thou, soldier?

Eno. Well;

And well am like to do, for I perceive
Four feasts are toward.

Pom. Let me shake thy hand.
I never hated thee. I have seen thee fight
When I have envied thy behaviour.

Eno. Sir,
I never lov'd you much; but I ha' prais'd ye
When you have well deserv'd ten times as much
As I have said you did.

Pom. Enjoy thy plainness;
It nothing ill becomes thee.
Aboard my galley I invite you all.

Because this valiant soldier has repeatedly spoken truth with becoming plainness, we accept his voice as that of fate itself when he now foretells to Menas the married Antony's courses:

He will to his Egyptian dish again. Then shall the sighs of Octavia blow the fire up in Caesar, and, as I said before, that which is the strength of their

8 Gervinus (*Shakespeare*, ii, 338-9) seemed to think so: "Er hat einfältig klugen Menschenverstand genug, um das ganze innere Gewebe seines räthselhaften Herrn zu durchschauen, aber vor Cleopatra's Künsten steht er rathlos. Der Zauber ihres Wesens ergreift ihn, so weit seine Natur dafür zugänglich ist, wie nachher den Dolabella."

9 "Wo die bloße Erinnerung eine derb und nüchtern angelegte Natur in solche Extase bringt, kann man auf die Bezauberung der wirklich Genieszenden unschwer den Schlusß machen" (Friedrich Kreyssig, *Vorlesungen über Shakespeare* (Berlin, 1877), i, 443).

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amity shall prove the immediate author of their variance. Antony will use his affection where it is. He married but his occasion here.

Enobarbus is little less than master of revels in the great scene aboard Pompey's galley. His wit enlivens the party at the outset. As an attendant bears sottish Lepidus off the stage, Enobarbus exclaims:

There's a strong fellow, Menas.

Menas. Why?

Eno. 'A bears the third part of the world, man;
see'st not?

He calls for the Egyptian Bacchanals, and commands all to take hands for the drinking song and dance. When Caesar summons to graver business and declares that "Strong Enobarb Is weaker than the wine," that veteran belies the charge by continuing in high spirits until the end. He finishes the carousal by shouting "Hoo!" to the triumvirs and Pompey and tossing his cap in the air.

When we next meet Enobarbus he is opening III, ii, in commentary dialogue with Agrippa:

Agr. What, are the brothers parted?

Eno. They have dispatch'd with Pompey; he is gone;
The other three are sealing. Octavia weeps
To part from Rome; Cæsar is sad; and Lepidus
Since Pompey's feast, as Menas says, is troubled
With the green sickness.

Agr. 'Tis a noble Lepidus.

Eno. A very fine one. O, how he loves Cæsar!

Agr. Nay, but how dearly he adores Mark Antony!

Eno. Cæsar? Why, he's the Jupiter of men.

Agr. What's Antony? The god of Jupiter.

Eno. Spake you of Cæsar? Hoo! the nonpareil!

Agr. O Antony! O thou Arabian bird!

Eno. Would you praise Cæsar, say "Cæsar"—go no
further.

Agr. Indeed he plied them both with excellent praises.

Eno. But he loves Cæsar best. Yet he loves Antony!
Hoo! hearts, tongues, figures, scribes, bards, poets, cannot
Think, speak, cast, write, sing, number—hoo!—
His love to Antony. But as for Cæsar,
Kneel down, kneel down, and wonder!

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In his first speech Enobarbus sweeps easily over time and space in ominous summary of the situation in the Roman world. Yet his tone fuses instantly with the racy hyperbole in which he and Agrippa make sport of what they have heard Lepidus say in praise of Caesar and Antony.¹⁰

In III, v, a room in Antony's house in Athens, the individuality of Enobarbus again gives life to commentary dialogue. When Eros tells him that Caesar and Lepidus have broken with each other, he forecasts the political future in one vigorous figure:

Then, world, thou hast a pair of chaps, no more;
And throw between them all the food thou hast,
They'll grind the one the other.

He continues:

Our great navy's rigg'd.
Eros. For Italy and Cæsar. More, Domitius:
My lord desires you presently. My news
I might have told hereafter.
Eno. 'Twill be naught;
But let it be. Bring me to Antony.

In these laconic last words, Enobarbus speaks with prescience. As Edward Capell remarked, they have no relation to the immediately preceding lines, and are evidently uttered with much thoughtfulness and after a silence.¹¹ Enobarbus alone keeps such connective scenes as this one from being bald narrative or aloof comment on the movement of the play. Eros, Agrippa, and Menas are little more than interlocutors for him.

Actum is at hand. With the opening of III, vii, we discover that Enobarbus has been seeking to persuade Cleopatra that she has no business at the impending battle. His interrogations, "But why, why, why?" and "Well, is it, is it?" in their agitated brevity and repetition reveal the intense feeling behind his plea to Cleopatra to leave the scene

10 "The whole is a comic and satirical commentary on Pompey's words in II, i, 14: 'Lepidus flatters both'" (Kittredge, p. 165). The skeptical and satirical vein in which Enobarbus speaks throughout this scene supports, I think, the "weepe" or "weep" of the folios in l. 59, though most editors adopt Theobald's "wept."

11 *Notes and Various Readings to Shakespeare, Part the First* (1774), p. 38.

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of conflict. When she demands why she should not be present his voice is that of unanswerable truth:

Your presence needs must puzzle Antony;
Take from his heart, take from his brain, from 's time,
What should not then be spar'd. He is already
Traduc'd for levity; and 'tis said in Rome
That Photinus an eunuch and your maids
Manage this war.

Cleopatra rages and refuses to go. Enobarbus's terse answer, "Nay, I have done," shows his disgust, his self-restraint, and his resignation before an unreasoning woman. Yet when he straightway hears from infatuated Antony his resolve to fight by sea Enobarbus pleads with powerful sincerity against such recklessness.

Can. Why will my lord do so?

Ant. For that he dares us to't.

Eno. So hath my lord dar'd him to single fight.

The quickness of Enobarbus's retort shows the swiftness of his logic. Antony cannot answer. Enobarbus resumes his plea after Candidus has spoken against a fight by sea. Like a veteran soldier, he summarizes the military reasons against it, and, in spite of Antony's stubborn "By sea, by sea!" makes a final and irrefutable appeal:

Most worthy sir, you therein throw away
The absolute soldiership you have by land;
Distract your army, which doth most consist
Of war-mark'd footmen; leave unexecuted
Your own renowned knowledge; quite forgo
The way which promises assurance, and
Give up yourself merely to chance and hazard
From firm security.

Rebuffed by Antony's adamant "I'll fight at sea," he is silent, an officer before his commander. In the four-line scene, ix, a plain near Actium, Antony and Enobarbus appear together—Enobarbus as chief officer to receive orders. He acknowledges them in silence.

The following scene, x, which holds the crisis of the play, is superb in its dramatic handling of off-stage action, first reported by Enobarbus. His three speeches that tell of Antony's shameful flight after Cleopatra

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show that he is no aloof observer. He is Antony's loyal friend and captain, overcome with grief and shame, who feels his commander's disaster as his own.

Naught, naught, all naught! I can behold no longer.
Th' Antoniad, the Egyptian admiral,
With all their sixty, fly and turn the rudder.
To see't mine eyes are blasted.

Mine eyes did sicken at the sight and could not
Endure a further view.

Alack, alack!

As Antony's flight with the doom it forbodes is before Enobarbus's acute mind, Candidus arrives and cries:

Our fortune on the sea is out of breath
And sinks most lamentably. Had our general
Been what he knew himself, it had gone well.
O, he has given example for our flight
Most grossly by his own!

With the last words of Candidus's speech ringing in his ears—how fatally for himself he hardly knows—Enobarbus exclaims "Ay, are you thereabouts? Why then, good night indeed." Instantly he sees that desertion is sweeping Antony's cause to destruction:

Can. Toward Peloponnesus are they fled.

Scar. 'Tis easy to't; and there I will attend
What further comes.

Can. To Cæsar will I render
My legions and my horse. Six kings already
Show me the way of yielding.

Can a wise man follow a master who is himself a deserter? Enobarbus's clear reason is already crying out that he should desert a deserter; but something holds him in spite of reason, and he says at once:

I'll yet follow
The wounded chance of Antony, though my reason
Sits in the wind against me.

In scene xiii, Cleopatra's palace, a desperate queen turns to Enobarbus:

Cleo. What shall we do, Enobarbus?

Eno. Think, and die.

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His three ultimate words recall the piercing truthfulness of Lear's Fool, but in their sting as the answer of a frank soldier beset by a foolish woman they belong to Enobarbus alone.

Cleo. Is Antony or we in fault for this?

Eno. Antony only, that would make his will
Lord of his reason. What though you fled
From that great face of war whose several ranges
Frighted each other? Why should he follow?
The itch of his affection should not then
Have nick'd his captainship, at such a point,
When half to half the world oppos'd, he being
The meered question. 'Twas a shame no less
Than was his loss, to course your flying flags
And leave his navy gazing.

This speech, the truth of which naturally draws the cry of "Prithee peace!" from Cleopatra, has the finality with which justice itself might speak; yet Enobarbus somehow suffuses it with human feeling.

Antony now declares that he will challenge Caesar to personal combat. Again Enobarbus speaks like a very human individual gifted with sure and sympathetic vision. Enobarbus sees Antony as his own better self would, had that infatuated man his captain's clear sight; and in Antony's fall and disgrace Enobarbus finds overwhelming personal sorrow.

Eno. [*aside*] Yes, like enough high-battled Cæsar will
Unstate his happiness and be stag'd to th' show
Against a sworder! I see men's judgments are
A parcel of their fortunes, and things outward
Do draw the inward quality after them
To suffer all alike. That he should dream,
Knowing all measures, the full Cæsar will
Answer his emptiness! Cæsar, thou hast subdu'd
His judgment too.

How can a man of Enobarbus's sense and judgment continue allegiance to a lord whose every move belies his reason and proves his judgment is subdued? In an aside he wrestles with his problem:

Mine honesty and I begin to square.
The loyalty well held to fools does make

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Our faith mere folly. Yet he that can endure
To follow with allegiance a fall'n lord
Does conquer him that did his master conquer
And earns a place i' th' story.

It is very typical of Enobarbus that he should ground his continued allegiance to Antony on a neat logical process when he again squarely faces the issue. This time there is no direct statement that he will "yet follow The wounded chance of Antony"; we infer a continuance of the struggle.¹²

Enobarbus's predicament underlies his equivocation in a subsequent speech to Caesar's messenger, Thyreus, who, before speaking out to Cleopatra, wants to be assured that there are none but friends present.

Cleo. Cæsar's will?
Thyr. Hear it apart.
Cleo. None but friends. Say boldly.
Thyr. So haply they are friends to Antony.
Eno. He needs as many, sir, as Cæsar has,
Or needs not us. If Cæsar please, our master
Will leap to be his friend. For us, you know
Whose he is we are, and that is Cæsar's.¹³

When Cleopatra shortly tells Thyreus that her "honour was not yielded" to Antony, but "conquer'd merely," Enobarbus, before quitting them, muses acidly:

To be sure of that,
I will ask Antony. Sir, sir, thou art so leaky
That we must leave thee to thy sinking, for
Thy dearest quit thee.¹⁴

¹² Kittredge (p. 183) quotes Dr. Johnson: "Enobarbus is deliberating upon desertion, and finding it is more prudent to forsake a fool, and more reputable to be faithful to him, makes no positive conclusion."

¹³ Malone (*The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare* (1821), xii, 323-4) wished to give this last speech to Cleopatra on the argument that Enobarbus would hardly interfere here, that the plural "us" suits Cleopatra, and that "our master" might be used by Cleopatra to describe Antony with sufficient propriety since Antony was the master of her fate. But what more natural than that Enobarbus, the only other person present whose allegiance Thyreus might fairly question, should speak up? Elsewhere (as Steevens noted) Enobarbus has not hesitated to speak sarcastically to the triumvirs in conference; why now to answer the servant of one of them? In its terse diction and logical twists the speech has the ring of Enobarbus's style.

¹⁴ Gervinus (*Shakespeare*, ii, 339) missed the irony of Enobarbus when he wrote

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Enobarbus's desertion is felt to be inevitable now; but, true to his nature, he is still seeking logical justification for such action.

Enobarbus returns shortly with Antony, who is furious to find Thyreus kissing Cleopatra's hand. Enobarbus's aside, "You will be whipp'd," a prediction straightway fulfilled, suggests that he has gone and told his master that his dearest is quitting him for Caesar. It is a final instance of Enobarbus's loyalty to a fallen master. Enobarbus's next aside is provoked by the sight of Thyreus's liberties with the desperate Antony's mistress:

'Tis better playing with a lion's whelp
Than with an old one dying.

The speech has something of the proverb-like point of a comment by Lear's Fool.

After a stormy reconciliation scene between the lovers, Antony finally casts aside everything for Cleopatra and calls for "one more gaudy night." Enobarbus is left alone. He sees that Antony is utterly beyond hope—and so do we through his eyes. At last his resolve to leave his master is fixed. True to his dramatic technique, Shakespeare now has Enobarbus state his determination in unambiguous words:

Now he'll outstare the lightning. To be furious
Is to be frighted out of fear, and in that mood
The dove will peck the estridge. I see still
A diminution in our captain's brain
Restores his heart. When valour preys on reason,
It eats the sword it fights with. I will seek
Some way to leave him.

Great skill is in the projection of the psychological sequence that gradually culminates in Enobarbus's desertion of Antony. Four times the audience sees that desertion is before Enobarbus as the logical course. Each time it appeals more strongly to his highly rational self—"reason" and "judgment" are recurring words in his speeches—as the only intelligent move; for each time he beholds additional evidence of Antony's folly. A suggestion of desertion grows gradually into the definite resolve with which Enobarbus ends the act.

that "wie sie den Thyreus versichert, sie habe sich Antonius nur aus Zwang hingegeben, dünkt ihm dies ernst und wahr genug, seinen Herrn daüber selbst zu befragen."

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In IV, ii, Antony tells Enobarbus that Caesar declines to fight in personal encounter. The dramatic irony of the dialogue that follows is very fine. Antony, foolishly resolved to fight by land and sea on the morrow, turns to his chief lieutenant, and, suspecting not his impending desertion, asks, "Woo't thou fight well?" We hear the deserter, driven to feign his old loyalty, declare "I'll strike, and cry 'Take all!'" Antony asks for his hand and cries "Thou hast been rightly honest." As if such words were not enough for Enobarbus to bear, Cleopatra turns to him and asks what Antony's strange soft mood means. From Enobarbus comes, "'Tis one of those odd tricks which sorrow shoots Out of the mind." His own sorrowing mind should know. Antony's moving generosity by his followers and his prescience of their having another master soon make even strong Enobarbus "onion-ey'd." Such a touch, by showing us the man of feeling beneath the ironist, prepares us to accept his quick repentance and fatal sorrow after his desertion.

Soon we hear with Antony of Enobarbus's actual desertion (IV, v):

Ant. Who's gone this morning?
Sold. Who?
One ever near thee. Call for Enobarbus,
He shall not hear thee, or from Cæsar's Camp
Say "I am none of thine."
Ant. What sayest thou?
Sold. Sir,
He is with Cæsar.
Eros. Sir, his chests and treasure
He has not with him.
Ant. Is he gone?
Sold. Most certain.
Ant. Go, Eros, send his treasure after. Do it;
Detain no jot, I charge thee. Write to him
(I will subscribe) gentle adieus and greetings.
Say that I wish he never find more cause
To change a master. O, my fortunes have
Corrupted honest men! Dispatch. Enobarbus!

Enobarbus's long devotion is reflected in the soldier's "One ever near thee"; Antony's affection and magnanimity, in his sending all of the deserter's treasure after him, in his confession that his fortunes have

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corrupted honest men, and in his concluding cry, "Enobarbus!" Antony's "honest" is well chosen, for Enobarbus is an honest deserter in having left all his goods behind him.

But tragic irony now enmeshes the master ironist who has seen everything clearly except his own nature in mortal crisis. The clear-sighted commentator on the tragedy around him is caught in the coils of it through an error in his judgment of himself. Led by sagacity into quitting his master, Enobarbus discovers that rational justification for desertion is not enough. Sentiment that he has overlooked overtakes him after his sole mistake in judgment, and he repents.

The following scene in Caesar's camp shows Enobarbus silently hearing Caesar's orders that Antony be taken alive. When he is left alone a soliloquy reveals his full perception of his tragic error:

Alexas did revolt, and went to Jewry on
Affairs of Antony; there did dissuade
Great Herod to incline himself to Cæsar
And leave his master Antony. For his pains
Cæsar hath hang'd him. Canidius and the rest
That fell away have entertainment, but
No honourable trust. I have done ill,
Of which I do accuse myself so sorely
That I will joy no more.

He is his own judge, and a severe one. A traitor has no honorable trust anywhere. Immediately a soldier announces that Antony has sent after Enobarbus all his treasure. Such bounty is a fatal blow to Enobarbus, and his "I give it you!" to the soldier is a feeble effort, a pitiful one, to be free of gold that is lead to him. He cries:

I am alone the villain of the earth,
And feel I am so most. O Antony,
Thou mine of bounty, how wouldst thou have paid
My better service, when my turpitude
Thou dost so crown with gold! This blows my heart.
If swift thought break it not, a swifter mean
Shall outstrike thought; but thought will do't, I feel.
I fight against thee? No! I will go seek
Some ditch wherein to die; the foul'st best fits
My latter part of life.

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He had already perceived his error, judged that he had done ill. Now with Antony's bounty before him, honor, gratitude, loyalty appear to him hopelessly violated. He desires only the foulest ditch wherein to die.

In the next scene but two, Caesar's camp, Enobarbus's "latter part of life" is witnessed by several soldiers, and the moon.

Eno. O, bear me witness, night—

2. Watch. What man is this?

1. Watch. Stand close, and list him.

Eno. Be witness to me, O thou blessed moon,
When men revolted shall upon record
Bear hateful memory, poor Enobarbus did
Before thy face repent!

Sent. Enobarbus?

2. Watch. Peace!

Hark further.

Eno. O sovereign mistress of true melancholy,
The poisonous damp of night disponge upon me,
That life, a very rebel to my will,
May hang no longer on me! Throw my heart
Against the flint and hardness of my fault,
Which, being dried with grief, will break to powder,
And finish all foul thoughts. O Antony,
Nobler than my revolt is infamous,
Forgive me in thine own particular,
But let the world rank me in register
A master-leaver and a fugitive!
O Antony! O Antony!

[*Dies.*]

Enobarbus's last lament is that of a man to whom self-respecting thought is life, and dishonored thought, literally, death.¹⁵

Students of *Antony and Cleopatra* have often observed how Shakespeare uses the desertion and remorseful death of Enobarbus to portray

¹⁵ The speeches of Enobarbus make it clear that he does not commit suicide. Yet D. J. Snider (*System of Shakespeare's Dramas* [1877], ii, 284) wrote that "he slays himself—an irrational act, but one which shows that remorse was stronger than existence"; and M. J. Wolff (*Shakespeare*, ii, 266) echoed: "Die Grozmut überwindet den Abtrünnigen und zwingt ihn durch ihre Überlegenheit zum Selbstmord." Enobarbus does say (IV, vi, 35-6) that if swift thought will not break his heart a swifter means shall outstrike thought; but he instantly adds that he feels that thought will do it. It does. Plutarch, it will be remembered, says that Enobarbus had been sick of an ague. Shakespeare with sure theatrical instinct lets him die of heartbreak.

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at once "the hopeless ruin of Antony's cause, his noble generosity, and the devotion he inspired even in such a cynical realist as Enobarbus."¹⁶ And students have often remarked casually upon the chorus-like nature of Enobarbus's speeches. My sketch of his part in the play has sought to show how intimately he is the absorption of the external chorus of Renaissance drama into the characterization and action of the tragedy. From two or three suggestive hints in North's Plutarch, Shakespeare quickly develops a unique soldier marked by blunt truthfulness, ironic wit, and robust action. Then when he needs to compress many incidents far apart in time and space he has this solid soldier speak as a credible reporter of those off-stage events. Again, when he needs to tighten the dramatic line of a body of episodic narrative so loose that it must have challenged even his mature craftsmanship, he has realistic Enobarbus speak to foreshadow impending doom. Still again, when he needs to give direction to our sympathy or assure our clear judgment in spite of the spell that Cleopatra casts over Antony and over us, he has this truthful soldier with humorous detachment and penetrating insight make observations on character and conduct that suggest the voice of over-watching destiny heard in a Greek chorus.¹⁷ And his words always have strong dramatic power because spoken by a very human character, himself caught in the tragic action around him.

Some have denied that Enobarbus is drawn throughout the play as a man of sufficient human feeling to die of heartbreak. But is there a more human figure in this play about Roman supermen and such a

16 T. M. Parrott, ed., *Shakespeare Twenty-three Plays* (1938), p. 862. "As Antony's truest friend, he magnifies the tragic hero through his affection. Even his desertion, when Antony's fortunes are at lowest ebb, helps to raise the sunken hero in our eyes. For it prompts Antony to an act of splendid magnanimity . . . , and the remorse of Enobarbus, who dies broken-hearted, is a supreme expression of loyalty" (W. A. Neilson and C. J. Hill, eds., *Twenty-three Plays of William Shakespeare* [1942], p. 650).

17 Sir Walter Rawleigh (*Shakespeare* (1926), pp. 151-2) observed that without "direction given to sympathy, a play is not a play, but a chaos or patchwork. The Greeks secured unity by means of the Chorus, which mediates between the actors and the spectators, bespeaking attention, interpreting events, and guiding the feelings. Shakespeare had no Chorus, but he attains the same end in another way. In almost all his plays there is a clear enough point of view; there is some character, or group of characters, through whose eyes the events of the play must be seen, if they are to be seen in right perspective." Enobarbus is preëminently such a character. So to appreciate him is of course not to minimize the unifying effect of other powers in *Antony and Cleopatra*—the pervasive magnificence of its style, for instance.

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queen as never was on land or sea? His cool intelligence and clear vision are simply two facets of a complex nature. "He is fully aware of Cleopatra's charm; he is ready to dally with her maids and dance the Egyptian Bacchanals with the triumvirs, Pompey and his crew. His cold reason sees through the folly of his master and yet he breaks into tears at Antony's pathetic farewell to his servants."¹⁸ His shrewdly judging others, then ironically falling into tragic error in judging himself, makes him finally one of us—ties him intimately into the tragic web of the play. For him, as for Antony and the rest of us, character is fate; he is rightly the close companion of the erring hero of a great poetic tragedy.

This full humanity of Enobarbus makes possible his technical success as a semi-chorus. It separates him from the impersonal pseudo-Senecan choruses in numerous Renaissance neo-classical plays, many of them about Antony and Cleopatra, with their stiff reporting of off-stage events and their staid moralizing upon the vicissitudes of fortune and the wages of sin.¹⁹ It gives him kinship, rather, with the humanized choruses of Aeschylus and Sophocles.²⁰

Enobarbus, like Lear's Fool, is Shakespeare's translation of the chorus of Renaissance neo-classical drama into dramatic character. Both the Fool and Enobarbus live in that elusive borderland between pure

¹⁸ Parrott, ed., *Shakespeare*, p. 862.

¹⁹ Compare the chorus in Samuel Daniel's *Cleopatra* (*The Complete Works in Verse and Prose*, ed. A. B. Grosart, iii (1885), 41):

*The text is made most plaine
That flattery glos'd vpon,
The bed of sinne reueal'd,
And all the luxury that shame would haue conceal'd.*

²⁰ Reference to the chorus of Greek tragedy is well qualified by Paul Stapfer (*Shakespeare et l'Antiquité* (Paris), i (1879), 411): "C'est en partie le rôle du chœur de servir d'organe à la pensée de poète dramatique; on a donc comparé fort ingénieusement le rôle d'Enobarbus à celui du chœur dans la haute tragédie grecque; mais ce rapprochement ne peut être accepté qu'avec bien des réserves et des restrictions. Shakespeare n'a jamais exprimé, par la bouche d'aucun de ses personnages, la totalité de la sagesse, conformément à la théorie idéale du chœur antique. Je dis la théorie *idéale*, parce qu'en réalité, dans Eschyle, le chœur n'est qu'un personnage comme un autre, agissant, intéressé et passionné; et dans Sophocle, ce n'est souvent qu'une assemblée de vieillards ou de jeunes filles qui ont toutes les infirmités de leur âge ou de leur sexe. Mais on a pu extraire de ce qui nous reste des tragédies grecques une théorie idéale du chœur, qu'il faut hardiment nommer supérieure à la pratique habituelle de Sophocle et d'Eschyle."

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comedy and high tragedy. Both smile wryly at the absurdity of the proud passions that strut around them, baldly tell truth about things as they are, and speak for sanity in the midst of madness and infatuation. But both are mere mortals, living quite in earnest amid the follies they behold, and overwhelmed by the disasters bred by the ill-starred masters whom they serve.

THE PUNCTUATION OF SHAKESPEARE'S
SONNETS OF 1609

By ALBERT HOWARD CARTER

We can study Shakespearian punctuation profitably without asking the relevant question of what adjective to apply to it—dramatic, rhetorical, syntactical, grammatical, physiological—and without inquiring whether it was due to author, copyist, editor, compositor, or proofreader. With our attention focused on recovering meaning, we can learn something about the meaning of the text itself and a great deal about the conventions of punctuation by concentrating on an analysis of the punctuation in single documents. From them we can learn their conventions, and when we have analyzed a sufficient number we can make more definite statements about the usage of the early editions of Shakespeare than have heretofore been possible.

The purpose of the analysis is to determine the degree to which the punctuation is systematic; that is, the degree to which similar situations have similar punctuation—points or lack of points. System here applies only to the document at hand; not until this analysis is put together with similar analyses of other documents can we talk about the or a seventeenth-century system. Other implications of such a method may also be misunderstood. Chief among these is the principle that the system may allow alternative forms, as when in a number of situations one mark appears part of the time and another mark (or none) the remaining fraction. Such variety does not mean at all that there is no system; there is still a great deal of similarity within the two groups, and this similarity permits us to say that each is standard, as we do today with the two pronunciations [tə'meitou] and [tə'mæ:tou]. Another principle of such a method is that if a reason can be given for a point based on meaning and consistent with the general nature of the system, that point is probably systematic, that is, provided for by the system. The chief difficulty here lies in determining what is consistent. Analogous to this principle is that in defining word meanings: we cannot say that "dolicocephalic" has no meaning because it occurs but rarely. Further, because meaning and statistics go hand in hand in

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such an analysis, there are as many opportunities for differences of opinion as there are interpretations of the meaning. To be sure, where we can multiply examples and instances, we can hope to eradicate some differences in interpretation. So for textual material providing a large number of parallel situations, I have chosen the *Sonnets* of Shakespeare printed, according to the title-page, by G. Eld and published by Thomas Thorpe in 1609.

Paradoxically, the place where the meaning of the poem is most obvious without the punctuation which is normally present is the most reliable place to test the meaning of the punctuation. This is the end of the poem, the final point. Since 140 of the 153 sonnets¹ end with a period, we can conclude that this is the normal mark of punctuation for such a situation and that the period is used to mark the end of a definite unit of thought or perhaps of versification.

More interesting are the thirteen sonnets that do not end with a period. Of these, three have no mark, and ten end with a comma. The problem here is to decide not what caused these deviations, as we imply when we pronounce them misprints or slips of the pen but what bearing they have on other marks of punctuation in this or in other texts. If we tentatively call them accidental, i.e. nonsystematic, we can well expect that in other situations where there is even less systematic consistency there will be as much variation due to chance as we find here. But it is not unthinkable that the thirteen sonnets without periods represent usages not outside the system, that they are indeed what I call alternate forms. None of the sonnets, however it ends, is so closely linked to the following one that it is incomplete without it, and none of these with a comma or a blank is more particularly tied to the following sonnet (or, supposing rearrangement, to any other sonnet) by verbal or grammatical or thematic reference. Nor is the change in theme or idea from one of these to the next any greater than from one with a period to the next. Hence we cannot say that these commas or blanks represent a difference in meaning from that of a period at the end; their meaning is the same. That units of thought subordinate to the

¹ I omit from all consideration no. 126 because its organization is not parallel to that of the other sonnets. I include the last nine lines of no. 99 only, counting them as ll. 4-14 (l. 5 of no. 99=l. 4 . . . l. 15=l. 14) because they parallel such lines in all the other sonnets.

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whole poem (e.g., quatrains) even less consistently end with periods and that there are only two possible alternatives raises the chances of their being alternates allowed by the system and not accidents. Not one of the sonnets ends with a colon or a semicolon, both permitted elsewhere in the sonnets at the close of a unit of thought. Nor do any of the poems end with a question mark. None is left unresolved in the form of a question which has no answer,² nor is the resolution, as occasionally in Ben Jonson's epigrams, implied by an argumentative question. None ends with a parenthesis, which generally indicates that what is enclosed is additional modification and not the main idea. They all end on an emphatic note. Yet none ends in an exclamation mark. (That the system permits exclamation points at the twelfth line is clear from nos. 92, 95, and 120.) See Figure 1.

In any case, the proportion of 13:140 makes the thirteen cases strongly suspect of being outside of the system. As we examine other situations we shall find reasons for believing that they are or are not. The commas, especially, bear examination because our decision whether they are within the system or accidental gives us an index to the probabilities of the operation of chance in connection with other points.³

The next place to look for consistency of punctuation reflecting parallelism of situation is at the twelfth line, just before the couplet. The organization of the sonnet is such that here if anywhere must be a mark of punctuation: there is a change in verse pattern; there is regularly a change in thought—what follows is another implication, or a summary, or a final aspect, or, most usually, the nugget of what has gone before: "most often," said the late Tucker Brooke, "a seed-pod, holding in briefer and unflowered form the idea which the quatrains have more gorgeously expanded."⁴

Most frequently (89 out of 153 cases) we find that the mark of punctuation is a period, the point usually used at the end of a sonnet to

² The couplets in nos. 4 and 6 do not answer the question of the last quatrain directly, but they do show that the answer is clearly implied.

³ H. E. Rollins uses this pointing as an index to the reliability of the whole text; he lists all but one of the deviations from the period (no. 76) in his *New Variorum Sonnets* (1944), ii, 17.

⁴ *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke (1936), p. 4.

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Line no.	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
14									140
									10
									3
12									89
									30
									2
									22
									7
									3
4									72
									23
									1
									33
									3
									19
									1
8									76
									19
									2
									40
									1
									15
13									136
									12
									2
									1
									2

FIGURE 1. The distribution of the punctuation at the end of ll. 14, 12, 4, 8, and 13. Sonnet no. 126 and ll. 1-5 of no. 99 are not counted. o = blank, no punctuation.

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mark the end of an idea (or of fourteen lines of verse). Next most numerous are the commas (thirty in all) and the colons (twenty-two). That these are not inconsistencies, outside of the system, appears from their numbers and from the structure of the sonnets that they appear in. They do not characterize a body of sonnets in which the structure is markedly different from those with the period. That is, the change in thought comes as regularly, as definitely, and in the same way as in the eighty-nine with a period. To be sure, some critics and editors find the change before the twelfth line in some sonnets, but these are neither exclusively those with the comma nor with the colon; nor are those with commas or colons typically the sonnets with the change before the twelfth line.

These uses are statistically so eminent that we must conclude that the comma and the colon are alternate forms with the same meaning for such a situation as the period. The validity of this conclusion is strengthened when we consider the marks of punctuation separating the quatrains; and since the comma and period are here alternate forms, perhaps they are at the fourteenth line also.

As for other marks of punctuation at the twelfth line, seven sonnets end the third quatrain with a question mark (nos. 4, 6, 13, 43, 65, 67, 96). All mark questions (at least they have the form of questions though today we call 43 and 96 exclamations and in no. 67 we put the mark earlier); so that we may say that in the system an idea which takes the grammatical form of a question may be pointed with a question mark. That, of course, is not at all the same thing as saying that all questions are marked with a question mark (cf. nos. 115, 137, 149). Such variation is typical of the system. It is the reason why so much has to be written about punctuation.

The same is true of the exclamation marks. The three that appear (no. 92, 95, 120) mark, after the modern fashion, exclamations; yet three other sonnets contain at this point similar constructions (though not exactly in the same form) with like emphasis, and they are marked with periods (nos. 2, 72, 150).

As for the two sonnets with no point at the end of line 12 (nos. 24 and 121), since nothing in their construction suggests a continuity of thought or of versification such as no punctuation implies in other

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situations, I take these examples to be outside of the system, and in number they are like the blanks at the end of the fourteenth line of three sonnets.

The pointing of the ends of the other two quatrains offers parallel statistics. The commonest point is the period; it reflects the organization of the sonnets with their change in thought and change in verse unit at the end of the fourth and eighth lines. That there are fewer periods (72 at line 4 and 76 at line 8) and more colons (33 at line 4 and 40 at line 8) than at line twelve (89 periods and 22 colons) is not proof positive that the change in thought is less marked here than before the couplet. For one thing, there are more question marks here, and they equally well indicate a change in thought in addition to signifying that what has gone before has the form of a question (though today we might treat some of them as exclamations). For another thing, there are fewer commas (the more ordinary mark when, as at line 13 the thought is more usually continuous) at lines 4 and 8 than at line 12 (twenty-three and nineteen compared with thirty). And so we must conclude simply that a period, colon, and comma are alternate forms to mark the end of a quatrain or to mark the end of a definite unit of thought.

As for the other marks at the end of the first two quatrains, there are three instances of no terminal punctuation at line 4 or line 8. In two cases (no. 63, l. 4 and no. 132, l. 8), there is no change in the thought, and the quatrains are linked together by an unbroken unity of idea. In the third case (no. 67, l. 8) there is a definite change in thought, and from the other punctuation of the book we might well expect a question mark (or one of its alternates). Elsewhere at the end of a line (e.g., no. 154, l. 4; no. 12, l. 12; no. 4, l. 1) despite a similar unity of idea we find a comma. Again, we are confronted with alternate forms; or it is perfectly possible that the two blanks, justifiable because there is no change in idea, are due to chance like those at l. 14 and that the system really calls for a comma in those three places despite the patent unity of idea.

A number of question marks appear at the ends of quatrains. These reflect one of the commoner devices of the sonnets—a question or, as in nos. 48, 97, and 119, an exclamation in the form of a question, followed by its answer or implication. That these are more numerous at

lines four and eight than at line twelve reflects, I think, the fact that the couplet is not typically an answer, a resolution to a struggle, but the culmination of an idea that has already been worried and examined. In addition to those queries or exclamations in the form of questions which are marked by interrogation points, there are several at ll. 4 and 8 marked by a comma (no. 39, l. 4), a period (nos. 34, 50, 58, 80, 103, 133 at l. 4; and nos. 28, 31, 41, 101 at l. 8) or a colon (no. 114, l. 8), or no mark at all (no. 67, l. 8). Question marks are not needed here (or indeed in the places where they do appear in the book, for that matter) to announce to the reader that what precedes is a question. Its form always plainly marks such a sentence as a question, and it is sometimes one of a series of questions already (nos. 28, 39, 67, 100, 114). Again this is a case of alternate forms.

Four semicolons (nos. 23, 25, 47, l. 4; no. 143, l. 8), which mark exactly the same kind of change as the period, colon, and comma, and a single exclamation mark (no. 95, l. 4), which points a genuine exclamation, complete the list.

Putting the results of the analysis of the punctuation of the ends of lines four and eight together with that of the end of line twelve, we find only three instances of punctuation which we can definitely label as outside the system—the blanks at l. 8, no. 67 and at l. 12 in nos. 24 and 121. That there may be among those which we have admitted into the system an equal number of marks due to chance is equally probable statistically. Even so, the total is not very great—six; and in view of this proportion it may be that those commas at l. 14, which we tentatively called accidental, ought to be admitted into the system.

I cannot gainsay that this analysis shows the system to be full of ambiguities, which make examination of all possibilities imperative and prediction of a given meaning difficult if not impossible. This much we can say: the pointing at the ends of the quatrains shows the end of an idea. Since a change in idea comes so regularly with the end of a quatrain, it is impossible to decide whether the point reflects the end of the idea or the end of the verse unit of four (or twelve) lines. To the unreliable analogy that if the same ideas came in the same sequence in prose the pointing would by and large be similar, I assent, though not warmly, and insist that all we can tell with the document before us

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is that this pointing performs both functions. One thing we can be sure of: this pointing at ll. 4, 8, and 12, heavier than at ll. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 13, does not generally reflect grammatical structure. For the pointing is usually the same when there is grammatical continuity as when there is not. Now this is exactly parallel to what Croll observed about the prose of the period:

An immense rhetorical complexity and license took the place of the simplicity and purism of the sixteenth century; and, since the age had not yet learned to think much about grammatical propriety, the rules of syntax were made to bear the expenses of the new freedom. . . . The syntactic connections of a sentence become loose and casual; great strains are imposed upon tenuous frail links . . . even the limits of sentences are not clearly marked, and it is sometimes difficult to say where one begins and another ends.⁵

We come now to the pointing of the ends of lines other than those that close a quatrain or the poem. Since the couplets are more nearly alike in their progression of ideas than the quatrains, I begin this study with l. 13. Examination shows that in 136 of the 153 cases, a comma ends the thirteenth line. A new problem arises here, that of the parenthesis. Since throughout the book no mark of punctuation ever follows or precedes a parenthesis (the punctuation mark, that is), the closing sign is an indication both of the termination of the parenthetical expression and the mark of punctuation required by other aspects of the situation—a double duty like that of the question mark. So we must not count the absence of a mark of punctuation after the closing mark of parenthesis along with the blanks. It is itself; its meaning is clear:⁶ it sets off a separable part of a sentence. And with that we can leave it.

In twelve cases, l. 13 ends with no point at all (nos. 9, 12, 15, 24, 25, 47, 60, 64, 78, 115, 117, and 125). Are these twelve omissions in the same class as the omissions at the end of the twelfth and fourteenth lines, accidental and outside the system? They may well be: that there should be greater inconsistency here than at the visually more obvious end of the poem is a reasonable assumption, and as we saw with the ends of the fourth and eighth lines, the punctuation may reflect the verse form

⁵ Morris W. Croll, "The Baroque Style in Prose," *Studies in English Philology, a Miscellany in Honor of Frederick Klaeber*, ed. Kemp Malone and Martin B. Ruud (1929), p. 455.

⁶ For an exception at l. 11, see below, p. 420.

rather than the meaning. But it makes much better sense to me to argue that the couplet is generally very closely organized into a single, telling thought, and that the absence of the comma reflects the fact that the lines form an indivisible unit.

At the same time the comma at the end of l. 13 cannot in a great number of cases be said to reflect any change in meaning or any grammatical construction, except possibly for one instance (no. 39), certainly no change so great as that marked by commas at the ends of quatrains.⁷ In this connection we must observe that there is but one example of a period (no. 105) and two of colons (nos. 7, 102) at this place. They are both so rare that we may well question them. And we find that they reflect nothing special about the meaning, no great change in thought, nothing equal to the change marked by such points at ll. 4, 8, and 12; and so they can be safely said to fall outside the system—just about the same percentage as the blanks at the end of the fourteenth line and as the aberrations that we believed due to chance at the fourth, eighth, and twelfth lines. To return to the commas, since there is seldom any definite change in thought and at most only a slight one, I feel that since I can discover no other meaning for them, they generally mark the end of the line of verse rather than a change in meaning and that they are alternate with the blanks in this position. And so though the presence or absence of a comma may not be a sure sign of what we are to find in the words (as the presence of a question mark always is elsewhere in the poems), it may, and only may, parallel what we find in the words.

For showing this relationship of l. 13 to l. 14, the system is pretty reliable. Out of the 153 examples we can reasonably ascribe at most four to chance, and though the commas may have little meaning, there are no inconsistencies as regards the use of other stops.

The distributions of points for the remaining lines (see Figure 2) are remarkably similar to that for l. 13 and to one another. The comma is by all odds the standard mark and next the blank; and these in a general way reflect the way each quatrain is an unbroken unit of thought. Once again the periods are statistically so unimportant that

⁷ To be sure, there are several other instances, though not many, of line ends that today we should punctuate with a semicolon on account of the grammar or with a dash or a colon to announce that an explanation follows; but the two clauses, the clause and phrase, or the phrase and phrase always add up to a single idea which is the resolution of the poem.

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Line no.	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
1	127	22	2	1						
2	107	13	9	5	1	15	2			
3	111	25	11	3	2					
5	121	23	1	1	1	1	5			
6	119	11	4	7	1	9	2			

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[illegible]

†No. 136 is doubtful.

FIGURE 2. The distribution of the punctuation at the end of ll. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 11. Sonnet no. 126 and ll. 1-5 of no. 99 are not counted. o = blank, no punctuation.

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they require defense on the grounds of meaning if they are to be admitted as belonging to the system. None marks a major change in thought as a period at l. 12 does, and none marks such a change as a period at the end of l. 4 or 8 does. Only two (no. 41, l. 6; no. 96, l. 10) come before a complete and separable idea. Because they can be justified on the basis of meaning, these conceivably may be part of the system. Yet since the chances of their having meaning are few (and then their only possible contribution to the thought is slight and unimportant), they might be grouped with the three blanks at l. 14.

We meet the parenthesis here again. Its meaning and use are the same as at l. 13, but this time we have one of those instances where difference in interpretation of meaning leads to difference of opinion concerning the punctuation. Critics⁸ have disagreed over the meaning of the parenthesis at the end of the famous line

(Like to the Larke at breake of daye arising).

Conceivably we could end the parenthesis at "daye," at "arising," or at "earth" in the following line. Or we can discard the parentheses altogether by understanding an "is" before "Like" and a "which" before "sings." Actually the poet's state becomes so completely merged with the lark to which he compares it that as elsewhere in Shakespeare it is not clear where one term of the metaphor begins and the other ends. And placing the parenthesis at any definite spot may do violence to one of the possible meanings since the identity of subject and thing compared contributes to the richness of the figure. In any case, suppose for argument's sake that we call this an example of a point outside the system.

One difference between the distribution for l. 13 and those for the lines within quatrains is the larger number in them of colons, semicolons, question marks, and one exclamation mark. In almost every case these reflect a change in thought, the kind that we never find within the couplet; they can, save for an infinitesimal borderline fraction, be justified on the basis of the sense: the quatrain simply is not the indivisible unit that the couplet is. For that reason the three periods may be grouped with the colon, comma, and semicolon. That these four marks

⁸ Cf. *The Sonnets of Shakespeare*, ed. R. M. Alden (1916), pp. 83-4.

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may be used interchangeably for similar situations is also true, but here again it appears to be the looseness of the system rather than chance that presents us with a problem of interpretation. We have no reason to suppose that chance did not operate as extensively here as it did, say, at l. 14; but these points together with the one questionable parenthesis cannot be said definitely to be without the system, which is itself so flexible as to obscure aberrations.

That there are more marks of punctuation at the ends of lines than there are within the lines may be explained on two grounds: the end of a thought (no matter how incomplete grammatically) and a line-end usually coincide, and the end of a line and grammatical units more often coincide than otherwise; thus pauses in reading necessary for the sense usually come at the ends of lines. And this is interesting because sometimes our modern syntactic and grammatical punctuation does not "end-stop" some ideas which are certainly not "run-on."⁹ But the coincidence of change in rhythmic cycle and line ending, basic to the rhythmic pattern, may well be the significance of those points at the ends of lines which have no other discoverable meaning, those lines which if this were prose would not be terminated with points. In short, all a comma, the worst offender, and also the colon mean at the ends of many lines is: this is the end of a line of verse. As for the punctuation at the end of quatrains, I cannot even hazard a guess that it ever has as its meaning: this is the end of a quatrain, because changes in thought together with changes in quatrains are of course the rule.

This study of the end-of-the-line punctuation has established four principles:

1. There is a system.
2. The points in large measure reflect the progress of the thought but perhaps may also mark off units of verse.
3. Deviation from the system through the operation of chance is very slight—at least very slight compared to what eighteenth- and nineteenth-century and, alas, some twentieth-century editors have taken it to be—between two and three per cent.

⁹ And this bears out what Professor G. B. Harrison had to say at the 1946 meeting of the Modern Language Association: that based on texts with modern punctuation our counts of run-on and end-stopped lines have really little significance.

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4. There is ambiguity arising from the fact that the same situation may call for more than one point or that the same point may be applied to more than one different situation—exactly the same kind of state of affairs as today except that the areas of overlapping are now less extensive.

An analysis of the points within the lines supports the validity of these four statements, especially the fourth. Within lines, as at the end, the mark of punctuation is always a separator, a distinction, and the principle still operates that similar situations have similar punctuation, but here there is not the possibility that the verse form is what the points point to. Earlier critics (Wyndham, Thistleton, Simpson) detected what they thought was a principle that marks of punctuation, as it were, underlined or pointed out the rhythm. Later critics saw that the rhythmic pauses were the coincidence of sentence units and of rhythm pauses and not solely guides to the line rhythm. Moreover, all the marks of punctuation within the line, save for a mere fraction which cannot be justified on any grounds including that of rhythm, can be justified on the basis of sense and sentence structure. Once again they conform to a system, even though the system is ambiguous.

By far the most frequent point is the comma. There are over six hundred marks of punctuation within the lines of the sonnets, and of these only fifty-eight are not commas: 43 parentheses (counting a pair as a single mark and including those already discussed that end a line), 2 question marks, 2 exclamation marks, 5 semicolons, 1 period, and 5 colons. Are these outside the system? Being numerically unimpressive, they must be justified on the ground of meaning if we are to admit them. They can all be easily justified. Three of the parentheses are single, open parenthesis marks, and they designate a turned back or spill-over line. The others mark off adjectival constructions coming after the nouns they modify, appositional and complementary expressions, true parenthetical "I say" and "or thought I found"—in short, elements which interrupt the usual flow of a sentence—and there is one instance of a compound modifier which today we should hyphen:

Was it the proud full saile of his great verse,
Bound for the prize of (all to precious) you.
(no. 86, ll. 1-2)

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Besides these there is the one mark of parenthesis at the end of a line (see above) whose position may be nonsystematic. The question marks for their part point genuine questions; the exclamation marks end genuine exclamations. (Once again, this is not to say that all questions and exclamations are so marked.) And the semicolons, periods, and colons all mark elements that need separation. One of the semicolons and one of the colons have the force of modern dashes, so disrupting is the change in thought:

[I] found no cure, the bath for my helpe lies,
Where *Cupid* got new fire; my mistres eye
(no. 153, ll. 13-4)

and

For I haue sworne thee faire: more periurde eye,
To swere against the truth so foule a lie.
(no. 152, ll. 13-4)

The others do mark definite changes in thought but not so definite as the usual change at l. 13; nor can I find any difference between them and a number of changes marked by commas; in this respect two of the semicolons are particularly suspect:

Tell me thou lou'st else-where; but in my sight,
(no. 139, l. 5)

and

Haue I not seene dwellers on forme and fauor
Lose all, and more by paying too much rent
For compound sweet; Forgoing simple sauor,
Pittifull thriuors in their gazing spent
(no. 125, ll. 5-8)

If we take the second of these as an accidental use of the semicolon, we must include as part of the accident the capital of "Forgoing," for capitals are used elsewhere in the book after semicolons and colons; and we do not require Wyndham's explanation of it (quoted by Alden, p. 296) as a capital for emphasis. Still we need not discard all the marks of separation other than commas because some of them are by our usual standards nonsystematic. In view of the interchangeability of comma,

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colon, period, and semicolon at the ends of ll. 4, 8, and 12, it is most reasonable to conclude that most of the instances of colons, periods, and semicolons are examples of forms alternate with the comma.

Among the commas, it is difficult to distinguish those outside the system, for as we saw with the points at the ends of lines, the comma has such wide application and is used or not used almost unpredictably. But we can still say in a given situation that it is more likely that a comma will appear in such a situation than not, and in at least six, possibly even seven instances, the comma is what Rollins (ii, 17) would describe as "impossible"—it cannot be justified either by the sense or by parallelism with other practices in the system. These are:

And patience tame, to sufferance bide each check
(no. 58, l. 7)

instead of

And patience, tame to sufferance, bide each check

as we should point it today or as we might have found it had chance
not operated

And patience tame to sufferance, bide each check,

for points are more frequent in the system of the 1609 *Sonnets* after
interruptive modifiers than before them. There are also:

Incapable of more repleat, with you
(no. 113, l. 13)
The ills that were, not grew to faults assured
(no. 118, l. 10)

Two not listed by Rollins, of which the first is doubtful, are:

When I haue seene such interchange of state,
Or state it selfe confounded, to decay,
(no. 64, ll. 9-10)
And on iust proofe surmise, accumulate.
(no. 117, l. 10)

The last is debatable:

Had, hauing, and in quest, to haue extreame.
(no. 129, l. 10)

The final example has been justified: Laura Riding and Robert Graves in their excellent analysis of this sonnet find no barrier to understanding in the punctuation.¹⁰ There are doubtless other examples, but not so many as to raise the percentage of accidental points above that for line-end punctuation.

About ninety-nine per cent of the internal punctuation can be justified on the basis of the words in the text as aids to reading in marking off units of idea or as following a purely arbitrary convention. The second of these aspects is the more curious. There are so many examples of the practice that we cannot call all of them accidents, and they are paralleled by modern practice. We can but recognize them in the same way as we do when put to it to justify modern practice. Today it is conventional to separate members of a series of more than two by commas and not a series of two joined by "and" unless those two are independent clauses. Yet in the *Sonnets*, the system allowed for separating a series of two joined by "and" with a comma—whether single words, phrases, or clauses, either dependent or independent. And the principle applies not only to joining by "and" but to joining by "or," "nor," and "but" (even when "but" means "except" or "only"—a form conceivably made on the analogy of the use with the co-ordinating conjunction "but"). As today in parallel constructions using "not" and "yet," the comma may be used to separate the elements (unless they are independent clauses), and unlike today, the comma is standard before "yet" introducing an independent clause.

On the other hand, as a separator, the comma may serve as real help to the reader. It does greatest service in marking parallel members of a series not joined by a conjunction after every member—single words, phrases, and clauses, both dependent and independent. Next, it marks elements which have interrupted the usual progress of the sentence—vocatives, appositional locutions, adjectives following nouns, inverted objects, complements, or modifiers (hyperbaton), or changes in the construction (anacoluthon). And the comma follows separable introductory locutions and often precedes modifiers (especially clauses and participles) when they close a sentence. Some serve the purpose of showing that a word goes with what precedes or follows rather than

¹⁰ Laura Riding and Robert Graves, *A Survey of Modernist Poetry* (1927), pp. 68–74.

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the reverse as you might take it in rapid reading. Another use is one which Simpson pointed out: "when two words of similar sound and spelling are placed side by side, the pause necessary for clear articulation is marked by means of a comma."¹¹

Since, then, the comma serves so many purposes it may sometimes be impossible to decide what its function or what its meaning is in a given situation; and only when we see that it does not make sense and separates elements that are most closely related (in progression, I mean, and not in parallelism) or when a use is infrequent and unlike any other practice can we say that a point is outside the system. And examples of such are remarkably few, largely limited, I believe, to those I have listed as "impossible." Accordingly there is no need to change our attitudes towards the system which we formed upon analyzing the end-of-line punctuation.

The import of the difference between accidental inconsistencies and alternate forms, a distinction which is one of the contributions of this paper, to an editor is modified by his purpose. If he wants to make a text which others can analyze to discover possible meanings, he must reproduce every mark of punctuation as it stands. Or he may make a text which changes those marks he considers outside the system to conform to the system of the document. In such a text, he presents an opportunity for a reader familiar with other texts of the time to choose among interpretations where the punctuation offers a choice, to extract as much meaning as the situation permits, and to discover principles of punctuation. The last of these interests me especially; the number of times that I have admitted that the only explanation of a given mark of punctuation is not very meaningful suggests to me that there are many opportunities for new explanations; that they will supply startling new clues to meaning is doubtful. These three advantages are why today's reader can profitably learn the conventions of the older punctuation rather than depend solely upon another's, an editor's, interpretation. As Croll (p. 456) says:

We must not measure the customs of the age of semicolons and colons by the customs of the age of commas and periods. The only possible punctuation of seventeenth-century prose is that which it used itself. We might

¹¹ Percy Simpson, *Shakespearian Punctuation* (1911), pp. 30-1.

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sometimes reveal its grammar more clearly by repunctuating it with commas or periods, but we should certainly destroy its rhetoric

—or as I should say, in the case of poetry, the progression of its thought, rhythm, or form if we changed its commas to periods, semicolons, question marks, and exclamation points. Finally, if an editor takes the third possible way of presenting a text—modernizing—he best conveys his interpretation of the meaning of the text short of explanatory notes and paraphrases, but as in explanatory notes and paraphrases he is departing from the original verse.

In this paper I have avoided the questions of whose punctuation is represented in the early editions—the poet's, the manuscript copyist's, the editor's, the compositor's, the press corrector's. I have tried rather to focus my attention on the only document we have to work with and arrive at some conclusions concerning its value in revealing the meaning of the poems to us. For we do not know what kind of punctuator the great master of words was (I should like to guess a pretty poor one) or what kind of stylist the copyist, the compositor, or press corrector was without examining the results of their work. But even if we knew the punctuation to be Shakespeare's, we should still have to analyze it to be able to understand and to evaluate it. To know more about any of these agents of transmission might well tell us more about the sonnets. Thus in no. 55, l. 1,

Not marble, nor the gilded monument,

the chances that the comma at the end of the line is really outside the system are greatly increased by the likelihood that the manuscript hooked *s* in "monuments" was confused by the compositor for a comma and allowed to pass by a proofreader who was not interested in the rhyme.

But even avoiding such relevant considerations we can learn by an analysis of the only available document. Thus in the majority of cases we must not make a one-to-one equation between a mark of punctuation and a given meaning. There is a slight probability that a single mark may be one accidentally outside the system. And not only may a single mark have a multiple meaning, but a single situation may allow more than one mark. But we cannot on the basis of these two areas of

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ambiguity discard all meaning that the points have. Thus in nos. 50 and 51, we ought not to think that the principal change in thought comes elsewhere than at the twelfth line because the pointing is stronger at the ends of other lines than it is there. No more should we confuse the two kinds of ambiguity, the one caused by chance and the one inherent in the system and so say that there is no system; nor underrate the consistency with which the system is applied and so cast doubt upon the reliability of the rest of the text. And we must not scoff at the enthusiasts who find great beauty and great significance in some of the marks of punctuation; the reason they have failed to convince is that they failed to see that this great beauty and this great significance are to be found in only *some* of the marks.

On the other hand, the fluidity of the system is such that there may not be many rewards in the way of clues to meaning. Periods, semicolons, question marks, and exclamation points are fairly reliable indexes to meaning. But you cannot always find them used. So are parentheses. Thus if we find one which we cannot justify on the basis of meaning, we may feel free to emend. But colons are often ambiguous, and commas are the worst offenders; as we have seen, they are the most frequent marks of punctuation. Their areas of meaning are so great that they may help us little with the meaning; they are mere separators, and if we are in doubt about their propriety we are hard pressed to justify an emendation within the system. With such a system in the *Sonnets* of 1609, the reader must in most cases rely on the words or at best on the words and what punctuation he finds rather than upon the punctuation alone to determine the meaning of the sonnet or directions about oral delivery.

THE MEDIAEVAL COMIC SPIRIT IN THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

By WILLARD FARNHAM

In England the mediaeval comic spirit, like the mediaeval tragic spirit, had exceptional length of life and exceptional power to join with the creative forces of the Renaissance. It is in the genius of the Gothic grotesque that the mediaeval comic spirit is most distinctive, and it is in the realm of the Gothic grotesque that it made distinguishable gifts to the English Renaissance.

If we would know what the mediaeval comic spirit contributed to the English Renaissance, we can do worse than begin with a glance at a famous book about those human manifestations of the grotesque called folly. The book is *The Praise of Folly*, which Erasmus wrote for, and dedicated to, his witty English friend Thomas More and published in 1511. In *The Praise of Folly* Erasmus is ironic, but he is far from being so ironic as to make himself a crusader against folly. At times he shows sharp scorn for human asininity. In the main, however, he is inspired by a wise humor that accepts folly as a necessary part of life. This humor does more than merely tolerate foolishness. At the conclusion of the argument in praise of folly which he puts into the mouth of the spirit of Folly, Erasmus reaches an eloquent height of jesting in earnest, where irony seems to cancel irony. He rises to the contention that God loves the foolish and that the goal of Christianity is a special kind of folly rather than a special kind of wisdom.

In this conclusion to *The Praise of Folly* Erasmus wears his learning with the air of a modern. He is still the humanist. But here in the climax of this Renaissance work his spiritual vision is mediaeval, and he gives us a clear insight into the profoundest meaning that folly could have to the mediaeval mind. Certainly we may find the mediaeval genius at its best—along with a certain modern subtlety—in the following sentences from his conclusion that have to do with the love for the foolish shown by both God the Son and God the Father:

Yet why [says Erasmus speaking through the mouth of Folly] am I so needlessly careful in going about to support these matters by all those proofs

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and witnesses when in the mystical psalms Christ himself, speaking to the Father, says for all to hear, "Thou knowest my foolishness"? Nor indeed is it without cause that fools are so vastly pleasing to God; the reason being, I suggest, that just as great princes look suspiciously on men who are too clever, and hate them . . . while on the other hand they take delight in duller and simpler souls; so Christ detests and condemns those wise men who rely on their own prudence. Paul witnesses to this very clearly when he says, "God has chosen the foolish things of the world," and when he says, "It has pleased God to save the world by foolishness," seeing that it could never be redeemed by wisdom. But God points this out clearly enough when he cries through the mouth of the prophet, "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and I will reject the prudence of the prudent." And again, our Lord gave thanks that God had concealed the mystery of salvation from the wise, but he revealed it to babes, that is, to fools. . . . He seems to find most potent delight in little children, women, and fishermen. And even in the class of brute creatures, those which are farthest from a foxlike cunning were best pleasing to Christ. He preferred to ride upon a donkey, though had He chosen He could have mounted the back of a lion without danger.¹

The glorification of the fool in this unsimple bit of argument by Erasmus is essentially the same as that to be found in a simple mediaeval miracle play in which an emperor's son steps down from his high position and feigns to be a fool. The emperor's son does so in order to flee the wiles of the false world and to chasten his flesh so that each day it shall be more humble than the day before. He is stoned in the city streets but is finally recognized as a saint, through whose intercession, we learn, Our Lady will interest herself in the very worst of sinners.²

We cannot doubt that a large part of the inspiration for *The Praise of Folly* came from More. Erasmus says in his dedication that he supposed the book would meet with special favor from More. He says in the sketch of More's character written for Ulrich von Hutten that More *made* him write the book. This, he adds, was "like setting a camel to dance."³

Now when it came to comic spirit Erasmus was no camel. But neither was he so gay and irrepressible a dancer as More. Obviously More's

1 *The Praise of Folly*, tr. H. H. Hudson (1941), pp. 114-5.

2 *Miracles de Notre Dame*, ed. G. Paris and U. Robert (Société des anciens textes français), Paris (1878), iii, 3 ff. See Barbara Swain, *Fools and Folly during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (1932), pp. 41-2.

3 *Sir Thomas More: Selections from his English Works and from the Lives by Erasmus and Roper*, ed. P. S. and H. M. Allen (1924), p. 4.

gayety meant much to Erasmus and was one of the reasons why Erasmus found spiritual refreshment in his association with this man whom he called an English Democritus. For More's gayety was not shallow gayety. It came from a spiritual depth, from a mediaeval spiritual depth. More was an even finer example than Erasmus of the combination of mediaeval spiritual depth with Renaissance humanism. Because he was such, he died a martyr. And because he was such, one can well believe that he taught Erasmus something which helped to make *The Praise of Folly* what it is. The book seems to be a monument to More as well as to its author.

More is the presiding genius of the mediaeval comic spirit in the early English Renaissance. His writings often enough show a wise love of folly. We find in them a defence of what he calls "fonde chyldyshe tales" and a declaration that he thinks "no tale so foolishe, but that yet in one matter or other to some purpose it may hap to serue."⁴ He kept a household fool, a poor innocent who had been crazed by a fall from a church steeple. He furthered the cause of comedy, both in life and on the stage. He handled the difficulties of life with never-failing humor. And because his soul was at peace, he met his martyr's death in a spirit of grim Gothic foolery. Said he, going up the scaffold to his execution and finding the scaffold weak and unsteady, "I pray you, good *M. Lieutenant*, see me safe vp, & for my comming downe let me shift for my selfe."⁵ Then he said his prayers and turned to the executioner with a cheerful injunction to take heart and do a neat job with the axe upon a neck that was somewhat short. More's comic spirit is comparable to that found in sincerely religious moral plays of his period, plays such as he loved. It is of finer grain but it is of the same order. Because it is of that order, it seems sometimes to be incompatible with seriousness and yet is happily married to seriousness. We may take *The Praise of Folly*, over the writing of which More's spirit may be said to have presided, as giving perhaps the best insight into the religious accompaniment of More's genius. Its sentences on God's love of foolishness make us think of the saint who loved foolishness, and loved it wisely, St. Thomas More.

⁴ *A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulacion* (1553), H4^r.

⁵ William Roper, *The Mirrour of Vertue in Worldly Greatnes. Or the Life of Syr Thomas More Knight* (Paris, 1626), p. 166.

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At this point we should consider both the mediaeval tragic spirit and the mediaeval comic spirit in their religious aspects with especial reference to a profound difference between the Middle Ages and our own age. The Middle Ages tended to feel natural imperfection in the world whereas our age tends to feel natural perfectibility. The difference is one between accepting easily and not accepting easily the shortcomings of the mortal scheme under which we live. I say "accepting easily." I may even venture to say "accepting gladly." To the Middle Ages the imperfection of the world could be, and often was, the object lesson of object lessons, for which the man who would save his soul was to be unfailingly thankful. In the main the world as tragedy was grandly irrational. It seemed the spectacular plaything of a whimsical Fortune. In its irrational disorder it fell so far short of Heaven that it could be a constant reminder of the eternal goodness, the eternal truth, and the eternal beauty that it failed to achieve. Thus mediaeval Christians practiced that form of religious meditation called contempt of the world in which they observed and dwelt upon the imperfections of the world as a means of fixing aspiration upon Heaven. But we must always remember that it was not because they had natural distaste for the world that mediaeval Christians practiced contempt of the world. They had abounding natural taste for the world and its joys. They had so much taste for the world's offerings that they often observed the world with affection and interest. Still another thing that we must always remember is that when mediaeval Christians dwelt upon the imperfections of the world, they hardly ever had a notion that social or any other kind of worldly insecurity could be done away with. Mediaeval Christians tended to be dissatisfied with their souls and to reform those, not to be dissatisfied with the world as a system and to reform that. The world with all its tragic imperfections upon it they took as it was, and were sometimes even able to love it greatly when they were not finding it contemptible.

In the same way that the world as tragedy could be grandly irrational to the Middle Ages and seem a magnificent procession of misfortune, the world as comedy could be grandly grotesque and seem a magnificent procession of folly. In their grotesquely comic aspect the world's imperfections were as great an object lesson as they were in their tragic aspect. They could reveal the sublime by being so markedly

not the sublime. They were just as much to be accepted without any thought that they ought to be reformed. Moreover, the grotesque was apt to be humble and unassuming, sometimes even pitifully so, and thus it was eminently fit to be loved by the pride-hating Middle Ages. The human symbol of the grotesque was the fool, the natural or the artificial innocent.

Even when the mediaeval grotesque mocked the most sacred sublime, as it often did, it could be what Ruskin, speaking of a quality of the best Gothic architecture, calls the noble grotesque. As Ruskin says, "The master of the noble grotesque knows the depth of all at which he seems to mock, and would feel it at another time, or feels it in a certain under-current of thought even while he jests with it."⁶ Erasmus and More are Renaissance masters of this noble grotesque that Ruskin finds in the art of the Middle Ages. In a manner that is somewhat different from theirs Shakespeare is another Renaissance master of the same grotesque. Of Shakespeare's mastership in this kind I shall say something later.

Because the Gothic spirit could marry the playfully realistic or the grotesque to the sublime, it can at times seem shockingly boorish, as well as grossly irreverent, to some modern minds. What, it may be asked, was the Gothic spirit about when it decorated the aspiring form of a cathedral not only with fittingly beautiful and edifying figures but also with bizarre and vulgar figures? It is not hard to see why on a cathedral there should be carvings of monstrous devils, for the Christian needed to be warned constantly of devils, even in church. But why should there be gargoyles and similar decorations in fanciful shapes of dogs, lions, wolves, tigers, horses, toads, owls, and other real or imaginary animals, and in fanciful shapes of men? Why, for example, should a man being vomited by a dragon or a fool in cap and bells sitting on an old man's shoulders appear as a gargoyle? Why should there be realistic, or fanciful, or horrible heads, animal and human, scattered over the fabric of a cathedral? Why, for example, should a man with his hand in his mouth, suffering a toothache that is made all too real in the low comic style, look down at us from the foliage of a capital? Why should there be carved in the wood as well as the stone of a cathedral such figures as these and also scenes, often humorous, from the

⁶ John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice* (1860), iii, 154.

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commonest of everyday life?⁷ What, it may similarly be asked, was the Gothic spirit about when it mixed the most vulgar comedy with its religious drama, or when it allowed a Feast of Fools to be held in a cathedral and to burlesque the divine service?

We must answer, it seems to me, that in such expressions of playfulness the Gothic genius was providing an assault from within itself against its own pride of spirit. Naturally I do not mean that there was always a serious religious intent on the part of the fun-makers when masons or wood-carvers made amusing monstrosities for church decorations, or dramatists put gross jesting into religious plays, or clerks played dice upon the cathedral altar and otherwise ran riot during the Feast of Fools. The fun-makers were after all human, and consequently often had their minds on nothing but sport. Sir Edmund Chambers says that the Feast of Fools "was largely an ebullition of the natural lout beneath the cassock,"⁸ and so it was. But the point is that for generations the deeply religious instincts of the Middle Ages allowed the thoughtless lout, even in the face of protest against him, to have his grotesque fun with sacred matters. The reason seems to be that the Middle Ages found it good for man's soul to be taken down a peg whenever it started to soar. They seem to have been keenly aware that man's soul can soar much too cheaply and easily and to have felt that man in the flesh must never forget the natural lout that is in him, ready to make him ridiculous or even to mark him for Hell. When the architect aspired toward Heaven with his cathedral, he took the gargoyle along with him. In the same way, when the baron aspired toward kingship on Fortune's wheel, he took the fool in cap and bells along with him. Both gargoyle and fool, we must assume, made sport for the thoughtless and cured pride for the thoughtful.

We do not have opportunity here in little space to follow the changes in the mediaeval comic spirit that took place in England with the advance of the Renaissance. Let us turn at once to a brief consideration of the mediaeval comic spirit in Shakespeare.

⁷ See, for example, M. D. Anderson, *The Medieval Carver* (1935); L. B. Bridaham, *Gargoyles, Chimères, and the Grotesque in French Gothic Sculpture* (1930); E. S. Prior and Arthur Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England* (1912).

⁸ *Med. Stage* (1903), i, 325.

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One side of Shakespeare's many-sided genius is the fullest and best expression of the mediaeval comic spirit to be found in the later English Renaissance. Shakespeare presides over the mediaeval comic spirit in the later English Renaissance as More presides over it in the earlier. Shakespeare may or may not have had something of the mediaeval religious faith. But it is certain that he inherited a mediaeval comic impulse to check man's soaring pride by using the art of the grotesque. The fools and clowns of Shakespeare are easily recognizable as mediaeval grotesque figures. In Shakespeare's age, alas, the mediaeval fool and his antic fellow, the mediaeval clown, were having their last fling, their Allhallown summer of life. In the next age they died, along with mediaeval contempt of the world.⁹ Shakespeare's fools and clowns do not only take us back to the low comic figures of mystery and miracle plays, moralities, and interludes. They also take us back to the grotesque in other than dramatic expressions of the mediaeval comic spirit. The gravediggers in *Hamlet* are gargoyles on a dramatic cathedral. Hamlet has within himself a sufficient check for any tendency of his to think too highly of man the quintessence of dust, but the gravediggers provide an extra check. The fool in *Lear* is by long odds the best of such Shakespearean gargoyles used to emphasize tragic seriousness in the style of the Gothic grotesque. This fool, by helping to strip Lear's soul of pride and by taking hold of our sympathies in his own name as well as in Lear's, adds much to the fear and pity that Shakespeare's supreme tragedy arouses. Erasmus and More would say, if they could, I think, that Lear's fool shows a kind of innocent foolishness which is highly beloved of God.

But it is in Falstaff that we find the most complex figure of comedy created by the mediaeval side of Shakespeare's genius. No matter how much of the *miles gloriosus* has filtered into him, Falstaff is primarily a mediaeval grotesque figure. He is much more than an ordinary fool, much more than an ordinary clown. We do not always understand him so easily as we laugh at him or with him.

As Mr. John Dover Wilson has said recently, and others have said before him, the two parts of *Henry IV* contain a moral play of the

⁹ For the death of the mediaeval fool and the mediaeval clown see Olive M. Busby, *Studies in the Development of the Fool in the Elizabethan Drama* (1923), p. 85 ff.

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mediaeval kind, in which the hero falls into evil ways but at the end is saved.¹⁰ Prince Hal is, of course, the hero. In Shakespeare's edifying dramatization of Prince Hal as Everyman, Falstaff is the Vice—a "reverend Vice," a "grey Iniquity," to use the words of Hal himself. Supposedly Falstaff provides temptation for Hal and is his evil genius. Part of the fun lies in the fact that Hal is more than a match for his evil genius. Apparently he lives riotously for a time because he wants to, not because Falstaff prevails over him. The Vice in the moral play is never a very terrifying or powerful worker against good. He is usually a mere hanger-on in the army of evil. He is unmoral rather than immoral, mischievous rather than Satanic, a creature between clownish man and elf-like spirit. Falstaff is even less devilish than the ordinary Vice. He has nothing at all of the ordinary Vice's power to deceive. Hal always sees through Falstaff's tricks. It must never be forgotten that Falstaff the sinner is essentially humble and unassuming, the opposite of proud.

Though Falstaff has the Vice's evil power in the lowest degree, he has the Vice's comic power in the highest degree. Like many a pre-Elizabethan Vice he is grotesquely unmoral. Physically he is a comic monster because he is drowned in flesh, and spiritually a comic monster because he has no conscience whatever, not even the rudiments of one. He is much too fat for an elf, but he has all of the Vice's elfin lack of responsibility, elfin lack of shame, elfin lack of worry about the future. In living wholly for his body and not at all for his soul, he is the monstrous opposite of the saint. One cannot imagine, according to mediaeval Christian standards, a better or more amiable object lesson in clownish human imperfection. And one cannot imagine how Shakespeare could present this acme of clownishness with any more mediaeval kind of beautiful laughing acceptance than that with which he does present him. Shakespeare never for a moment shows the irritation of the reformer-satirist over the fact that the imperfect world can produce a creature such as Falstaff. Nor does Shakespeare ever suggest in a modern fashion that Falstaff, by never allowing any of his desires to be

¹⁰ John Dover Wilson, *The Fortunes of Falstaff* (1943). Reference to earlier writers on the subject is made by R. W. Babcock, "Mr. Dover Wilson, the Critics, and Falstaff," *Shak. Assoc. Bull.*, xix (1944), 120.

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repressed, really has a good answer to life. Falstaff does not deceive Shakespeare any more than he deceives Hal. Like Hal Shakespeare can accept Falstaff and even love him but at the same time keep him in his place. We should not hold it against Hal or against Shakespeare that when Hal finally takes on the responsibilities of kingship, in *The Second Part of Henry IV*, he rejects Falstaff. We should take into account the religious overtones of Hal's memorable words beginning:

I know thee not, old man: fall to thy prayers.
(V, v, 51)

Understanding this rejection of Falstaff and of his world of the tavern seems to me quite nearly the same as understanding the rejection of the world of profane love at the end of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. In either case one must see that men who followed the mediaeval tradition could appreciate the delights of bodily life and yet keep the world of the flesh from getting out of hand by roundly condemning and rejecting it when things got to a certain point of seriousness.

At the same time that Falstaff put in his appearance on the English stage the characters of Ben Jonson's comedy of humours put in their appearance. The Jonsonian figures of folly helped to herald the new age in which the mediaeval comic spirit was to be allowed to die. In this new age folly was frequently to be handled in a spirit of moral indignation, as though it were a disease, or in a spirit of cynical cleverness, as though it were made for the entertainment of superior persons. Even when there was to be charity for folly, this charity was not to be mediaeval love of folly. King Lear's Fool and Prince Hal's Falstaff came into the world just in time.

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE

By HELEN C. WHITE

Even today the audience for religious literature is larger than is generally appreciated in literary circles. In the sixteenth century it was pretty nearly conterminous with the entire reading public. A very large percentage of the publication of the time, as high as forty per cent, it has been estimated,¹ was religious in subject matter, if not always in spirit. And it was read, as we can tell from the numbers of editions through which many of these books ran in what was for those days a very short period. Moreover, it was read not only by religious enthusiasts but by the general public of intelligent and alert and informed men and women, including poets and men of letters like Spenser and Shakespeare.

Of course, this was an age of compulsory church membership and even church attendance, but hardly of compulsory religious reading. Doubtless there were not wanting those who read pious books because it was the thing to do. But the more one studies the religious literature of the time, the more one becomes convinced that most of this reading was done for the same reason that any literature is read in any age, because it comes home to the bosom and business of the men and women who read it. The religious literature of the sixteenth century did that to an eminent degree.

To begin with, it dealt with the central issues of human life in general and human life in particular. So many of what would today be called the ideological issues of the time were either issues of religious doctrine and discipline or had such intimate religious involvements that it may quite literally be said that religion was at the center of the life of the age. Consequently, religious books dealt with what were the main preoccupations of the time in personal and in social life alike. They defined and inculcated with extensive reference to authority, human and divine, what we should today call the accepted values, both

¹ Edith L. Klotz, "A Subject Analysis of English Imprints for Every Tenth Year from 1480 to 1640," *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, i (1937-8), 417-9.

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personal and social, and with example and warning and exhortation they proceeded to enforce the standards of thought and feeling and action that would express and realize those values. And while characteristically these books usually took off from very large premises, expressed in often lofty and even metaphysical terms and buttressed by very elaborate structures of logic and many citations of authority, they usually came to grips with their specific issues in very practical and immediate and down-to-earth, not to say, earthy, terms. They might proceed out of eternity, and even set eternity as their objective, but they steered their course very shrewdly through the known depths and shallows of their own day.

In the half-amateur, half-encyclopaedic fashion of the humanism of the time, they covered a vast intellectual estate which has since been leased out to a score of specialties. For they by no means confined themselves to theology, speculative and moral, but they dealt constantly with psychology, theoretical and applied, even experimental, and they made their less systematic but by no means negligible forays into the as yet undifferentiated provinces of sociology. They were old hands at political theory, both in its classic sense from Plato and Aristotle down, and in its freshly illustrated and multitudinously dramatized Elizabethan version. And they were by no means innocent of economics, even if they under-estimated the impersonal forces and over-estimated human villainy at the expense of human ignorance and folly. They had a theory of history, even if it was indebted more to Moses than to Thucydides, and their authors like all Elizabethan writers had reflected much on aesthetics in the fields of literature and oratory. Their science was rudimentary, of course, and their explanations of natural phenomena on a level with much of their economics, but they were often widely misinformed in the natural history of the time, and they used their misinformation to very lively effect. And they had the characteristic Elizabethan writer's happy and graphic facility with the technology of the time. Finally, for all their Bible-inspired obsession with idolatry, they were by no means emancipated from the superstitions of their day.

The result is that they afford us not only a very extensive and vivid panorama of the abstract theory and speculation of their time, but

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they give us incidentally and implicitly countless rich and revealing glimpses of the inner and outer life of that age as it came to feeling and imagination as well as judgment. And while it is always hazardous to say that any body of literature accurately reflects popular taste and interest, especially in a field like this where motives of edification on the part of the authors and self-improvement on the part of the readers are implicit in the very undertaking, still the effort to reach the average man in this literature is evident at every turn, and the mirroring of his tastes and interests is equally apparent.

Particularly is this true of the books of private devotion. For where everyone but a few privileged foreigners had to conform to the official formularies of the various promulgations of directions for public prayer, nobody had to use a book of private devotions unless he was so moved. And while, as we shall see, efforts were made to oversee and direct this as every other aspect of sixteenth-century religious life, still the very fact that this was a field of free and individual choice led to a real effort to meet the needs of the typical layman or of groups of laymen. The result was a multiplication of efforts to satisfy the private spiritual needs of the time that afforded the individual a very considerable range of choice, and therefore a very considerable degree of influence on the shaping of the literature that was to win his attention.

The expansion of this devotional literature was encouraged by the fact that sixteenth-century England had inherited a good many books of private devotion from Catholic days. They were of a number of different types. Of these the most important was the Primer. This "lay folks' prayer book," as Henry Littlehales very appropriately termed it,² represented the work of generations of tradition and accretion and selection. In the course of time it had developed certain fixtures that one might expect to find in any Primer, such as the Hours of the Blessed Virgin, the Seven Penitential Psalms, the Fifteen Gradual Psalms, the Litany, the Office for the Dead, and the Commendations or prayers following the Office for the Dead.

These were the traditional elements found in practically all of the many Primers that have survived. But few of the late fifteenth- and

² *The Prymer or Lay Folks' Prayer Book*, ed. Henry Littlehales (Early English Text Society, No. 109, 1897).

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early sixteenth-century Primers were confined to these basic elements. Most of them provided in addition to these fixed elements a very considerable offering of devotions for special needs and occasions, and some of them a very extensive collection of prayers for almost every conceivable requirement of the personal or corporate devotional life. In these supplementary elements there was, therefore, a wide margin for personal choice and adaptation to current conditions.

As a result, the Primer was admirably suited to the purposes of those who wished to bring about various changes in the religious orientation of the English people. It had been subjected to the critical scrutiny of the early sixteenth-century reformers who had no thought of changing the basic premises of religious doctrine and life, but who were anxious to purge the practice of that doctrine and life of acknowledged abuses and corruptions and to screw up the relaxed and weakened pitch of its spirit. But it, also, early attracted the attention of men who wished to bring about various degrees of change in basic doctrine and patterns of life. The very criticisms of the earlier reformers now made it easier for these men to adapt the Primer to their purposes. The result is a very interesting series of editions which reflect admirably the development of various stages in the English Reformation.

A good example of a limited modification of the traditional book is to be seen in *Thys Prymer in Englyshe and in Laten* which was published, with no indication of the printer's name, in Paris in 1538. This edition presents an abundant and, on the whole, doctrinally orthodox offering of traditional materials, but with slight modifications that are obviously designed to conform to the anti-monastic and anti-papal position which the English Church had assumed by that date. A more advanced example of the process of adaptation is to be found in a somewhat earlier book, one of the Byddell-Marshall Primers, that was published in 1535. The editor of this book had already in the preceding year published a more radical version, in which he had, for instance, omitted the Litany. That innovation had obviously drawn too much protest. So now he feels compelled to include the Litany, but he gets even with his critics by pointing out that he does so for "the contentation of such weyke myndes, and somewhat to beare theyr infirmities."³

3 *A Goodly Prymer in Englyshe* (John Byddell for Wylliam Marshall, 1535, Sig. L3).

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It is easy to see from such a book as this how the Primer might be used by authority as an official instrument for propagating approved attitudes and states of mind and feeling. It is hardly necessary at this date to call attention to the competence and versatility of the sixteenth-century English government in the art of propaganda. The official Primer of 1545⁴ which sums up a whole series of unofficial and quasi-official experiments in directing pious thought and feeling is a very impressive monument to its skill in the field where it achieved its most hard-won and therefore notable successes. This version of the traditional book is a fascinating one to study, because it is not by any means always easy to draw the line between the religious man's desire to conserve what is of enduring value through all contemporary changes and the statesman's concern about the precise degree of change which naturally conservative popular taste will stand. Nowhere is the tension that runs through all sixteenth-century religious literature between the exhilaration of sweeping away the past and the solicitude for keeping the prestige of the accepted and time-authenticated more apparent than here.

This process of editing and adaptation took a variety of forms. The most obvious was the expurgation of repudiated elements, like the Marian prayers or the traditional prayers for the dead. At first, there was some diffidence about outright expurgation. The reforming editor would include the suspected elements with an introductory note of his own. Sometimes this introductory note would rather heavily-handedly caution the reader against the monstrous corruption of the traditional use of the psalms of the *Dirige*, for example, as did the editor in the Byddell-Marshall book of 1535 already referred to: "Finally, there is nothyng in the Dirige taken out of scripture, that maketh any more mention of the soules departed, than dothe the tale of Robyn Hooode."⁵ Or a more cautious editor might content himself with pointing out that the Old Testament author had obviously intended nothing by them but a confession of guilt, always relevant in any age, and a petition for forgiveness, certainly equally in order. A more adroit editor might go further and point out that of course no one would think of taking the verses below in any but the sense in which he wanted them to be taken.

4 *The Primer set forth by the Kynges Majestie and his Clergie* (Richard Grafton, 1545).

5 *Goodly Prymer*, Sig. L1.

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A certain number of reflective readers who kept up with the controversies of the time would see the point with approval or disapproval according to the cast of their sympathies, and professionals, of course, would follow the game with understanding, but the average pious reader doubtless sought the familiar prayers, and when he found them used them, in the spirit and sense in which he had been accustomed to use them without much regard to the admonitions of the editor.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the editor lost whatever faith he had had in indirection and, when he saw his chance, omitted the prayers he regarded as superstitious or idolatrous in their use if not their content. And now when the prospective reader opened the book, if he were an intelligent and informed man, he knew where he was at. And if he were neither, doubtless he was puzzled and uneasy, and wondered what the world was coming to. But by that time, the parson in the church was probably talking about the happy dawn of a new day in which ancient darkness was being dissipated, and the average churchgoer drifted along with a moving world here as in most things.

Sometimes the whole matter was much less obvious. The Calendar in the Primers, for instance, saw a good many deletions and even on occasion some additions in these years, and the process of deletion and insertion did not always move in a straight line. And the same process is to be seen in the treatment of the occasional and supplementary prayers, which, as we have seen, made up so large a portion of the traditional Primer. Sometimes it was nothing more than that a new turn was given to an old prayer; sometimes it was a slight shift in emphasis which looks significant to us who have had three centuries to find out which way the wind was blowing, but which doubtless attracted very little attention from the average reader at the time. Even today this is not an easy process to follow and to evaluate. It is not surprising if most contemporary readers made little or no effort to do so.

The introduction of new prayers was still another matter. There were the gaps left by the elimination of traditional materials to be filled, and there were new emergencies to be met and contemporary needs to be provided for. Indeed, this attention to everyday practicality and contemporaneity is one of the distinctive characteristics of the reforming movements. At first sight the introduction of new prayers into the

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traditional books would seem a more overt affair. But it was helped by two factors in the situation that were particularly favorable to this development. The first is the flexibility of the Primer already referred to. While the greater part of the traditional book was taken up by fixtures, a very considerable section yet remained free for the taste and choice of the particular editor. There was nothing novel, therefore, in the finding of new material among the occasional prayers in the traditional book. A second circumstance made the work of the reforming editor easier, and that was the fact that many of his additions were either selections from Scripture, or rearrangements of materials from Scripture, and these would seem both natural and timely in view of the emphasis then being put on the reading of Scripture in every quarter. The end of the process was, of course, a book of a very different character from the traditional Primer, in fact a book not easily to be distinguished from other, more general, types of prayerbooks.

For there were other types of devotional books. Of these the oldest was, of course, the Psalter. Its use not only antedated the Primer but went back to the very first days of the Church. The Psalter, supplemented by directions for the specific application of particular psalms to particular needs, was a very ancient type of devotional aid, and this was later expanded by the addition of miscellaneous occasional prayers such as were found in the Primer. This expanded Psalter continued to minister to the devotional purposes of the sixteenth century. And another ancient type, the collection of prayers or prayer-like passages from the Old and New Testaments, edited with an eye to contemporary needs, received fresh life from the Scripturalism of the time. As a result collections like the *Praiers of Holi Fathers*⁶ enjoyed wide popularity.

Then there were the various books of instruction in the arts of prayer and meditation, and the collections of prayers and meditations, as well as all the books of general spiritual direction of which portions at least were substantially devotional books. The later Middle Ages had abounded in such books. And the growing literacy and cultural ambition of the middle classes that were such striking features of the cultural history of the sixteenth century expanded to a notable degree the public for these books. Some of these works underwent a process of

6 Richard Grafton [1540?].

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adaptation not unlike that which transformed the Primer, but with these books, none of which enjoyed the unique prestige of the Primer, there was never the same reason for preserving the framework of the original.

What happened in the case of most of these works (there were, of course, significant exceptions like the *Imitation of Christ* and the *Meditations* usually attributed to Saint Augustine) was that the reforming authors designed substitutes, substitutes which often to a greater degree than is usually appreciated borrowed and preserved traditional materials. Some of these works, like the Bull-Middleton⁷ and the Day⁸ prayer books of the last third of the century enjoyed a very considerable vogue and exercised a marked influence upon the devotional literature of the following century. Often the old books of devotion were used rather freely, even as Scripture was, for a quarry out of which familiar prayers were hewed in whole or in part to be fitted into new contexts. And in still other cases traditional prayers inspired imitations and functional substitutes, which still bore recognizable resemblance to their ancient prototypes. From the source-hunting point of view the tracing of these relationships is a baffling business because of the very freedom with which these authors worked in an age that had more respect for authorities than for footnotes, for ornamentation than for documentation. But for the student of influences it is both a teasing and a rewarding field of study.

For in these changes one picks up the main lines of the development of the forces that were transforming the religious life of the time, and one becomes aware of the inner, day-to-day ramifications of those changes. One becomes aware, too, in a very suggestive fashion of the ways of mass psychological change, both deliberate and unconscious. And one becomes no less aware of the very large elements of continuity even in a period of such profound transformations. Indeed, I am not sure but that the most important thing about this whole study is the contribution which it makes to our understanding of the enduring elements in religious thought and feeling.

7 Henrie Bull, *Christian Prayers and Holie Meditations* (Henrie Middleton, 1566).

8 *Christian Prayers and Meditations* (John Daye, 1569).

SOME RENAISSANCE VIEWS OF DIOGENES THE CYNIC¹

By JOHN LEON LIEVSAY

Anyone who reads at all widely in the writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will presently become aware of the frequency with which he encounters the name or the *dicta* of Diogenes the Cynic. He may also find himself asking how it comes about that a philosopher whose "works" are non-existent should be so much admired—or damned—so often quoted, so positively delineated. The views here offered may not give a complete answer to that question, but it is hoped that they will shed some light upon the nature and growth of the Diogenes legend in the Renaissance, primarily in English writings.

I

The few scraps of Diogeniana which found their way into various mediaeval writings were not sufficiently numerous or striking to provide a base for the legend. It was not until the sixteenth century, with its recovery of some Classic sources and its general dissemination, through printed editions, of yet others, that Diogenes came into his own—and something more. Among the Classic writers thus drawn upon at this later date may be named Valerius Maximus, Dio Chrysostom, Aulus Gellius, Aelian, Ausonius,² Eunapius, and Macrobius. But the most important of all was, of course, Diogenes Laertius, whose *Lives of the Philosophers* afforded both the richest store of information and the greatest source of confusion. This last arose, not unnaturally, from the community of names between the author and his subject. The result was that Renaissance writers using Diogenes Laertius in reference, say to Socrates, Antisthenes, Crates, or Zeno, would marginally indicate their source with the single word "Diogenes." Later Renais-

¹ Paper read at the Fourth Annual Renaissance Conference, Chapel Hill, Feb. 8, 1947.

² Nos. 28–30 of the "Epitaphs" of Ausonius (ed. H. G. Evelyn White, Loeb Class. Libr.), pp. 156–7, concern Diogenes. These are imitated from the sepulchral epigrams of the *Greek Anthology*, in which Nos. 63–8 and 116 likewise concern the Cynic. With them should be compared the final "cote" illustrated in John Bossewell's *Workes of Armorie* (1572), together with its explanation, Bk. III, Sig. E2.

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sance writers, following this secondary source and carelessly taking the marginal notation to refer to the subject rather than the writer supplying the original information, would often attribute to Diogenes the Cynic deeds or sayings which Diogenes Laertius had recounted of other philosophers. Add to this the existence in antiquity of several reasonably important figures bearing the name Diogenes, and it becomes clear that we have here two potent factors in the growth of our legend.

Another and possibly even more significant factor in that growth lies in the very scantiness of information about external events in the life of the philosopher. In bare outline, all we know about Diogenes is that he was born in Sinope about 412 B.C.; went into exile with his father, who was charged with counterfeiting; studied in Athens under Antisthenes; was captured by pirates and sold in Crete as a slave to Xeniades, a wealthy Corinthian whose children he educated; lived with extreme simplicity; and died in Corinth about 323.³

Such slender fare was in itself a temptation to inventive minds. But the real attraction to Diogenes was his remarkable personality, his granite integrity of character, his astringent and paradoxical opinions, his attitude of mingled contempt and evangelism toward the society in which he lived. He was prized, not for what he did, but for what he said and how he said it. Given, therefore, the reputed temper of Diogenes, and lacking specific information, the Renaissance writer was almost irresistibly led either to invent⁴ for him or to transfer to him such sayings as he *might* have said or as seemed appropriate in the mouth of one Diogenically given. If he had indeed said all the things that are ascribed to him, he would deserve to rank with the world's great talkers: Socrates, Goethe, Dr. Johnson, Coleridge.

In addition to the Classic sources, English writers about Diogenes in the seventeenth and in most of the sixteenth century could also draw upon a number of popular continental works containing large amounts of Diogeniana. Like the English works, these continental books them-

3 Condensed, mainly, from *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., vii, 394.

4 See, for illustration, the long oration which Stafford imagines is such as Diogenes *might* have delivered to Alexander, *Stafford's Heavenly Dogge* (1615), Sigs. C11-F3; the "three wanton Sisters wanton dreames" in Goddard's *Satyrical Dialogue* (1616), Sigs. C1^r-D1^r; or the collection of versified proverbs at the end of Rowlands' *Diogenes Lanthorne* (1607).

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selves show in varying degree the distortions and enlargements, the shifting emphasis, which resulted from the forces we have noticed: confusion, transfer, and deliberate invention. Detailed analysis of these is here out of the question; space will permit merely the naming of a few of the greatest importance, such as the apophthegmatic collections of Erasmus, the *Facetiae* of Brusonius, the *Convivialium Sermonum* of Johannes Gast, the *Silva de Varia Leccion* of Pedro Mexia (with the continuation by Antoine du Verdier), the *Propos Memorables* of Gilles Corrozet, the *Detti et Fatti* and *Hore di Riconoscimento* of Lodovico Guicciardini, the *Civil Conversazione* of Stefano Guazzo, and the *De Optimo Senatore* of Laurentius Grimaldus (Goslicius). Some, but not all, of these were translated⁵ into English in the sixteenth century.

The number of Renaissance English books containing incidental information about Diogenes is very large. In all the following, however, he is either the sole subject of the book or is given treatment of major importance: *A Dialogue betweene Lucian and Diogenes of the life harde and sharpe, and of the lyfe tendre and delicate*, undated, and ascribed to Sir Thomas Elyot; William Baldwin, *A Treatise of Moral Philosophy* (1547; 1555); Ulpian Fulwell, *The . . . Eyghth liberall Science: Entituled, Ars Adulandi, The Arte of Flatterie* (1576); John Lyly, *A moste excellent Comedie of Alexander, Campaspe, and Diogenes* (1584); Thomas Lodge, *Catharos: Diogenes in his Singularitie* (1591); Samuel Rowlands, *Diogines Lanthorne* (1607);⁶ Anthony Stafford, *Staffords Heauenly Dogge* (1615); and William Goddard, *A Satyricall Dialogue or a sharplye-invectiue conference, betweene Allexander the great, and that truelye woman-hater Diogynes* (1616?). From these⁷ and from their continental congeners it is possible to arrive at a

⁵ A partial translation of Mexia's *Silva* was published in 1571 by Thomas Fortescue as *The Foreste*; Corrozet was translated in 1602; Guicciardini's *Hore di Riconoscimento*, by James Sanforde, in 1573 (also 1576), as *The Garden of Pleasure*; Guazzo, by G. Pettie and B. Young, Bks. I-III (1581), IV (1586); and Goslicius in 1598 (also 1607). As late as 1733, William Oldisworth again translated Goslicius' book as *The Accomplished Senator*.

⁶ According to the Hunterian Club edition of *The Complete Works of Samuel Rowlands* (1880), i, 21 (of the "Bibliographical Index"), *Diogines Lanthorne* "was at one time exceedingly popular, and between 1607 and 1659 it went through no fewer than ten editions."

⁷ I have been unable to trace any copy of a Stationers' Register entry, 23 July 1638 (Arber's *Transcript*, iv, 425) to "ffrancis Groue" of "a Ballad called Dyogenes ghost reuiued."

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composite view of the life and character of Diogenes as he appeared to the Renaissance. What separate and distinct elements entered into the composition of that view we shall now attempt to determine.

II

In general, the Renaissance looked upon Diogenes with a charitable and approving eye. Yet opinion was no more unanimous than it has ever been, and a small minority took what may be described as the Low View. According to this estimate, Diogenes was a brute, a dirty, ill-tempered, snarling cur. Such an interpretation, if there were not, as we shall see, abundant evidence of a more favorable kind, would certainly be one of the most remarkable instances on record of the tail wagging the dog. Its proponents were no doubt partly misled into attributing to Diogenes qualities which they fancied to pertain to the animal for which he and his sect were named. Needless to say, they quite overlooked (or discredited) his own⁸ explanation of the sobriquet: that he was called *dog* because like a dog he fawned upon those who gave, howled against those who didn't, and bit those who were evil. Still, some were no doubt genuinely offended by what seemed to them unnecessary flouting of conventional decencies, a too barren and bestial attempt to return to the simplicity of nature.⁹ Writers of this cast of mind placed their emphasis upon those details of the Classical account which reported his alleged self-abuse, his open practice of natural acts generally performed in secret, his crudeness of life and sharpness of speech, his professed antipathy for the crowd.

At the other extreme an equal number tended to regard him as a serious philosopher, at the worst differing from the Stoics only in having less finesse, and at the best reaching very near the Christian ethic.¹⁰ Probably the most ecstatic representative of this group is An-

8 That is, the explanation given in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* (ed. R. D. Hicks, Loeb Class. Libr., ii, 63).

9 The best Classic discussions of the Cynic's "simple" life may be found in Dio Chrysostom's Sixth Discourse, "Diogenes, or On Tyranny" (Loeb), i, 251-83, and in the life by Diogenes Laertius, *Lives*, ii, 23-85.

10 See, for instance, William Struther's extremely religious *Christian Observations and Resolutions* (1628), Sig. O3. An earlier encomium is that of Richard Brathwait, *The Prodigal's Teares: Or His farewell to Vanity* (1614), Sig. I1.

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thony Stafford, author of *Staffords Heauenly Dogge: Or The life, and death of that great Cynicke Diogenes, whom Laertius stiles Canem Coelestem, the Heauenly Dogge, By reason of the Heauenly precepts he gaue. Taken out of the best Authors, and written to delight great hearts, and to raise as high as Heauen the mindes that now grouell on the earth, by teaching them how to ouercome all affections, and afflictions.* The temper of Stafford's performance may be gauged by the following bit in praise of his subject:

Let vs then admire, Reader, let vs then reuerence the Ancients, from whose Ocean of knowledge haue flowed thes Riuerets of ours. And amongst all let vs not bestow more wonder vpon any, then vpon the *Heauenly Dogge* that this Booke treates of; whom, if I cannot stile the most learned, certainly I may call the happiest of the Heathen. His carriage was so strange and austere, and his life so voide of perturbation, that I wonder the superstitious people of his time did not adore him as a God, or (at least) as a *Semo*. A Tubbe confined his body, but his minde the bounds of the World could not limit. I know not thy degree of admiration, Reader, but I vow, that if *Diogenes* were now at *Corinth* with ioy to *Corinth* I would hie me, and kisse his feete.¹¹

This view may also be illustrated in a few selected sentences attributed to Diogenes by Erasmus:¹² "A good man is the ymage of God"; "He lyueth vaynlye which hath no care to liue well"; "A goodly person that speaketh vngoodlye woordes, draweth forthe a leaden swearde oute of an yuerye scaberde"; and "Bonde men be thrall to their maisters, and wycked men to their lustes." Or, again, in William Paulet's *The Lord Marques Idlenes* (1586) the following is said to be "Diogenes declaration":

If thou wilt enioie rest in thy daies, and keepe thy life pure and cleane, thou must obserue these three things.

First honor God: for he that doth not honor him in all his enterprises shall be infortunate.

Secondly, be diligent to bring vp thy children well: for a man hath no enimie so troublesome as his owne sonne, if he be not well brought vp.

Thirdly, be thankfull to thy good benefactors and friends: for the man that is vnthankfull, of all the world shal be abhorred. And the most profitable of these three (although most troublesome) is for a man to bring vp his children well.¹³

11 Sigs. A8^v–A9^r.

12 *Flores Sententiarum*, tr. R. Taverner (1553), Sig. E8.

13 Sigs. B2^v–B3.

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The Socratic *Dialogue betweene Lucian and Diogenes*, mentioned earlier, in which Diogenes argues for the virtue of the austere life,¹⁴ a pamphlet likewise executed in this broad philosophical spirit, is, happily, a little less sententious than most.

Related to this interpretation, but more limited and specific, is the view which considers Diogenes a corrector of manners and morals, a kind of Greek Cato—the commonest Renaissance mode of conceiving him. Here the characteristic pattern is a lament over the decay of the times, with Diogenes either summoned to deliver the invective or called as a witness to the sad demise of virtue and the exalting of vice. So the Sixth Dialogue of Fulwell's *Art of Flatterie* brings Diogenes and the author face to face for the purpose of informing the philosopher that flattery is nowadays the only means of thriving at court. Lodge's *Catharos: Diogenes in his Singularity*, otherwise entitled *A Nettle for Nice Noses*, another dialogue in which Diogenes is a principal interlocutor, is a kind of prose *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, full of amusing anachronisms which permit Diogenes to quote the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the choicest modern poets.

The reproof of flourishing rascality and the commiseration of oppressed desert is likewise the theme of Arthur Warren's *The Poore Mans passions* (1605), in hobbling verse, of which the following stanzas are typical:

Couzen Diogenes, didst thou suruiue,
Mine hart were freed from a thousand feares,
If Pilgrim, thou couldst prosperously athriue,
Midst the Caniculars of our lucklesse yeares,
 Couldst thou fadge with the world in thy state,
I would thee for example imitate.

Remember, how they once did Dogge thee name,
Now Curre, and worse then ill, they would thee call,
Bannish thy presence to thy future shame,
Not spare a tub to couer thee with all,
 But intercept the sun from warming thee,
If them thou find such, as they prouoe to mee.¹⁵

¹⁴ With this should be compared Dio Chrysostom's Sixth Discourse, mentioned above (note 9).

¹⁵ Sig. D2.

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And Rowlands' *Diogenes Lanthorne*, with its quaint title-page wood-cut of the philosopher, lantern in hand¹⁶ as he leaves his tub, is little other than a prose member of his *Knaves* series, in which a whole procession of sins and sinners is made to pass in condemnatory review. Its theme and tone are well conveyed in the title-page motto:

Athens I seeke for honest men;
But I shal finde them God knows when.

Satire and the sharp bite of early seventeenth-century epigrams lurk in the shadow of this view of the Cynic.

Of lighter touch, but not entirely unrelated spirit, are those works in which Diogenes appears as a wit or jester. The numerous Renaissance jest-books and the more sober collections of *memorabilia* contain an abundance of Diogeniana, drawn, when not from each other, principally from Diogenes Laertius. Here the qualities emphasized are his sharp readiness of tongue and mind, his direct and mordant criticism of society, his seriousness of purpose wrapped in a cloak of mocking raillery, and the wry singularity of his character. It is one of the tritest of commonplaces to say that the Renaissance was interested in the individual; nevertheless, it must be observed that it was precisely the savor of his distinctive personality which most endeared Diogenes to the Renaissance.

Lyly's *Alexander and Campaspe*, in which Diogenes outshines the actors of the titular rôles, is perhaps the cleverest presentation of this view. But the more typical, because more commonly employed, manner of display is to be seen in the collections of Brusonius, Gast, Mexia, Corrozet, Guicciardini, Thomas Forde, and others. In these Diogenes is made the subject sometimes of grouped, sometimes of scattered, anecdotes and *dicta*. Half a dozen such sayings extracted from Thomas Forde's *Theatre of Wits, Ancient and Modern* (1660) must here suffice to illustrate all such collections:

Diogenes, when he saw mice creeping for some crumbs to his table, would say, *Behold, Diogenes also hath his parasites.*¹⁷

It was cold comfort *Diogenes* gave a lewd liver, that banished, complained he

¹⁶ In allusion to Diogenes Laertius, *Lives*, ii, 43.

¹⁷ Sig. D3^r.

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should die in a forreign soil. *Be of good cheer man, wheresoever thou art, the way to hell is the same.*¹⁸

When *Diogenes* was told by a base fellow, that he once had been a Coiner of money, He answered, *'Tis true, such as thou art, I once was, but such as I am now, thou wilt never be.*¹⁹

Alexander seeing *Diogenes* tumbling among dead bones, he asked him what he sought? To whom the other answered, *That which I cannot find, the difference between the rich and the poor.*²⁰

Diogenes being asked what time is best for meals? He answered, *For the rich man when he had a stomach, and for a poor man when he could get meat.*²¹

Diogenes said to one that had perfumed his locks: *Be careful your odoriferous head procure you not a stinking life.*²²

Hundreds of similar *dicta*, some (as here) with Classical authority and many without it, could be collected from Renaissance books; and it is upon them, chiefly, that the *Diogenes* legend rests.

One further and yet more particularized view, latent in the Classical sources but not brought into sharp emphasis until the Renaissance, is that which makes of *Diogenes* a misogynist. According to the very late *Humane Prudence* (1680) of William de Britaine, "The ill Temper of many women, made *Diogenes* say, that when he saw a woman had hanged her self upon a Tree, *That it was the best bearing Tree that ever he saw in his Life.*"²³ And it is to *Diogenes* that one of the speakers in Guazzo's *Civil Conversation*²⁴ waggishly refers when he says,

. . . if then that appetite of marying a wife shall chaunce to come uppon me, for my part I meane to satisfie it by no other meane then by abstinence: calling to my remembraunce the great commendation a Philosopher gave to those that had a great desyre to sayle, and yet would never hazard themselves on the sea: to governe common wealthes, and yet would never meddle with it: to marry a wife, and yet would never marry any.

18 Sig. D4^r.

19 Sig. E.

20 Sig. E6^r. The same jest, considerably blown up, appears in *Pasquils Jests and Mother Bunches Merriments* (1604), ed. W. C. Hazlitt, *Shakespeare Jest-Books* (1864), iii, 55-7, as "Certaine sullen speeches of *Diogenes* to *Alexander*."

21 Sig. F6.

22 Sig. G2^r.

23 Seventh ed., 1697, p. 140. Greene, *The Royall Exchange* (1590), *Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart (1881-6), vii, 231, attributes this saying to Timon. Cf. *Diogenes Laertius*, *Lives*, ii, 53.

24 Edition of Sir Edward Sullivan (*Tudor Translations*, 1925), ii, 3-4.

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The ultimate misogynism, however, is contained in the often-quoted saying of Diogenes in reply to the query, When is the best time to marry? To which he is said to have replied that for a young man, it was too early; for an older man, too late.²⁵ These and similar sentiments—no more misogynistic than certain ones in Ecclesiastes—constitute but a very minor part of the Cynic's pronouncements as recorded in the Classical sources; yet they provided a foundation for the notion of his anti-feminism which appears lightly in Lyly, more pronouncedly (though scatteredly) in the romances of that "Homer of women," Robert Greene,²⁶ and most violently and bawdily in Goddard's *Satirycall Dialogue*.

If, in conclusion, then, we find Diogenes censured by a few for misogynism, a certain crudity of manners, and an incivil liberty of tongue, we still must recognize that for the greater number of Renaissance writers he was a revered model of moral rectitude, a wise and witty observer of men and manners, and an unforgettable personality who stood out like a beacon among the dim philosophical shadows of an admired antiquity.

25 Cf., for instance, Greene, *Francescos Fortunes* (1590), *Works*, viii, 202: "Some Cynick, as Diogenes will thwart it with a dilemma & say, that for yong men tis too soone, for olde men too late to marry: concluding so enigmatically, it were not good to marry at al. . . ." Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health* (1605), Sig. Q5^v, refers to this saying in much the same language. The original is Diogenes Laertius, *Lives*, II, 55.

26 *Works*, iii, 78, 83; iv, 63; viii, 202; ix, 170.

MARGINALIA ON TWO ELIZABETHAN POETICAL MISCELLANIES

By HYDER EDWARD ROLLINS

Much information about the seven major Elizabethan poetical miscellanies, particularly Tottel's *Miscellany* and *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*, has come to light since my editions were published from 1924 to 1935. Only revised editions of Tottel's and the *Handful* could deal adequately with the new material that is available, and possibly some day they can be issued. In the meanwhile, the following marginalia, highly selective in the case of Tottel's, may be of use to students.

I. Tottel's *Miscellany*

References are to pages of volume ii of my edition (Harvard University Press, 1928, 1929), but page and line references (like 18.20) to the text of volume i have sometimes also been given.

4 The conventional statement that Tottel's was "the first printed anthology" needs qualification. See the discussions by R. H. Griffith, E. M. Tillyard, and R. A. Law in *The Times Literary Supplement*, July 5, July 12, 1928, pp. 504, 520, December 26, 1929, p. 1097; Griffith and Law's "'A Booke of Balettes' and 'The Courte of Venus,'" *University of Texas Studies in English*, No. 10 (1930), pp. 5-12; and Sir E. K. Chambers, *Sir Thomas Wyatt and Some Collected Studies* (1933), pp. 111-9, 207-28.

19 For the identical error of repetition of lines mentioned in note 2 see Nicholas Breton, *The workes of a young wyt* (1577), Gr-Gr^v.

24 Two other copies of the fourth edition, 1559 (D*), are now known: (2) Lord Harlech, Brogyntyn; (3) Mr. Carl H. Pforzheimer, Purchase, New York. John Hayward, *English Poetry, A Catalogue of First & Early Editions* (1947), p. 8, says that Lord Harlech's copy is a "variant issue with undated title-page," and that the Pforzheimer copy, also undated, agrees with it in everything except for "L1 being signed with a single period as in the dated issue."

30 A copy of the sixth edition, 1567, was sold in Topham Beau-

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clerk's sale (*Bibliotheca Beauclerkiana* [1781], lot 3453) for £3. The cataloguer notes: "This Copy was presented by Mr. Tho. Rawlinson to Mr. Matt. Prior, and by him given to the late Mr. West, P. R. S." It is untraced, as are the Christ Church, Oxford (stolen), and the Burgh-Heber-Utterson copies.

33 Four other copies of the 1585 edition are now known: (7) Matthew Prior-J. M. Rice-Britwell-C. H. Pforzheimer; (8) Lord Fitzwilliam, Wentworth Woodhouse; (9) Heber-Utterson-Corser-Harmsworth-Folger Library (mistakenly referred to in note 5, page 35, as belonging to the 1587 edition); (10) Lord Feilding-A. A. Houghton, Jr. (see *The Times Literary Supplement*, July 16, 1938, p. 484, and Edgar H. Wells and Company, Catalogue 47 [March, 1940], item 102). John Hayward, *English Poetry*, p. 9, states that another copy, "said to be at Arundel Castle, cannot be traced."

35 Another copy (Tooke-Heber-Utterson) of the 1587 edition is at Arundel Castle; it is described by Hayward, *English Poetry*, p. 9.

37 The supposititious edition of 1569 is listed in Sir Egerton Brydges' edition of *England's Helicon* (1812), p. ix, whence Nott may have got his misinformation.

37-42 My account of the editions of 1717 has been corrected in certain small, but interesting, points by Professor George Sherburn's note, "Songes and Sonnettes," *The Times Literary Supplement*, July 24, 1930, p. 611.

The title-page of the 1728 edition ends: "Printed for HENRY CURLL in *Clement's-Inn*-/ Paffage. 1728. Price Two Shillings./" The last three words have been almost completely erased from the British Museum copy, and hence did not show in the photostat which I followed, but are clear enough in the copy which I bought in December, 1929. In it, too, the Wyatt title-page correctly comes after p. 32.

44 The Lehigh University Library has a copy of the first volume of Percy's 1808 edition, as well as a small part of the second volume: see *Notes and Queries*, cxlviii (1925), 349. Those interested in Percy's edition should consult Heinz Marwell's *Thomas Percy* (Göttingen, 1934); Hans Hecht, *Englische Studien*, lxx (1935), 330 f.; Arthur Tillotson's *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy & Edmond Malone* (1944), pp. 141, 214, 224 f.; and especially Cleanth Brooks's "The History of

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Percy's Edition of Surrey (*Tottel's Miscellany*)," *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy & Richard Farmer* (1946), pp. 175-200.

50 In the preface to *Heliconia* (1815), volume i, Thomas Park says, "A complete edition of the poems of Lord Surrey is now preparing by Dr. Nott, who possesses every requisite for the undertaking."

59-61 A rechecking of Arber's reprint with the original shows that to my list of his variations (as given in volume i, pages 329-35) the following additions or corrections should be made:

64.24 thy] they
72.32 me,] me
76.31 Arber has "Lo(uer)."
83.28 scarce] scarce
33 loude:] loude:
101.30 tyme] time
108.2 sir] Sir
112.16 gan] can
117.6 death,] death
135.20 sir] Sir
156.12 farre,] farre.
202.15 Vlisses] Vlysses
213.2 of] or
237.31 My] May

65 f. Compare Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (1662), p. 81 ("Kent"): "Sir THOMAS WIAT, Knight, commonly called the *Elder*, to disting[u]ish him from Sir *Thomas Wiat* (raiser of the Rebellion (so all call it) for it did not succeed). . . ."

72 See also the accounts of Surrey and Geraldine in William Winstanley's *The Lives Of the most Famous English Poets* (1687), pp. 49-56; Charles Gildon's *The Complete Art of Poetry* (1718), i, 83; Theophilus Cibber's *The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland* (1753), i, 46-53; Anna Jameson's *Memoirs of the Loves of the Poets* (1829; 1879), chap. xii, pp. 144-53; Edward Moxon's *Sonnets* (1835), p. 16; R. F. Housman's *A Collection of English Sonnets* (1835), p. 305; *Atkinson's Casket* (Philadelphia), April, 1836, p. 175, reprinting from the Dublin *Satirist* (which I have not seen) a poem called "The Earl of Surrey to the Lord of Kildare's Daughter"; Stanhope Busby's *Lectures on English*

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Poetry (1837), p. 25; and so on. Mrs. Cooper wrote on Surrey in the first edition of *The Muses Library* (1737), i, 55 f.

75 For Geraldine's portrait (by Hans Eworth) see the publications of the Walpole Society, ii (1912-3), 31, and plate XXIIIa. Mrs. C. C. Stopes, *The Life of Henry, Third Earl of Southampton* (1922), p. 495 f., says that Geraldine married Browne when he was about forty-three or forty-four, not sixty.

76 Richard Sherry, *A treatise of Schemes & Tropes*, A3-A3^v (the preface is dated December 13, 1550), praises the English of Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, Elyot, and adds: "What shuld I speake of that ornamente Syr Thomas Wyat? which beside most excellente gyftes bothe of fortune and bodye, so flouryshed in the eloquence of hys natieue tongue, that as he passed therein those wyth whome he lyued, so was he lykelye to haue bene equal wyth anye other before hym, had not enuious death to hastely berieued vs of thys iewel."

79 For a further discussion of whether or not Grimald's blank verse was published before Surrey's see Herbert Hartman, *Surrey's Fourth Booke of Virgill* (1933). He dates the book (p. xiv) "circa September 1554."

Poems ascribed to unknown authors ("Incerti Authoris") will also be found in MS. Additional 38823, fols. 8, 48, MS. Harleian 7392, fols. 24^v-25, and *Naps upon Parnassus* (1658), A4; while a quotation in Robert Allot's *England's Parnassus* (1600, ed. Charles Crawford (1913), p. 246), is signed "I[ncerti]. Authoris," and MS. Additional 28635, fol. 55, contains "Certayne verses made by uncertayne autours wrytten out of Charleton his booke." In this connection I observe that in MS. Additional 27407, fol. 129, Sir Walter Raleigh's "Wrong not, dear empress of my heart," is signed "Finis quod sumbodye."

80 Another of the "uncertain authors" has been identified as John Hall, from whose book, *The Proverbs of Solomon* (1549), A5-A7, Nos. 285 and 286 were taken. See my note, "Tottel's 'Miscellany' and John Hall," in *The Times Literary Supplement*, January 14, 1932, p. 28.

Four other poems ascribed to Sir John Cheke occur in MS. Additional 28635, fols. 133^v-134.

81 There is a poem signed "Q^d Norton" in Huntington Library MS.

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H.M.8 (folios not marked). For further poems (note 1) of John Harington see Sir John Harington's *Orlando Furioso* (1591), F3, N5.

82 On Bryan see Elsa Chapin in University of Chicago *Abstracts of Theses, Humanistic Series*, viii (1932), 428-33.

92 These arguments about Henry Harington as an editor have been upset by my friend Professor Ruth Hughey. Her brilliant article, "The Harington Manuscript at Arundel Castle and Related Documents," *The Library*, 4th Ser., xv (1935), 388-444, contains many other new facts of great value for students of Tottel's book.

98 The statement that "it is practically certain that all the titles in . . . [Tottel's *Miscellany*] are editorial insertions" needs qualifying so far as concerns Grimald. A. W. Reed, in *The Year's Work in English Studies*, x (1931), 156, correctly points out that "no one but Grimald could have supplied the titles of many of those [poems] that are his. There is no evidence, for example, except in the title of the poem on his mother that her name was Annes." The point is well taken, but the appearance of titles composed by Grimald does not in the least indicate that Grimald edited the book ("there is, of course, no proof that Grimald was Tottel's editor," Reed agrees). The editor—whether "Tottel himself, . . . his 'corrector of the press,' or . . . some other agent employed by him," as I say on page 94—perhaps followed Grimald's holograph copies, or else copies made from them. The fact that, in so doing, he printed the names and initials of Grimald's relatives and friends and patrons—that is, made public property of strictly personal verse—very likely caused Grimald to protest to Tottel and to demand the exclusion of this verse from the second edition. Grimald's authorship of the titles is, in my opinion, further convincing evidence tending to prove that he could not have edited the book; but according to Hallett Smith, *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, ix (1946), 234 n., none is needed, since Miss Hughey's article (see above) "disposes of the theory that Grimald was the editor."

104 Delete the comment on No. 187 (compare page 269) in note 9.

106 On the diction of the Tottel poets see the excellent discussion in Veré L. Rubel's *Poetic Diction in the English Renaissance* (1941), pp. 47-95.

108 The assertion that Barnabe Googe wrote no formal sonnets is

incorrect: see P. N. U. Harting, *English Studies*, xi (1929), 100-02, and H. H. Hudson, *Modern Language Notes*, xlv (1930), 542 f., and *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, xlviii (1933), 293 f. The word *sonnets* (compare note 2) also appears in the section headings at 206.1 and 211.1.

112 In the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, xlv (1908), 154 f., Joseph de Perott has written "Über die Quelle von Henry Pettowe's 'Hero and Leander.'"

120 Another objector to the miscellany was Archbishop Matthew Parker, who in preliminary verses to his own work, *The whole Psalter translated into English Metre* (1567?), writes,

Ye songes so nice: ye sonnets all,
of lothly louers layes:
Ye worke mens myndes: but bitter gall,
by phansies peuishe playes.

On Sig. G2^v, however, he refers to "Henrie Haward Earle of Surrie in his Ecclesiastices," quoting four lines.

121 Compare Edward Phillips, *Theatrum Poetarum* (1685), 2C10^v, "*Henry Howard* . . . deserves . . ., had he his due, the particular Fame of Learning, Wit, and Poetic Fancy, which he was thought once to have made sufficiently appear in his publish'd Poems, which nevertheless are now so utterly forgotten, as though they had never been Extant, so Antiquated at present, and as it were out of fashion is the style and way of Poetry of that Age."

122 Compare Lewis Theobald, *The Censor*, iii (1717), 184,

[The first book is] a Reviv'd Collection [1717 (K)] of *Poems* of the Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wiat, and some other of their Contemporaries, who have stood the Test of about a *Century* and an *half*; and who, tho' under the Disadvantage of a Language not entirely polish'd, will, from their Strokes of Nature, deserve to please in every Age,

and Charles Gildon, *The Laws of Poetry* (1721), p. 32, "After him [Chaucer] we had no man that made any figure in *English* verse, till the Earl of Surrey, in the time of *Henry* the eighth, who very much improv'd our *English* numbers." George Ellis, *Specimens of the Early English Poets* (1790), p. 1, like Walpole, remarks that Surrey "is considered as the first English classic."

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131 Partial translations of the Petrarchan sonnet, "Zephiro torna," and so on, are made in Nicholas Yonge's *Musica Transalpina* (1588) and Thomas Watson's *Italian Madrigals Englished* (1590).

133 Other examples of the proverb are in Robert Cawdrey's *A Treasure Or Storehouse of Similies* (1600), B3^v, "Like as they that go about to make Lyons tame, do vse to beate little whelpes before them, and to make them to couch, that so the Lyons seeing, they may do so also"; *Gods Handy-work in Wonders* (1615), C3, "But it pleased God, to beate the Dogge before the Lyon, to punish the least sinners before the greatest"; and Stephen Jerome's *The Arraignement of the Whole Creature* (1631), H3^v, "as the *Lyon* is instructed, when the *Dog* is beat before him." See also *Modern Language Notes*, lv (1940), 209 f., 481.

136 "Peirce Plainman, an obscure Gentleman," in *A Latter Discovery of Ireland* (1646), N4, quotes No. 8 as follows:

Ireland hath long fostered two as Noble Families as is perhaps of *Europe*, to wit, the *Geraldines*, and the *Boteliers*: The house of the *Geraldines* is somewhat touched in the Sonnet of Surry, upon the Earl of *Kildares* Sister, viz.

*From Tuscan came my Ladyes worthy race;
Fair Florence was sometime her ancient seat:
The Western Isle, whose pleasant Shore doth face
Wilde Cambres Cliffes, did give her lively heat.*

144 Compare with 16.14 f. and 3.8 John Dennys, *The Secrets of Angling* (1613; Thomas Westwood's reprint (1883), p. 24):

And blustering *Boreas* with his chilling cold,
Vnclothed hath the Trees of Sommers greene;
And Woods, and groues, are naked to behold,
Of Leaues and Branches now dispoyled cleane:
So that their fruitfull stocks they doe vnfold,
And lay abroad their of-spring to be seene.

146 With 18.20 f. compare Thomas Howell, *Newe Sonets, and pretie Pamphlets* (ca. 1568), F3 (*Poems*, ed. A. B. Grosart (privately printed, 1879), p. 149), "Deare Ladies steppe your foote to myne,/ To mourne with me your hartes inclyne." With the conceit beginning at 19.41 compare the novel *Eromena* (1683), B6^v: "*Eromena* . . ., a Lady that Nature

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only created for Man to wonder at; and when created, she broke her Mould, so that since she has not been able to produce her equal."

150 With 25.9 compare George Chapman, *The Widow's Tears* (ca. 1608), III, i (*Plays and Poems*, ed. T. M. Parrott (1914), ii, 397), "What, wrapp'd in careless cloak." In John Wayland's edition, *The tretise of Morall Phylosophy, contayning the sayinges of the wyse. Newlye perused and augmented by William Baldwyn fyrst auctoure therof*, n.d. (1555?), M5^v, No. 27 is headed, "The thinges that cause a quiet life, written by Marciall, and Englished by lord Henry Erle of Surrey."

152 Compare the translation of the original of No. 28 ("You better sure shall liue, not euermore") given in Sidney's *Arcadia* (1598), 2R4^v-2R5 (A. Feuillerat's Sidney (1922), ii, 307).

154 H. H. Hudson (*Modern Language Notes*, xlv (1930), 543) observes that Surrey's first line (28.3) translates the epitaph placed on the Milan tomb of Jacopo Trivulzio (died 1518), which Camden gives in his *Remains* (1614), p. 359.

156 The exact words of Peter Betham, *The preceptes of warre* (1544), A7, are: "Wyate was a worthye floure of our tounge, as appereth by the mornefulle ballet made of hys death in Englysshe, whyche is mooste wyttie fyne and eloquent." They occur in his dedicatory epistle, which is dated December, 1543. For an explanation of 28.3 f. as hendiadys see S. G. Putt, *Modern Language Review*, xxxiv (1939), 66 f.

159 Compare 30.28 with the *Aeneid* I. 203, "forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit."

169 (38.21) Delete the words "A mistranslation of." The MS. "owre" means "oar," although the printer rationalized the spelling and meaning to "houre."

173 A greatly changed copy of No. 59 was included in John Attey's *The First Booke of Ayres* (1622; E. H. Fellowes, *English Madrigal Verse* (1920), p. 310).

175 John Grange, *The Golden Aphroditis* (1577), G4^v, combines lines 44.13, 20 and 209.24. He also borrows at G3 seven lines (209.24-6, 31 f., 35 f.) from No. 265. See my article in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, xvi (1934), 194 f.

209 Compare with No. 114, James Sandford, *Houres of recreation* (1576), B2:

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One *Marke Antonio Batistei*, an Italian, hauyng lost fyue hundreth crounes in a drowned shippe, went as desperate to hang himselfe: But beeing aboute to fasten the roape to a beame, he founde there hidden by chaunce a thousande crownes: wherfore he beeyng exceeding ioyfull and merrie, tooke them, and exchaungyng the haulter for the crownes, went awaye. Nowe beholde, not long after, the owner came thyther to see them and handle them, who not fyndyng them, but in theyr place seeyng a halter, was ouercome with so greate sorowe, that withoute any more adoe hee hoong hymselfe with it.

Variants of the story occur in William Painter's *The Palace of Pleasure* (1567), tome ii, novel 11, and in the popular ballad of "The Heir of Linne."

220 With 88.25 compare Sir Thomas Chaloner, *The praise of Folie* (1549), D4^v, I1, R1, "wisemen be as vnapte for all publike offices and affaires, as an asse is to finger an harpe," "An other lyke an asse to the harpe," "these iayes would chatter this greke taunt agaynst him, *An asse to the harpe.*"

227 With 96.7 compare Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse* (1592; *Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (1910), i, 181), "you had been as faire as the floure of the frying pan."

228 The Latin epigram translated in No. 133 was usually included in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editions of Virgil (e.g., the 1507 ed., Paris, fol. 197^v), and it appeared also in John Penkethman's translation, *The Epigrams Of P. Virgilius Maro* (1624), B7^v-B8. John Grange, *The Golden Aphroditis* (1577), quotes a line of it, referring to "*Virgill* in his Epigrams" (B1), and translates it entire on L4. One line is quoted in E. K.'s "April" gloss to Spenser's *The Shepherds' Calendar* (1579), and another in "November." Thomas Heywood, *Gunaikeion* (1624), F6-F6^v, gives both the Latin (by "Virgill") and a poetical translation. See G. P. Shannon, *Modern Language Quarterly*, viii (1947), 43-5, for speculations on the exact Latin source of "Nicholas Grimald's List of the Muses."

229 H. B. Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics into English* (University of Wisconsin *Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 35, 1933), p. 102 f., gives another source for the "saying" at 97.29—Aulus Gellius, *Noctes XVI.2*. For 98.8 he cites (p. 103) the same work, XI.2. With 98.30 compare also the *Greek Anthology* XIV.101 (I cite the

numbering of the Loeb Classical Library edition), and Diogenes Laertius (trans. C. D. Yonge (1901), book i, pp. 41 f.).

230 (99.5) The date of *Wits A. B. C.* is 1608, the author Richard West.

231 With the opening lines of No. 139 compare the *Greek Anthology* V.95, and Ausonius (*Opera Omnia* (1823), p. 140), Epigram 121 ("Tres fuerant Charites: sed dum mea Lesbia vixit, Quatuor: ut periit, tres numerantur item").

237 Translations of the originals of Nos. 151 and 152 ("What life is the liefest—The needy is full of woe," "What life list ye to lead—in good Cytie & towne") are in MS. Harleian 6910, fol. 166^v (ca. 1596). Others are given in Peter Motteux's *The Gentleman's Journal*, December, 1693, p. 411 f.

238 In the following passage from *Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit* (1578), Lyly (*Complete Works*, ed. R. W. Bond (1902), i, 197) is perhaps summarizing Grimald's poem (No. 154):

I cannot tell, whether the immortall Gods haue bestowed any gift vpon mortall men, either more noble, or more necessary, then friendship. Is ther any thing in the world to be reputed (I will not say compared) to friendship? Can any treasure in this transitorie pilgrimage, be of more valewe then a friend? in whose bosome thou maist sleepe secure without feare, whom thou maist make partner of all thy secrets without suspition of fraude, and pertaker of all thy misfortune without mistrust of fleeting, who will accompt thy bale his bane, thy mishap his misery, the pricking of thy finger, the percing of his heart.

240 The Latin original of No. 155 occurs in nearly all the early editions of Virgil, and is translated in John Penkethman's 1624 version of Virgil's epigrams.

244 On Amphinomus and Anapus (III.27) see the *Greek Anthology* III.17; on Cleobis and Biton (III.30), III.18.

255 With 120.8 compare George Whetstone, *Aurelia* (1593), A4, "*Sweete Pithos tongue, and Dians chaste consent.*"

257 Lines 124.8–11 occur also in MS. Harleian 7392, fol. 42. 124.13 is based on the Latin proverb, "Delphinum natare doces."

260 With the poem beginning at 126.26 compare the verse and the emblem in Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britanna* (1612), 2B2.

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265 The plot of No. 181 is retold at considerable length in Humphrey King's *An Halfe-penny-worth of Wit*, "The third Impression" (1613), C3^v-D1. King begins,

Hast thou not heard a song of *Phillida*,
Of *Herpilus*, and eke *Coren*?
why these, my sonne, be they.
The one is *Coren*, that once tooke
delight his Hawkes to lure. . . .

267 No. 185 is apparently imitated, or summarized, by a poem (No. 28) in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576), C3^v-C4 (ed. Rollins, 1927), p. 30 f.

268 With 141.19 compare a poem in MS. Harleian 6910, fol. 100 (ca. 1596), beginning, "Now what shalbee, shall bee: there is no choyse"; Humphrey King, *An Halfe-penny-worth of Wit* (1613), A3^v, "that which will bee shall bee"; Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Scornful Lady* (ca. 1610), III, i, 279, "What must be, must be."

271 W. L. Renwick, in *The Modern Language Review*, xxv (1930), 487, suggests a connection between No. 193 and Alciati's *Emblemata* (Paris, 1618), No. 108, p. 489, "In Studiosum captum Amore."

274 Brian Melbancke, *Philotimus* (1583), R2, borrows 154.2 f. thus: "Cynthia could not call her son *Hyppolitus* out of Hell, nor *Theseus* his frende *Perithous*."

277 Thomas Seymour, Lord High Admiral, was beheaded on March 20, 1549. In the notes he is confused with his brother Edward, Duke of Somerset, the Protector, who was beheaded on January 22, 1552.

278 Melbancke, *Philotimus* (1583), D2-D2^v, borrows 157.36 f. thus: "*Cresus* . . . was imprisoned as a captiue, shackled with boulttes, and faine to yeelde his goods into his enemies handes."

280 Expressions similar to 160.8 will be found in George Whetstone's *Sir Phillip Sidney* (1586), C3 (*Fronde Caducae*, Auchinleck Press, 1816); Nicholas Breton's *Strange Fortunes* (1600; *Works*, ed. Grosart (1879), ii, d, 5); and *The Arbor of Amorous Devices* (1597), B4^v. See also the last page of William Webster's *The Most Pleasant And Delightful Historie of Curan . . . and . . . Argentile* (1617).

283 L. J. Jones, in *The Times Literary Supplement*, June 11, 1925, p. 400, writes: "I possess a painting by Francesco Albani (1578-1660)

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which is generally acknowledged to be an illustration of 'Cupid's Assault.' He thinks that Lord Vaux's poem (No. 211) had an Italian original. "A learned friend has an impression of having seen an Italian poem entitled 'La Fortezza del Cupido,' but is unable to find it."

287 With 168.7 compare George Whetstone, *Aurelia* (1593), B2:

in sundry places in proper colours was ingraued his deuise, which was *A Holly tree, full of red beries: and in the same, a fluttering Mauis fast limed to the bowes.* with this posie in french, *Qui me nourit, me destruit:* And in verie deede, the beries of the tree feedeth this bird, and the barke maketh Lime to fetter her.

For Nauplius (168.23) see also the *Greek Anthology* IX.289, 429.

290 Dr. F. B. Williams, Jr., points out to me the similarity of lines 172.1-7 to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, iii, 1373-9.

293 With 181.23 compare Robert Allot, *Wits Theater of the little World* (1599), K7^v-K8:

Estrasco a Romaine, borne dumbe, loued Verona a Latine, borne also dumbe, who lyking each other, came & visited each other, by the space of thirty yeeres, vvithout the witting of any person, then died the husband of the Lady Verona, & the wife of Estrasco, they married, & of them descended the noble linage of the Scipios. *Aurelius*.

294 With 181.36 f. compare John Hall, *The Proverbs of Solomon* (1549), C4^v, E8, "And as the riuers greate & depe encrease by rage of rayne," "The fluddes . . . swel by rage of raine."

298 Delete the note on 188.17 (see page 104, note 9).

315 (211.23) Melbancke, *Philotimus* (1583), X2, makes Laida write to her faithless lover, "I gaue thee that, which then I had not, and thou receiuedst y^t, which thou tookst not"—that is, her maidenhead.

317 No. 271 is copied from the Corpus Christi MS. in the eighteenth-century MS. Additional 5843, fol. 72, with the note: "The following *Copy of Verses*, supposed by M^r Nesmith, *Fellow of Benet College*, to have been wrote by *Cromwell Earl of Essex*, are in the *MS Library of that College, Miscellany Y*."

320 Marguerite Hearsey, *The Complaint of Henry Duke of Buckingham* (Yale Studies in English, vol. lxxxvi (1936), p. 119), suggests that No. 278 was composed by Thomas Sackville.

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322 Melbancke, *Philotimus* (1583), D1^v, borrows 229.30 thus: "Then take time while thou hast it, the haucke may checke y^t now coms faire to fyst."

324 Another version of No. 286 is printed from Corpus Christi College MS. No. clxviii in James Goodwin's *Six Ballads, with Burdens* (1844), pp. 1-3, 6-8 (Percy Society, vol. xiii), and attributed to Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely; but see the note, above, on 80. Goodwin also observes (p. xi f.) that the same manuscript contains Nos. 125 and 271, signed "C. W." and "C." Other statements of the two ears, one tongue commonplace at 235.4 f. are in Richard Taverner's *Flores aliquot sententiarum ex variis collecti scriptoribus* (1540), A7^v, William Baldwin's *A treatise of Morall Phylosophye* (1550), K7^v, Isabella Whitney's *A sweete Nosegay* (1573), C4^v, Lodowick Lloyd's *The pilgrimage of Princes* (1573), P1, James Sandford's *Houres of recreation* (1576), B1^v, and Robert Hayman's *Certaine Epigrams* (1628), E1 (translated from John Owen).

329 A. W. Reed, in *The Year's Work in English Studies*, x (1931), 156, suggests that the Mistress M. of No. 306 was the Mistress Mancell praised in a poem by Richard Edwards (Thomas Park, *Nugae Antiquae* (1804), ii, 392-4; Leicester Bradner, *The Life and Poems of Richard Edwards* (Yale Studies in English, vol. lxxiv (1927), p. 102), and that Edwards also wrote No. 306.

II. *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*

In my edition of the *Handful* (Harvard University Press, 1924) I argued that the little octavo miscellany first appeared in 1566. Further proof to support my arguments is now available. Thus on July 27, 1925 (see *The Times Literary Supplement*, August 6, 1925, p. 524), at Sotheby's auction-rooms there was sold for £160 a fragment of eight pages of an earlier edition (described by me in *Modern Language Notes*, xli (1926), 327). It came from the library at Blair Adam, Kinross-shire, having been (according to the catalogue of the Huntington Library, where the fragment is now located) "removed from [the] binding of *Iusti Lipsi Opera Omnia*, Antwerp, 1585," and has the armorial bookplate of John Adam. The Huntington catalogue accepts the eight pages as belonging to the first edition of 1566. However that be, there was cer-

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tainly a printed edition in 1576. On August 13 of that year (see W. W. Greg, in *The Library*, 4th Ser., viii (1928), 415, and Greg and Eleanore Boswell, *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1576 to 1602* (1930), pp. lvii, 86) 225 copies of *A handfull of Delightes* were confiscated from Richard Jones "by appointment of the Q.M. Commissioners," but were "redeliuered" to him about June 10, 1577. In 1577 John Grange's novel, *The Golden Aphroditis*, quoted several times from poems in the *Handful* (see my article in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, xvi (1934), 195). With at least three known editions to its credit, *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* looms upon the literary horizon with far more importance than the older historians realized.

Below I give a few notes on other matters that have come to my attention since 1924, references being to pages of my edition, with line numbers of the text sometimes added.

vi MS. Additional 33786 has the following note by Thomas Grenville: "This is an exact Copy of an extremely rare Collection of poems. It was transcribed by Steevens the editor of Shakespear from the original edition of 1584 which is of extraordinary rarity." An added pencil note, apparently by Grenville, says, "The Transcriber was W. Smith." This latter name, in the same hand as the transcript of the *Handful*, is on fol. 2^v, where also occurs the suggestion, "The Song to 'Virginitie' [No. 16] is not unlike Queen Elizabeths stile of writing." The manuscript shows that two pages (B6) were missing in the late eighteenth century.

xiv Robinson may have been the Clement Robinson who married Anna Cooper at St. Magnus Martyr, London, on November 15, 1562.

82 No. 1 is also reprinted on the verso of the title-page of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxxi (1811). Somewhat similar to it is "A Fragrant Posie," Huntington Library Bridgewater MSS., art. 8869, which begins,

And first the Labirinth of my heart
I will perfume in euery part
With fra[n]kencense of Amity
and flowers of fedility,

and in next to the last stanza says,

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Thus you haue heard and likewise seen
my posie gathered fresh and greene.

83 With line 31 compare Robert Greene, *Francescos Fortunes* (1590; *Life and Complete Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart (1881-6), viii, 198), "shee hath giuen thee a Nosegay of flowers wherin as a top gallant for all y^e rest, is set Rosemary for remembrance," and Thomas Campion, *A Relation of the Late Royal Entertainment Given by . . . Lord Knollys* (1613; *Campion's Works*, ed. Percival Vivian (1909), p. 82), "I haue flowers for all fancies. Tyme for truth, Rosemary for remembrance, Roses for loue, Hartsease for ioy, and thousands more." With line 47 compare James Yates, "In the praise of *Fennill* and *Woodbine*," a poem in his book, *The Castell of Courtesie* (1582), part ii, fol. 47:

Yet some will say, that *Fennill* is to flatter:
They ouer reache, their tongues too much do clatter.

84 Music for "Downeright squyre" is preserved in a Cambridge University Library MS., Dd.2.11, fol. 70.

86 A copy of the first four stanzas of No. 4 is in MS. Additional 28635, fols. 107^v-108.

88 With line 401 compare Thomas Churchyard, *A Plaine Or moste true report . . . of Macklin* (1580), C1^v, "Thon Norrice was matched with a lustie Limlifter, a breachlesse Freer called Brother Peter."

89 *Where is the life that late I led* is also the tune of a ballad in the 1612 edition of Deloney's *Strange Histories*, L4^v-M2^v.

90 A line of No. 7 is quoted in F. D.'s "An excellent new Medly," ca. 1620 (William Chappell, *The Roxburghe Ballads* (Ballad Society, 1871), i, 59), "Greene sleeves were wont to be my ioy." Barnabe Rich, *Roome for a Gentleman* (1609), C1, says that good women will imitate courtesans "sometimes againe in their impudent boldnes of behauour, that were more fitting for my Lady *Greene-sleeues*, then decent for those women, that are of any good sort or reputation."

96 The first line of No. 9 is quoted in John Grange's *The Golden Aphroditis* (1577), H3^v; Robert Kittowe's *Loues Load-starre* (1600), C3^v; *The Man in the Moon* (1609; ed. J. O. Halliwell (-Phillipps), Percy Society, vol. xxix, p. 47); F. D.'s "An excellent New Medly" (ca. 1620;

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Chappell, *The Roxburghe Ballads*, i, 59); and Martin Parker's "Love's Solace" (1632; the same, i, 625).

97 A dance called "Cycylla pavyan" (line 839) is described in MS. Rawlinson Poet. 108, fol. 10^v.

99 Margaret Farrand, *Studies in Philology*, xxvii (1930), 233, says that nobody takes seriously the influence of No. 13 on *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, and suggests instead that Shakespeare had in mind Thomas Moffet's *The Silkwormes* (1599) which he must have seen in manuscript. Music for "Callino" (No. 14) will also be found in Cambridge University Library MS. Dd.4.23, fols. 19, 23^v. The meaning of the phrase from which it is named was discussed by James Lecky in the New Shakspeare Society *Transactions*, 1887-92, pp. 140-2, and by W. H. Grattan Flood in *The Irish Statesman*, June 25, 1927, p. 376 f. See further J. W. Ebsworth, *The Roxburghe Ballads* (Ballad Society, 1889), vi, 284. With lines 1052 ff. compare George Peele's *The Old Wives Tale* (1595), lines 838-43 (Malone Society reprint, 1908):

Hir Corall lippes, hir crimson chinne,
Hir siluer teeth so white within:
Hir golden locks hir rowling eye,
Hir pretty parts let them goe by:
Hey ho hath wounded me,
That I must die this day to see.

102 With line 1217 compare Sir Thomas Hoby, *The Courtier* (1561; ed. Sir Walter Raleigh (1900), p. 152), "because they woulde bee counted to lovyng woormes"; Melbancke, *Philotimus* (1583), B2^v, "art thou such a louinge woorme to succourles creatures, to robb God of his due"; Lyly, *Mother Bombie* (1594; *Complete Works*, ed. R. W. Bond (1902), iii, 188), "I haue tied vp the louing worme my daughter"; and *The Run-awayes Answer* (1625), B4-B4^v, "O! they [the English provincials] are the louingest wormes Earth euer sent forth."

103 Five stanzas of No. 17 were also reprinted in George Ellis's 1801 edition (ii., 355-7), but not in his first edition of 1790.

110 Compare with lines 1441 f. George Whetstone's *The Rocke of Regard* (1576; J. P. Collier's reprint, p. 127),

I justly say, which wordes I rue,
All men be false, and none be true;

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with lines 1447-50, Thomas Howell's *Newe Sonets, and pretie Pamphlets* (ca. 1568; *Poems*, ed. A. B. Grosart (1879), p. 133),

What Paps did giue hir foode, that nought
regardes my wo?
What Tiger fearce alas coulde hate, the
harte that loude hir so;

with lines 1465-72, Ovid's *Heroides* X.51-8.

111 Evidence that the ballad beginning at line 1487 was composed before 1584 is found in the fact that John Grange, *The Golden Aphroditis* (1577), E2, quotes its final lines, "Least they then doe as I do now, Take of thy belles, and let thee flee."

112 On the tune *Qui* (or *Chi*) *passa* see also A. E. H. Swaen, *Neophilologus*, v (1919), 40-2.

115 For another song "To the tune of Damon & pythias" see Edmund Elviden's *The most excellent . . . Historie of Pesistratus and Catanea* (1570), C1-C1^v.

116 John Florio, in the dedication to *Florios Second Frutes* (1591), A2^v, refers to No. 25: "yet loue is a pretie thing to giue vnto my Ladie." Sir Sidney Colvin, in *John Keats* (1925), p. 157 f., and elsewhere, has comments on the resemblance of Keats's poem, "You say you love" (which he first printed in *The Times Literary Supplement*, April 16, 1914), to No. 26.

117 The note under No. 27, line 2, should have 1799 (not 1779) and under line 20 "in 1549" (not 1594). Another copy of No. 28 is in MS. Rawlinson Poet. 108, fols. 43-3^v. John Grange, *The Golden Aphroditis* (1577), S3, adapts lines 1846 and 1912 f. thus: "Yet distaunce shall not parte our loue,/ Our hertes alike shall still remayne."

118 References in the drama—as Thomas Heywood's *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon* (1604; *Dramatic Works*, ed. John Pearson (1874), v, 346), and Heywood and Rowley's *Fortune by Land and Sea* (1607; the same, vi, 392)—are perhaps no more significant of the popularity of Mannington's ballad than are the quotations from it in "The Lover's Complaint" (ca. 1620; William Chappell, *The Roxburghe Ballads* (Ballad Society, 1874), ii, 310 f.).

120 f. There is an interesting and important discussion of the tune

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"Labondolose hote" and of the play *Misogonus* in T. W. Baldwin's *Shakspeare's Five-Act Structure* (1947), pp. 428-38. He concludes that "the tune title is a transliteration of Greek," and that it is "more probable that the [*Handful*] ballad precedes" the song in *Misogonus*.

122 A dance called "The nyne muses" is described in MS. Rawlinson Poet. 108, fol. 11.

BEFORE *EUPHUES*

By GEORGE B. PARKS

I

Euphues is usually discussed as a treatise on manners, on the one hand, or an experiment in style on the other, and in both respects as an example of a new sophistication. The style, a fairly simple structure involving three rhetorical figures,¹ goes back through the lectures of an Oxford professor of rhetoric² to a long classical tradition. The treatise draws on Italian fiction and courtesy-books for its model conversations and analysis of manners and morals.³ I wish to consider *Euphues* as a psychological novel,⁴ and to note that in this respect as well as in the others I have mentioned, it is not an innovation, but comes instead near the end of a tradition of prose fiction. In so doing, I do not in the least derogate from the value of the studies made of it as style and as courtesy-book, which illuminate its intellectual content.

Euphues is clearly a psychological novel, its emphasis on "analysis of sentiments"⁵ or "sentimental rhetoric,"⁶ or rather the rhetoric of sentiment. The theme of the first *Euphues* is the conflict of love and friendship, the story of the faithless friend and the even more faithless lady. The story has little action, and little obvious appeal. It is not a thriller, or even a telling anecdote, as might have been expected of a story modeled on the Italian *novella*: though it is true that some *novelle* have little more story than describes languishing lovers. Unlike most *novelle*, *Euphues* includes neither adventure nor violence, neither comic trick nor comic discomfiture. The scenes are laid in drawingrooms, the

1 Lyly, *Euphues*, ed. M. W. Croll and H. Clemons (1916), p. xxiii.

2 William Ringler, *P.M.L.A.*, liii (1938), 678-86.

3 J. J. Jusserand, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare* (1890), chap. iii; T. F. Crane, *Italian Social Customs in the Sixteenth Century* (1920), pp. 528-32; Violet M. Jeffery, *John Lyly and the Italian Renaissance* (Paris, 1927), chap. i; E. A. Baker, *History of the English Novel*, ii (1929), 61.

4 Cf. J. Dover Wilson, *John Lyly* (1905), p. 82; Albert Feuillerat, *John Lyly* (1910), pp. 257-308, "Le Romancier."

5 E. A. Baker, *Eng. Novel*, ii, 66.

6 René Pruvost, *Matteo Bandello and Elizabethan Fiction* (Paris, 1937), chap. iiii.

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events are achieved by exchange of words, and the conflicts are rather mental than external or overt.

Specifically, the scenes are eleven in number, including that preliminary one in which Euphues is rebuked for frivolity by an old gentleman who is then lost to the story. Thereafter the scenes show Euphues swearing friendship with Philautus; falling in love with Lucilla, and she with him, during the supper party at which he makes a speech; each thereupon expresses his feelings in soliloquy, and Euphues dissembles his feelings from Philautus; Euphues woos Lucilla in vigorous debate, and gains her consent; Philautus is rejected by Lucilla in a scene with her father. These seven scenes might correspond to three acts of a play (though Lyly shows no sign of dramatic structure). Thereafter Philautus rebukes Euphues, Lucilla rejects Euphues in his turn, and Lucilla flouts her father. A final bit of narrative shows the friends reconciled, and Euphues departing.

These scenes and themes, however long-drawn-out, represent a psychological action, portraying in dialogue or soliloquy inner and outer conflicts: friendship vs. love, love vs. duty or conscience, love vs. fidelity. Presumably the theme is the irresponsibility of youth, especially the blind god's victims, and the material is subjective, recording sighs and complaints, pangs and sharp comment, in monologue, dialogue, and letters. In short, the material is what we usually call psychological, though subjective would be the better word.

Looking back from our point of vantage, it seems to us now that what fiction needed in Renaissance Europe, except perhaps in Spain, was, among other things, to develop the subjective element in its narrative, so as to make appealing and intelligible the plight and motivation of the characters. This was one problem which the drama solved. It was this aim, to give psychological value to his narrative, which we may suppose that Lyly, consciously or not, had. Even some of his apparently mere moralizing speeches can be classed as psychological. For example, the initial rebuke of Euphues by the old gentleman might be taken as a mere sermon on youthful frivolity; actually it is an impassioned remonstrance, and is answered by resentful insult; and it is a structural part of the story in that it is the first attempt to turn Euphues from his headstrong way.

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In order to reduce the impressionism usual in this sort of discussion of the novel, I have tried measurement, without being sure whether it is or is not significant. I have measured the amount of the subjective expression—speech, interior monologue, author's recording, all that reveals the states of mind and feelings of the characters. I discover that of the approximately 31,000 words in the novel proper, some 16,000, or 51 per cent, may count as subjective expression. (I do not include the treatises and epistles annexed to the novel, which nearly double the amount of text.) The main emotional mode of the subjective material is the lament, or its companion the reproach, but there are other modes. Altogether the novel shows a high subjective content, as high as we shall find in its time.

If my count has meaning, then the first *Euphues* is not a sermon or a treatise. It is a story told mainly in dialogue and soliloquy, and even though the style of the speeches is frequently impersonal and argumentative or "rhetorical," yet they are regularly fraught with emotion, and are directed toward action. I give examples.

Ah wretched wench Lucilla, how art thou perplexed? . . . O my Euphues, little dost thou know the sudden sorrow that I sustain for thy sweet sake . . . (p. 57)⁷

Ah most dissembling wretch Euphues, O counterfeit companion, couldst thou under the show of a steadfast friend cloak the malice of a mortal foe? . . . (p. 88)

Oh the counterfeit love of woman. Oh inconstant sex . . . Ah foolish Euphues, why didst thou leave Athens the nurse of wisdom to inhabit Naples the nourisher of wantonness? . . . (p. 99)

Lucilla (daughter I am ashamed to call thee, seeing thou hast neither care of thy father's tender affection, nor of thine own credit), what sprite hath enchanted thy spirit, that every minute thou alterest thy mind? I had thought that my hoary hairs should have found comfort by thy golden locks, and my rotten age great ease by thy ripe years. But alas I see in thee neither wit to order thy doings . . . (p. 101)

I do not wish to exaggerate my case to the extent of refusing to admit

⁷ Edward Arber ed. (1868), the spelling modernized.

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in the novel the large amount of undigested statement, of mere rhetoric, as we say. It is clear that Lyly's psychological analysis and statement enclosed much verbiage, or rather much writing in mere pattern or formula. The self-conscious "Now do I see it to be true that . . ." or "Ah well I wot that . . ." is used to introduce aphorism or observation which seems to us, who are accustomed to less obvious copy-book rhetoric, irrelevant. For instance, Philautus's complaint includes a characteristic digression, as we would call it. "Ah wretched wench," he was lamenting, and continued:

Ah well I wot that a new broom sweepeth clean, and a new garment maketh thee leave off the old though it be fitter, and new wine causeth thee to forsake the old, though it be better . . . (p. 89)

And so on for four more lines of analogy before he returns to his personal complaint, "Have I served thee three years faithfully . . ." Even this digression might be justified as parallel in intent to the stream-of-consciousness device today. That is, it would not be digression, but a lifelike record of the wandering, or "free association," of the mind, linked emotionally with the character's reflections on his immediate problem. It differs in external form, to be sure, which is logical, from our present manner, which prefers the irrelevant-chronological, the "free"; but in principle it is the same kind of psychological record.

I do not press this argument too far. Lyly's characters think more than they feel, or rather the author thinks, in elaborate logical exposition, for them. But this has been the fashion of the psychological writers before Lyly: of Ovid in the *Heroides*, of Chrétien de Troyes in *Erec et Enide*, of Boccaccio in the *Fiammetta*. Since Shakespeare, we have come to prefer a certain incoherence and illogicality in the portrayal of emotions. We are the less qualified to judge the logically ordered pre-Shakespearian style.

Lyly's second novel, *Euphues and His England*, is the same kind of story. Philautus falls in love and woos in vain, only to be brought by disdain to love another. Likewise he falls into and out of affection for Euphues. Likewise he hears the inserted stories of the disinherited son Callimachus and the woeful lover Fidus, whose Iffida was pledged to another. The inserted stories ring further changes on the vicissitudes of

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love and friendship, and in the same fashion of emotional dialogue, soliloquy and lavish letter-writing, and conferring of advice.

The second *Euphues*, thus fundamentally psychological in theme, yields not as much subjective content as the first. I count some 57,500 words, not including some 17,500 in the after-dinner discussions called "questions" and in the "Glasse for Europe" describing England. Of the 57,500, I count some 39 per cent as subjective. The diminution from the first *Euphues* I take to be due to the greater amount of intellectual conversation (discussion) in the second work. If it be thought proper to count the treatises in with the novels, then I figure the subjective material in each *Euphues* as some 30 per cent of the gross total. It will be seen that this percentage is characteristic of the psychological story as we discover it in Lyly's time or in ours. I should say again that I use the figures only as approximations. A similar count in two short stories of the late Sherwood Anderson, "Terror" and "Adventure" in the volume of psychological fiction called *Winesburg, Ohio*, gives percentages of 27 and 36 respectively for the subjective expression, as distinct from the objective account of action.

Whether Lyly intended, like Anderson, to write psychological fiction cannot be proved. He was not writing as an innovator, and so needed to give no explanation; on the other hand, criticism of prose fiction did not yet deal with matters of structure.⁸ Doubtless Lyly thought of himself as merely giving due rhetorical development to his material: that is, of expanding a round unvarnished tale, or mere factual anecdote, into a properly rounded narrative, or "discourse" as his contemporaries called it. He worked in terms of rhetoric, and probably thought his problems were purely those of style; but when he had developed his sentences according to the rules, he must have found that style had brought content along with it. He was probably not thinking of anything like what we label psychology, or human interest; but the proper statement, or rhetorical exploitation, of his subject, brought in psychology. Form, as not unusually in literary expression, created content.

The form was imported, and we must now turn to the foreign models.

8 Cf. A. J. Tjeje, "The Critical Heritage of Fiction in 1579," *Englische Studien*, xlvii (1914), 415-48.

II

While students of the history of the Italian *novella* have paid little heed to its form, they imply that while the *novella* grew in succinctness and sophistication from Boccaccio to Bandello, it barely developed in form beyond the mere anecdote. Scholars who have studied the French versions of the *novelle* have found a greater subtlety in the translations than in the originals. Gaston Reynier described the additions to Bandello made by Boaistuau and Belleforest as moralizings, studying the "conséquences rares, extraordinaires, et cruelles" of human behavior.⁹ Professor Canby thought less of the additions, finding them "infinite discussion" and "theoretical narrative."¹⁰ So far there is no sense of French superiority. It appears with Dr. Sturel:

All these additions made by Boaistuau, discourses, conversations, letters, are intended to acquaint us with the sentiments and the emotions of his characters. In the narrative also, the translator is more concerned with psychology than his Italian original.¹¹

Dr. Pruvost assumes the same improvement in the French, calling the translators' additions "sentimental rhetoric," which I would read "rhetoric of sentiment" or psychological analysis.¹²

Two stories may illustrate the progress from Italian to French, and on to English. A Bandello story (I, 33) bears the title:

Two lovers meet at night, and the youth dies of joy, the girl of grief.

Its 1,500 words were expanded in Belleforest's French (II, 22) to 11,000, and in Geoffrey Fenton's English (no. 2) to nearly 17,000.¹³ The English additions tend to mere verbiage, while the French version supplies most of the substantive expansion. In the original, the story is mainly of a languishing lover, more than two-thirds of it describing not the events of the title, but the youthful suitor's previous love-sickness. In

9 Gaston Reynier, *Le roman sentimental avant L'Astrée* (Paris, 1908), p. 165.

10 Henry S. Canby, *The Short Story in English* (1909), chap. vi.

11 Translated from René Sturel, *Bandello en France au XVI^e siècle* (articles collected from the *Bulletin Italien*, and published Bordeaux and Paris, 1918), p. 26.

12 René Pruvost, *Bandello and Eliz. Fiction*, pp. 105-06.

13 I follow Professor C. S. Baldwin's count: *Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (1939), p. 198.

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the French, Belleforest dilates on the long emotional scenes in which the lover reveals his plight to his sister and obtains her aid. He extends also the languishing speech of the lovers, and all their long-drawn agonizing over their desires. Belleforest supplies not only emotional speeches, soliloquies, and letters, but even formal poems which Fenton did not try to carry over. Undoubtedly the French author's additions make this somewhat insipid story on a Romeo and Juliet theme an elaborate if not very successful experiment in describing the psychology of love-sickness.

An example of the expansions may be given. It is possible that the translators were more concerned with their rhetoric than with any conscious psychology: but both aims can be recognized. The lover's confession to his sister is the topic.

BANDELLO (vol. II, p. 15: Laterza ed., 1910)

The girl hearing this, and not thinking it the moment to rebuke her brother but rather to comfort him, urged him with loving words to be of good cheer and to try to mend his health. (29 words in Italian)

BELLEFOREST (vol. II, p. 214: 1603-04 ed.)

Cornelia, only partly hearing the language ["jargon"] of her brother, could not keep from laughing and weeping for pity all at the same time, as she saw the poor lover quite overcome and rapt in thought of the ecstasy suggested by his own talk. To distract him then, the naïve girl, embarrassed and unused to such a role, said to him . . . (56 words in French)

FENTON (fol. 43 recto)

Cornelia altogether ignorant in the force of affection, and by reason of the greenes of her yeres voyed of experience in tournyng over the volumes of love, coulde not but smyle for the firste at the jargon or discourse of her brother, albeit noting his perplexitie, she let fall also certaine teares on the behalfe of his desolate state, and seyng hym wholly converted into contemplation of a vision, judged it an effecte of pitye to gyve ayde to his distresse, whereupon she desiered eftsones in mery sorte to knowe the goddesse of his devocions. (93 words)

These expansions in detail are significant. Perhaps it is even more significant that the original story as a whole, though not nearly as elaborate as it was to become, was fundamentally and adequately psychological. Psychology was not, in other words, invented in France. The same reflection is inspired by the other story I wish to use as ex-

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ample, the story of Romeo and Juliet. The following table records the percentage of subjective expression in the various versions:

Masuccio (1476), no. 33	ca. 2500 words	28 per cent subjective
DaPorto (ca. 1530)	ca. 7500 words	18 per cent subjective
Bandello (1554), II, 9	ca. 14,000 words	21 per cent subjective
Boaistuau (1559), no. 3	ca. 17,000 words	36 per cent subjective
Painter (1567), II, 25		
Broke (1562)	ca. 30,000 words	45 per cent subjective

Despite some increases in the translations, it is clear that as far as mere quantity is concerned, Italian fiction was quite capable of psychology. With this lead, I revert to the *Decameron*, to note that perhaps half a dozen of its stories are of preponderantly psychological kind: Tancred and Gismonda (IV, 1), nearly one-third subjective (lament); the pot of basil (IV, 5), some two-fifths (lament); Andrevuola and the dying lover (IV, 6), one-fifth psychological (lament and ominous dreams); Titus and Gysippus (X, 8), some 30 per cent subjective if one includes with the love-lament the emotional dialogue of the two friends. This is a small handful of stories, and doubtless there are more to list. There are more also in the stories of Masuccio and Bandello, though I see no point in counting further. In the use of subjective material, Lyly could have learned from Italy direct.

Or he could have learned in England. For it appears that, well before the French experiment in elaborated narrative was undertaken, the English had already tried their own. I leave out of account Chaucer's adaptation of foreign story, for I do not know that he influenced sixteenth-century fiction. I begin rather with Sir Thomas Elyot, whose translation of the Titus-Gysippus story has been noted as a parallel in subject and in style to *Euphues*.¹⁴ So far as I can see, it is the first psychological *novella* in English.

This is the story of the devoted Gysippus, who gave up his bride to his friend and was in the end rewarded when his friend offered his own life to save Gysippus from death. I have said that the subjective expression in the Boccaccio original amounts to some 30 per cent: of which

¹⁴ See S. L. Wolff, *M.P.*, vii (1910), 577-85, and Clement T. Goode, *M.L.N.*, xxxvii (1932), 1-11. Elyot included the *novella* in *The Governour* (1531), II, xii: in Everyman's Library ed., pp. 166-86.

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perhaps 7 per cent is psychological analysis or presentation of emotion, and some 23 per cent is emotional dialogue. I derive these figures from the English translation in order to make proper comparison with Elyot's English. This I find to include about 43 per cent subjective content, about 9 per cent being psychological analysis. It should be noted that the Elyot version is actually shorter than the translated Boccaccio (4,500 words as against 5,600), and that the part of the story which Elyot shortened is the objective narrative, especially the lengthy oration of Gysippus to the bride's family, and the trial scene in which his life is saved. The parts extended, on the other hand, are those dealing with the friend's falling in love and those including the excited dialogue of the friends, which are subjective in content in both versions.

The psychological amplifications are of these two kinds. I quote one passage in the parallel versions, including the Latin of Beroaldo which Elyot translated.¹⁵

BOCCACCIO. Titus proceeded to consider her with the utmost attention, as if to judge of the beauty of his friend's bride, and every part of her pleasing him beyond measure, what while he inwardly commended her charms to the utmost, he fell, without showing any sign thereof, as passionately enamored of her as ever yet man of woman.¹⁶

BEROALDO. Titus, as an elegant observer, was struck by the woman's beauty, and cast eager glances at all her features and began to think warmly upon them, so that finding her marvelously pleasing, and praising to himself the charm of the lovely girl, her glory, and her unsurpassable beauty, he was inflamed with love as no lover had ever been before him.¹⁷

ELYOT. But Titus forthwith, as he beheld so heavenly a personage adorned with beauty inexplicable, in whose visage was most amiable countenance, mixt with maidenly shamefastness, and the rare and sober words and well couched which issued out of her pretty mouth, Titus was thereat abashed, and had the heart through pierced with the fiery dart of blind Cupid. Of the which wound the anguish was so exceeding and vehement that neither the study of Philosophy neither the remembrance of his dear friend Gysippus who so

¹⁵ According to Dr. Louis Sorieri, *Boccaccio's Story of Tito e Gisippo in European Literature* (1937), p. 157. The Beroaldo text (1498) is reprinted in E.E.T.S., Original Ser., ccv (1937), 133-74. I have not been able to see Bandello's Latin version of the story.

¹⁶ *Decameron*, John Payne translation (Modern Library ed.), p. 771.

¹⁷ E.E.T.S., Original Ser., ccv (1937), 135-6.

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much loved and trusted him, could anything withdraw him from that unkind appetite, but that of force he must love inordinately that lady . . .¹⁸

Here already in Elyot is the manner of Boaistuau and the manner and style of Lyly, as would be more amply proved in the ensuing soliloquies and laments of Titus. The subjective mode begins here in English prose fiction.

The second important Italian story in English translation does not contain much psychological material. The love story by Aeneas Sylvius (Pius II), *De Duobus Amantibus*, is a highly dramatic account of a wooing, involving extreme ingenuity of device on the part of a German nobleman Eurialus in his pursuit of a willing Siennese Lucrece. It is in fluent and lively Latin, and it lends itself to further liveliness in the translation.¹⁹ Its dialogue is highly personal, and as a wooing story, with many tricks and turns and contretemps, it offers occasion for the usual complaints and eloquent pangs of the lover. But the occasion is not taken, and the story remains on the whole objective, in the *novella* tradition, rather than subjective. Perhaps one-fifth of it is devoted to emotional soliloquy and to impassioned letters to make up its psychological part.²⁰

The psychological matter bulks much less large, in other words, in this second English *novella* than in the first. One reason may be that the unnamed translator added nothing to his original, keeping to the simpler Latin style of narrative. The following passage, though punctuated with commas rather than with periods, is made up of shorter and less complex units than Elyot (or Lyly) used.

Lucrece then wounded with grievous care and taken with the blind fire, forgetting already that she is married, hateth her husband, and with wounds nourishing the wound, holdeth fixed in her breast the countenance and face of Eurialus, nor giveth no manner rest unto her limbs, and with herself saith,

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 179-80; or Everyman's Library ed., p. 168. I have modernized Elyot's spelling to keep the passages in the same dimension.

¹⁹ Cf. H. J. Savage, "The Beginning of Italian Influence in English Prose Fiction," *P.M.L.A.*, xxxi (1917), 1-21. The *novella* was translated as *The goodli History of the moste noble & beautiful Ladye Lucrece* in 1550?, 1560, and 1567: the text of the last edition is reprinted in Roxburghe Club no. 96 (*The History of Placidus*, 1873), pp. 113-61, with the Latin original on pp. xxxiii-lxvii.

²⁰ 10¾ pages out of 48.

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"I wot not what letteth me that I can no more company with my husband, nothing delighteth me his embracings, nothing pleaseth me his kisses, his words annoy me, so standeth always afore mine eyne the image of that stranger. . . . Cast, alas, oh unhappy, out of my chaste breast the conceived flames, if thou may; if I might, alas, I should not be as I am, evil at ease. A new kind of strength against my will draweth me. My desire and my reason moveth me diversely, I know the best and the worst I follow."²¹

This is not the expansive writing we have been following. It is true that this is subjective material, appearing in English before any of the stories of *Bandello* had reached the French translators and improvers. But the story as a whole gives an objective effect, and the style is certainly less elaborate than Elyot's.

We need to consider another importation in the first half of the century, before the flood of *novelle* in translation. This is the Spanish romance, not of the chivalric but of what we may call the drawing-room order. The two sentimental romances of Diego de San Pedro, the *Arnalte y Lucenda* (1491) and the *Cárcel de Amor* (1492), were first published in English in the 1540's.²² These are far more nearly psychological novels than almost anything else appearing in English in this century. The *Arnalte* is the story, in perhaps 30,000 words, of the languishing lover *par excellence*: comfortless, living in solitary despair, surrounded with "nothing else but melancholic and sad things," singing solemn lamentations at midnight in a chapel in which his tomb is already prepared. Here is Gothic melancholy, here is almost the atmosphere of Poe. Here, in more proper terms for the sixteenth century, are the love-lament and the emotional wooing which furnished much of the psychological material of the *novella*.

The difference between the Spanish romance and the Italian *novella*

21 Roxburghe Club 96, 115-6. I have again modernized the spelling in order to make more apparent the simplicity of the style.

22 The *Arnalte* was translated, from the French version, by John Clerc in 1543; it was retranslated, from the Italian version, by Claudius Hollyband, in 1575, reprinted 1597, 1608. The *Cárcel* was translated by Lord Berners before his death in 1533, and was published in 1549, 1550?, and 1560? (cf. William G. Crane in *P.M.L.A.*, xlix (1934), 1032-5, correcting the *Short-Title Catalogue*). I am indebted to the Columbia University Library for the use of a microfilm of the unique British Museum copy of the *Arnalte*, 1543, and to the Huntington Library for a microfilm of the 1575 version, as well as for a microfilm of the 1560? edition of the *Cárcel*.

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as they appear here in English are three. The Spanish runs to 30,000 words; it is almost devoid of action, being an interminable wooing with only a duel to enliven; and its style is much less formal than the elaboration of Elyot, being exactly translated from the Spanish (or French) rather than expanded from the Latin. I give examples of the simpler style.

So with much trust will I never despair. But sith I am much more disposed to feel my pain than to demand the remedy, I will end this matter to finish my letter. And with an humble request I pray thee that thou vouchsafe to see me, to the end that my visage may be witness to thee of my dolor.²³

What may now become of thee, in what place art thou arrived, hast thou yet any trust? Seest thou not that it is impossible for thee to receive health of the ill that thou hast, and that clearly the signs present make thee know thy perdition to come.²⁴

The same comments may be made on the companion Spanish romance called in English *The Castel of Loue*. This story of wooing and calumny, of love-languishing to a despairing death, is palely sentimental like its companion, and seems almost completely psychological throughout. It is cast, however, in the somewhat more mannered style of the translator Lord Berners.

I saw how he was put into a sweet prison as toward his will, but it was right bitter as to his life: for there he sustaineth all the evils and pains of the world. Dolor tormenteth him, passion followeth him, despair destroyeth him, death menaceth him, pain executeth him, thoughts waketh him, desire troubleth him, heaviness condemneth him, his faith will not save him.²⁵

This exploitation of emotion goes far beyond what we have seen in the Italian-French *novella* tradition. Sometimes Lord Berners sounds like Elyot or Lyly:

So for shamefastness suddenly her face was inflamed, and as suddenly again pale, she was so sore altered and short-winded that in manner she breathed

²³ *Lamant mal traicte de samye* (1543), leaf C3. The *Short-Title Catalogue* lists this 1543 *Arnalte* under *Amani*.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, leaf E1.

²⁵ 1560 ed., B8^v and Cr^r.

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for the death, her heart and voice so sore trembled, that her discretion could not enforce herself to speak, therefore her answer was short.²⁶

Again the style is simpler, but the subjective expression is unmistakable. In both Spanish romances it is carried consistently throughout, or nearly throughout, the work. It is the more surprising that what seems in the reading like completely subjective material turns out, in the actual counting, to amount to no more than 40 per cent for the *Castel*. (The remaining objective material is found in several pages describing the duel, and in much allegorical writing and moralizing.) None the less, here is thoroughgoing psychological narrative, sometimes developed in solid pages, much more consciously developed in this way than the usual *novella*, and having some slight bearing, as will be shown, on *Euphues*.

III

The full impact of the *novella* is felt in England in the 1560's. Arthur Broke's version (1562) of the Romeo and Juliet story has been mentioned as first expanding the French expansions of Bandello. It was followed by two collections of stories: William Painter's *Pallace of Pleasure* (2 vols., 1566-7) and Geoffrey Fenton's *Certaine Tragical Discourses* (1567). Of Painter's one hundred stories, we note that forty-eight are Italian: sixteen from Boccaccio, twenty-five from Bandello, seven by others; of Bandello's twenty-five, sixteen come from the French of Boaistuau or Belleforest.²⁷ Painter was a faithful translator, choosing his stories apparently for their "sondrie kindes of cruelties. . . . Which be so strange and terrible as they be able to affright the stoutest."²⁸ In so far as he is a faithful echo, Painter would hardly throw light on a new concept of story-telling.

Fenton's thirteen stories are, on the other hand, all taken from Belleforest. Moreover, they not only reflect the French elaborations of the Italian, but they even expand them further. I tabulate the change in subjective expression.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, leaf E3.

²⁷ The figures are those of B. E. Boothe, *The Contribution of the Italian Novella to . . . Elizabethan Prose Fiction* (MS. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1936), p. 183. Cf. René Pruvost, *Bandello and Elizabethan Fiction*, chap. i.

²⁸ J. Jacobs, ed., i, 364, *ut cit.* Pruvost, 24-5.

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<i>Fenton</i>	<i>No. Words</i>	<i>Subjective Expression</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>No. Words</i>	<i>Subjective Expression</i>
1 (Angelica)	23,000	8,000 36%	Painter II, 30	12,200	7,550 62%
2 (Livio-Camilla)	15,400	7,340 48%	Belleforest 22	14,000	6,500 48%
3 (Pandora)	11,600	2,400 21%	Belleforest 9	8,400	2,700 32%
4 (Albanian)	10,000	3,400 34%	Belleforest 10	5,400	2,050 36%
5 (Milan Lovers)	18,800	3,470 19%	Belleforest 26		
6 (lustful abbot)	8,400	640 7%	Belleforest 28	7,200	2,000 26%
7 (Countess Celant)	18,000	4,480 25%	Painter II, 24	14,800	7,100 48%
8 (Lucretia)	11,200	1,490 13%	Belleforest 25		
9 (Lady Cabrio)	12,000	2,480 21%	Belleforest 16	9,500	2,750 29%
10 (Janiquetta)	11,300	1,800 16%	Belleforest 34		
11 (Lord of Virle)	16,000	6,500 41%	Painter II, 27	15,000	5,250 35%
12 (Perillo)	6,800	1,270 19%	Belleforest 27		
13 (Genivera)	26,000	9,760 36%	Painter II, 29	21,200	10,750 50%

The psychological element in these stories of violence or peril or strong desire is usually derived from the anxieties of wooing, whether chaste (1, 2, 11, 13, the most extended ones) or lustful (3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12); or it may derive from the anguish of grief or shame (4, 8). It may be assumed that the stories are all expanded far beyond the original Italian: e.g., Fenton 7 had only 2,800 words in the Italian; Fenton 8, 2,100; Fenton 12, 1,000. The Belleforest-Painter figures show the extent of expansion with psychological material. The Fenton figures seem to show no actual diminution, in most cases, of the psychological material, though no proportionate expansion of it either. I have the impression that there was not much more for Fenton to add as psychological expansion; hence he elaborated by adding author's comment and moralizing, to justify his title, "Discourses."

It may be relevant here to try to test the value of the percentages I give. My impressions of the stories, previous to my calculation, were that the undoubted psychological ones were 1, 2, 4, 11, and 13: and all these turn out to have more than 30 per cent of subjective expression. I thought of 6 and 8 as at times psychological, though actually they now rank lowest in the measurement. The others I thought of as merely anecdote, psychologically undeveloped: yet I seem to have missed the large area of subjective expression which surrounded these sensational stories. Now standing corrected, I would count those of 25 per cent or

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above as largely subjective; those of 19 per cent or above as partly psychological in material; the rest as mainly objective.

In any case, the work of Fenton (like that of Elyot) suggests a normal practice of handling at least the translated *novella*. That is, almost any story has, or has added to it, a certain amount of subjective material, presumably in direct proportion to its psychological possibilities. Here is the pattern for *Euphues*, which we recall rated between 39 and 51 per cent subjective: except for two other distinctive features of Lyly's work. *Euphues* is long for a *novella*; and, unlike the *novella*, it has no sensational action. In these two respects it suggests Spanish romance, except always for its more elaborate style.

The 1570's provide a few further examples of these tendencies toward the psychological and the rhetorical. The first is an exception. George Gascoigne's "Adventures of Master F. J." (1573), a sophisticated wooing story like *Euphues*, is above all not psychological. Even more than *Euryalus and Lucre*s (which we recall was reprinted in 1560 and 1567), "Master F. J." is a study in objective fiction, supplying another set of desiderata for prose fiction, namely dramatic conversation and a considerable effect of social scene. This "first English novel" is outside our pattern of the psychological *novella*: I calculate the subjective element in it at not more than 16 per cent of the whole.

Barnabe Rich's first *novella*, *Mercury and an English Soldier* (1574),²⁹ is a new version of the "Lady of Cabrio" (Fenton 9). Shorter than Fenton (7,400 words compared with 12,000), it is provided with nearly as much subjective material (2,300 words compared to 2,480), and is therefore higher in percentage (31 per cent compared to 21 per cent). It is virtually identical indeed, and is useful to illustrate the continuance of the standard pattern. On the other hand, George Turberville's *Tragicall Tales* (1574?) in verse represent most of the verse *novelle* of the time in that they make no attempt to include subjective material: the ten stories remain bare and objective. (Broke's *Romeus* remains the exception in this kind, since it is a lavish expansion.) With the first work of George Whetstone, *The Rocke of Regard* (1576), we return to the pattern, which reappears in the one prose story, the wooing of

29 I am indebted to the Folger Library for a microfilm of this work.

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Giletta by Rinaldo (Bandello I, 21), which contains a large subjective element.

The most interesting exercise in the type is George Pettie's *Pettie his pleasure* (1576). This announces itself as "set foorth in comely colours, and most delightfully discoursed" (that is, expanded); and it is written in elaborate rhetorical fashion. Its subjective content is high, however, in only three of the dozen stories. The first of the three is that of Sinorix and Camma (no. 1), the lustful governor and his self-destroying victim, which, with its wooing and laments, is 34 per cent subjective. The next is that of Icilius and Virginia (no. 5), the story of Appius and Virginia, largely remade into the wooing story of Icilius, with the Appius part passed over in bare objectivity, for a total of some 30 per cent of subjective content. The third is the wooing and jealousy story of Cephalus and Procris (no. 9), which includes some 22 per cent of subjective material. The remaining stories shade down in percentage figures from 19 (the Alcestis story, no. 6) to the vanishing point of 4 per cent in the Alexis story (no. 12), which, perhaps not surprisingly, consists for the most part rather of debate than psychology. The most disappointing is the Curiatius and Horatio story (no. 8), one of love and feud which should contain as much subjective material as the Romeo and Juliet parallel story, but does not, counting only 14 per cent subjective. In compensation, we are impressed by the change of the Virginia story already mentioned to a largely wooing story, in order apparently to fit the current fashion in languishing lovers, that is, in psychological narrative.

Pettie was then more or less subjective, and in the tradition; he seems less so to our ears because his language seems rather dead than live, rhetorical than psychological. The best example from his writing of language that should be psychological because it is written according to pattern comes from "Icilius and Virginia." Virginia's final appeal to her father to save her from Appius emerges as follows:

I perceive (deare father) it is not without great cause that the philosophers were of this opinion, that the greatest felicity is never to bee borne, and the second soone to die, now seeing by your meanes I am deprived of the first I beseech you by your meanes let mee enjoy the second: and to countervayle the lucklesse and lothsome life which you have given mee, vouchsafe to bestow

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on mee an honourable death. And as by your fatherly care I have continued a continent virgin hetherto, so by your furthering aide I pray you let mee dye an honest mayde presently: least my life hereafter, contaminate ye commendation of my life heretofore: and seeing I can bee no longer suffred to live honestly, good father let mee die honourably.³⁰

This is perhaps the lowest emotional temperature reached in any Elizabethan narrative, and supports the opinion that the fiction of the period was written as mere rhetorical exercise. I object, however, first that the passage is actually subjective, even if almost exclusively intellectual at the expense of the emotional; and second that it is exceptional in this period for its frigidity. Even Pettie can show warmth, as in the following soliloquy of the newly languishing lover (Sinorix, in no. 1):

O miserable wretch that I am, to whom shall I addresse my complaintes, is it the heavenly powers and goddes of love that have deprived me of my sences, and shewed their devine working in mee, or is it the hellish Hags and spirites of spight that have bereeved mee of reason, & executed their cruelty on mee? is it love that leadeth me to this lust, or is it hate that haleth mee to this hurt and mischiefe, no no the gods guide us to goodnesse, the furies of hell it is that force us to filthynesse: neyther doth it any way deserve the name of love, which bringeth such torment to my troubled minde, that all the divels in the world could not do the like. But see my rashnes why am I so blindly bolde beastly to blaspheme against that which procedes altogether of nature . . .³¹

Two more collections of stories reveal the standard story practice: Robert Smythe's *Straunge, Lamentable, and Tragicall Hystories* (1577),³² four stories closely translated from Belleforest;³³ and Henry Wotton's *Courtly controuersie of Cupids Cautels* (1578), five "tragicall Histories" translated from the French of Jacques d'Yver, who took four of the five from Bandello. These are collections of the expanded *novella* type, and seem to me to have that relevancy to *Euphues* which is characteristic of the type: that is, the expansion to include subjective material, and the complex style of sentence. Wotton's work may add a further element, the "questions" or debates which give rise to the successive

30 *A petite Pallace*, ed. Herbert Hartman (1938), 122-3.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

32 Again I am indebted to the Folger Library for a microfilm.

33 According to B. E. Boothe, *op. cit.*, p. 334; René Pruvost, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

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stories: but this frame-pattern is suggested rather than followed by *Euphues*.

We add one further note from the Spanish romance type. It will be recalled that the *Arnalte y Lucenda* was retranslated in 1575. It was followed by an original English work of somewhat the same kind: John Grange's *The Golden Aphroditis* (1577). This is a lengthy wooing story, told against an incongruous background supplied by the Greek gods. Some 27,000 words in length, it comes nearest to the Spanish tradition in its high percentage (57 per cent) of subjective material in the form of letters, soliloquies, wooing speeches, and poems. It achieves the same effect of sawdust rhetoric as Pettie's work, a matter of quality rather than quantity. It is also distinctive in that it reduces the story element far beyond the minimum. Instead of the sensationalism of Italian fiction, or even the psychology of estrangement and reconciliation of the Spanish, Grange's story deals in almost no action whatsoever. In this respect, in reducing all action to a particularly precious kind of conversation, the young Oxonian and law student may have given a lead to his older Oxford contemporary John Lyly.

It is no news that Lyly may have profited by Grange's example,³⁴ or by the Spanish sentimental romance which preceded it. It is my thesis that Lyly profited by many models, which go back at least as far as Elyot. He took as basic the psychologically expanded *novella*, together with its rhetorically elaborate style. He modified and softened this traditional material by appropriating some elements of the sentimental romance, Spanish or new English, and by keeping one eye on the "questions" which fiction had long since borrowed from the *trattati d'amore*. But he did not write the sentimental romance, and he did not write a courtesy-book: he wrote a lengthy *novella*.

It is interesting to note further that *Euphues* is close to the end of the tradition of the psychological *novella*. While the book was still riding the wave of popularity, another style was developing. This was not the style of "Master F. J.," the objective novel of lively conversation and social picture. The new style is closer to that of the Greek romance, involving a series of adventurous episodes described objectively;

³⁴ Professor Percy W. Long made the point in *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* (1913), pp. 367-76.

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it was written by Sidney, Munday, Greene, Rich, and others, from the beginning of the 1580's. This shift of fashion should make another story.

We should ask at the end why *Euphues*, which closed a period, was so popular. We cannot tell, but we may suppose that the main reason was its style, somewhat more finished and masterful than its predecessors. In this sense it was sophisticated. Otherwise it can hardly have offered any novelty. The psychological manner was not new, and we suppose that it pleased here because it was not too complex: the *éducation sentimentale* did not go very deep. The matter was deliberately not sensational, and may have made its appeal, which would make it superior to the soft monotony of *The Golden Aphroditis*, by reaction against the violence which raged from Elyot to Wotton. *Euphues* was in no sense unique. We suppose that its equilibrium—nothing too much—and its finish made it sophisticated and therefore important.

ELIZABETHAN MILITARY BOOKS

By THOMAS M. SPAULDING

Surveys of Elizabethan literature, numerous and searching as they are, have given slight attention to "the military treatises which were published in astonishing profusion in England during the latter half of the sixteenth century." One hesitates to question such an authority as Sir John Fortescue, and "profusion," to be sure, is a relative term, but considering the whole output of military literature in this period, the English contribution seems rather scanty. Not only were new books constantly produced on the Continent, but many of them went on to two, five, or even more editions, a sure indication of popular interest in their subject. New English books, including translations, were relatively few, and with rare exceptions were never reprinted. The reason is obvious enough. England took part in no land warfare on any considerable scale in Elizabeth's reign. There was only one occasion when she even assembled what could reasonably be called an army, and this, having seen no fighting, was promptly disbanded when the danger of Spanish invasion was past. A few Englishmen saw field service in small expeditions to the Continent, and a few, moved by mercenary or moral principles, served in foreign armies, but most men knew little and cared little about military matters. Shakespeare's vague and trivial allusions suggest the usual attitude. General interest was not aroused until stirred in everyone's mind by the Thirty Years' War. Then, indeed, some smattering of military knowledge became part of the mental equipment of every educated man. Henry Peacham ignored the subject in his first edition but all later editions of *The Compleat Gentleman* touched upon it.

We may suppose that it was the author's name and not his subject that caused the first Elizabethan military book to run into three editions, establishing a record not broken in this reign. In 1560 Peter Whitehorne completed his translation of Machiavelli's *The Arte of Warre*, published in 1562. New editions followed in 1573 and 1588. Any book by Machiavelli receives respectful attention even now, and four hundred years ago there were not many writers with so large a public. But his treatise

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contained little of value to the practical soldier and had no influence upon the development of the art of war. He believed that cavalry was obsolete, that artillery would be of slight importance, and that infantry should have only a small proportion of "shot," even the pike being relegated to a minor place as compared with the short sword. "He backed the wrong horse," says Sir Charles Oman, "in almost every instance. His forecast was hopelessly erroneous." Even as early as 1578 Thomas Procter found "his opinions not altogether agreeing with all mens judgements." The book was a "first" and no more than that need be said about it here. Of more real value was the little book that Whitehorne wrote to accompany it: *Certain Waies for the order yng of Souldiers in battelray*. Though some pages are wasted in describing formations impossible for battle and probably never used even in pageantry, there is a careful discussion of the manufacture of powder, not treated by Machiavelli.

The distinguishing feature of the last half of the sixteenth century, in the history of the art of war, is the development of firearms. Of minor importance at the beginning of the period, they had practically superseded other missile weapons by its end. The portable gun was a new thing early in the century and some time was necessary to perfect its manufacture and determine its most effective use. But even artillery, though in use to some extent for close to two centuries, remained at a level of efficiency that seems surprisingly low. The explanation is that the science of ballistics was unknown. Through trial and error, a practical man might get a fair percentage of hits at short range, but so long as he assumed that the trajectory was necessarily a straight line no great progress in gunnery was possible. The revolution began when a mere theorist took up the subject. In 1537 the Italian mathematician Tartaglia published his *Nuova Scientia* and in 1546 his *Quesiti et Inventioni*, in which he declared the trajectory to be a curve, as to whose shape he made a rough approximation. Continental artillerists seized immediately upon the practical suggestions that he made. England was slow in learning, for there was little occasion to use artillery there. Though some crude notion of Tartaglia's work trickled into the country it was not until 1588 that his actual writing was made available in the English language. In that year Cyprian Lucar published a translation of the first three books

of the *Quesiti* along with an appendix of his own much longer than the translation.

Tartaglia's text is written in the form of "colloquies," or question and answer, a method then very popular and lately having a considerable revival. His theories might have been ignored by gunners generally, being the production of a mathematician wholly without practical experience. But he did not stop with theory. The "materiall instrument which I have devised"—that is, the gunner's quadrant, still in use in one shape or another—along with the tables of "randoms" (or elevations) which could be devised to accompany it, made gunnery indeed a "*nuova scientia*." Hitherto every round fired was a new experiment, with its success dependent partly on luck and partly on intelligent guesswork. Now for every round, the piece might be laid at the same elevation, either by the veteran gunner or by the new apprentice. "The whole table," Tartaglia promises, "shall be of such vertue and propertie, as that any person having the same with him shal not onely know how to shoote, but also be able to teache every unskillful Gunner to shoote in such sort of gunnes at any marke."

Many of Tartaglia's theories were thoroughly sound but now seem so axiomatic that one passes over them hastily. The discussion of some others makes entertaining reading nowadays. A second shot from a gun travels farther than the first, for the air is "much tending or going towards the place at which it is shot." "When a hot peece made cold with water is discharged, it shoots not so far as it would have done if it had bin suffred to coole of it selfe." "Through continual shooting for a long while together, a peece will shoote a lesse distance than it did in the beginning." There is not space here to summarize the demonstration of these theories, but we cannot refrain from mentioning "how a peece which had been oftentimes together charged and discharged was made thereby so attractive, as that it did sodainlie drawe into his concavities a little dog, which by chaunce did in going by, smell unto the mouth of the same peece." We wonder at his mention of a noiseless powder. He declares that it exists but declines to explain further, "to the end that no ill minded man shall doe hurt with the same unnecesarie and unlawful kinde of Gunpowder by any thing that shall by mee be written."

The serious study of gunnery in England had begun some time before the publication of this translation of Tartaglia, but though Lucar cites several English authorities the name of William Bourne is not mentioned. Bourne, like Tartaglia, seems to have been wholly self-taught, yet attained to notable proficiency in mathematics. An inn-keeper or "tipler" by occupation, he was once convicted of "selling Beer and Ale in Pots of Stone and Cans not being quarts full measure," but as his fine was only sixpence, his biographer assumes—charitably and reasonably—that "the little incident arose doubtless from the negligence of his servants or from preoccupation." He was a man of some local distinction, for his name appears more than once on the list of jurats of Gravesend, his native town. His mathematical works include several on navigation, with which we are not concerned here, and two on gunnery. *The Arte of Shooting in Great Ordnance*, published in 1587, was the second to appear in print, but was the first to be written, for it is frequently mentioned in his *Inventions or Devises* which came out in 1578. So far as the latter concerns artillery, it repeats matters more fully treated in the former, and in language equally obscure. Bourne was fully conscious of his literary limitations, referring in one preface to "this rude and barbarous volume" and in the other to "this barbarous and rude thing." But his achievements in theoretical science deserve great respect, and he was so much ahead of his time as to supplement theory with observation. He is said to have been the second man—the Spaniard Collado was the first—to conduct experimental firings for genuinely scientific purposes, reporting the results with modesty, for "I have no other prooffe but at my own charges."

Some of the "inventions" are his own and some are attributed to other persons. A very notable one is the elevating screw for laying a gun, credited to John Skinner, "one of the Queenes Majesties men." Not long before, elevation was given by digging a hole for the trail of the piece, and even Lucar knows no better way than the insertion of wedges. The "devises" include a great variety of suggestions and notions, some of them excellent, some of a rather boy-scoutish nature and some at least readable. To carry a secret message through a hostile population, place it in the collar of a suitably trained dog and proceed with confidence. "The Dogge will follow his master running too and fro,

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and no person can tell whose Dogge it is, and will as soone take the Dogge to be some of their owne companies, as otherwise." Though one smiles occasionally while reading, one cannot fail to be deeply impressed both by Bourne's serious purpose and by his strong intelligence. It was a "new science" with him as it had been with Tartaglia, for as he says in the preface to *The Arte of Gunnery*, "hitherto I have not seen any such book, although it hath been very neer two hundred yeares since the first invention of Ordnance," and he is "the first Englishman that hath put foorth any booke as touching these causes." (He addresses himself, by the way, to the "gentle reader." Is he the first?) It appears that English gunners had acquired the proper instruments for laying guns—the quadrant and the inch rule—but were so utterly ignorant of their principles that the instruments themselves were worse than useless. Looking to their range tables they would set the piece at the same quadrant elevation whether the target were above or below the gun, and give the same elevation in inches to the muzzle of a long gun as of a short one. Their only good quality was that they were "hardie or without fear about their ordnance." So Bourne writes at length on all details of ordnance and gunnery. He discusses the manufacture and testing of powder, loading and ramming, laying the piece and ranging, allowance for wind—an infinite variety of topics. The foundations for English scientific gunnery were laid. Of course this pioneer work was superseded before long. Yet we find *The Arte of Shooting* republished in 1643, when the civil war created a demand in England for reprints of military books of all sorts, old and new, as in America at the time of the Revolution.

Another artillery treatise of the period was reprinted in that same year (1643). This is *The Art of Gunnery*, by Thomas Smith, who describes himself as "souldier of Barwicke upon Tweede." First published in 1600 and supplemented by another book of 1627, the civil war reprint of the two combined was naturally less archaic than the works of the sixteenth-century mathematical writers. Besides Bourne, there were two of these: Leonard and Thomas Digges, father and son. Two books of military interest, partly written by the father, were completed and published by the son. These are the *Pantometria* and the *Stratoticos*, first printed in 1571 and 1579, with revised editions in 1591

and 1590 respectively. (Thomas Digges' peculiar taste in names appears also in his *Tectonicon* and *Prognosticon*.) The *Pantometria* is a mathematical treatise of high merit, with some incidental applications to artillery. The *Stratioricos*, also partly mathematical, is chiefly military and includes artillery in its scope. Thomas Digges was muster master general for some years and therefore "by Office or otherwise enjoyed the Managing of all sortes of great Artillerie at my owne pleasure charge free." This was an advantage, as he takes pains to point out, which Tartaglia and other early ballisticians did not enjoy.

So much for artillery. Turning our attention to small arms, we note that Elizabeth's reign began with the longbow in general use in English armies and ended with the complete supremacy of the musket and the caliver. A magnificent missile weapon, handled with the highest skill, the longbow had been the typical English arm for two and a half centuries. Never so efficiently used in other countries, it yielded place more quickly to the new firearms on the Continent, but in England there were many bowmen in service even at the time of the Armada. In 1595, however, it was ordered that the bow should not be accepted as a suitable weapon for the train bands. But it should be mentioned that this was not quite the end of the longbow in war, as some suppose; for it was part of the standard ship equipment in the navy until well along in the seventeenth century. The controversy as to the respective merits of the old weapon and the new produced some of the most interesting military literature of the age. The principal writer was Sir John Smythe, honest, efficient and cantankerous.

A Seymour on his mother's side, Sir John was a first cousin of Edward VI, and his connection with the royal family led to his occasional employment on diplomatic missions by Elizabeth. Having had long military service in the armies of Spain when she was at peace with England, and with the imperial troops fighting the Turks, he was naturally selected for important command in the forces assembled in 1588 to meet the threatened Spanish invasion. All too many of his fellow officers were either rascally mercenaries or incompetent favorites, and it is to Sir John's credit that he found both classes obnoxious. But his own arrogance may have sometimes been hard to bear. He heaps scorn on those who had served only "in the disordered and tumultuarie

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warres of the Lowe Countries, or in the intestine & licentious warres of France, farre different from the well ordered wars betwixt Emperors, Kings, and formed common wealthes." Thus he draws a sharp distinction between wars of good social position and lower middle class wars. Neglected thereafter for both diplomatic and military preferment, he devoted himself chiefly to the composition of small military works, of which two were published; one survives in a manuscript in the British Museum, and the others have totally disappeared.

The most eloquent defense of the longbow is to be found in Sir John's *Certain Discourses . . . Concerning the formes and effects of diuers sorts of weapons*, written in 1589 and published in 1590. The Folger Library has a manuscript of the original text with notes of many additions to be made by the printer. He discounts heavily the claims of enthusiasts as to the effective range of muskets and calivers, allowing eight or ten score paces for the former and not more than forty paces for the latter, and claiming that the bow is more effective at eight, nine, ten, or eleven score than the musket at much less distance. As to accuracy the advantage was all with the bow, because of variations in the strength of powder and carelessness of the musketeer in loading. An archer can discharge four or five arrows before the arquebusier delivers his first shot.

The opposite view is presented by Sir Roger Williams in his *Briefe discourse of Warre* (1590) and Humfrey Barwick in his *Briefe Discourse, concerning the force and effect of all manuell weapons of fire* (ca. 1594). Robert Barret also argues against the bow, though the official determination had been made before he wrote. Perhaps their strongest point is that the efficiency of archery depends so largely upon the physical condition of the soldier. Speed, range, and accuracy—all are reduced if the archer is tired or sick. Of course musket fire is likewise affected, but to nothing like the same degree. The arguments are fully summarized in Oman's *History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century*. A large factor in bringing about the change in weapons was the change in English habits. Archery had ceased to be a national sport in which every boy was trained from childhood. "Among 5000 bowmen," says Sir Roger, "you shall not finde 1000 good Archers." Firearms, on the other hand, were coming into fashion.

Until quite recently the material which we now seek in field service regulations or in drill regulations was generally found in manuals produced by unofficial authors, some in size that would allow them to be carried in the field and some so large that they remained on the library shelves with better chances of survival. Before leaving Sir John Smythe and Sir Roger Williams, just mentioned, we may notice what they wrote in this connection. Sir John's second published book, entitled *Instructions, Observations, and Orders Mylitarie* (1595), was written (he says) in 1591. "He still writes as an ultra conservative," says one military critic, "and his book shows the art of war in the middle, rather than at the end, of the sixteenth century." It is a good practical manual, with solemnity relieved here and there by touches of unconscious humor. "When Captains doe in the field upon swift running horses lead their bands, it dooth give the soldiors occasion to doubt whether the Captains will tarrie with them upon any occasion of extremitie." His remarks on the use of "brief speeches"—what we call "commands"—show that they were not yet in universal use. Apparently an officer was accustomed to explain to his men, in his own words, the movement he wanted them to execute, but Sir John, wrote Leicester from the camp at Tilbury, uttered "strange cries that made me fear he was not well."

Sir Roger's book touches only incidentally upon the longbow question. It is mainly a discussion of the Spanish military system with great admiration for its efficiency along with condemnation of its ethics. He approves the submission of strategical matters to the judgment of professional soldiers, under close scrutiny, however, of civilian officials, for "if justice were executed to the uttermost, fewe great Captains should live." He had served in the Spanish army himself, for he was a professional soldier—"a poore Gentleman that lives by warres." But he was not a mere mercenary, for he fought only in what he believed to be a just cause, for country or religion, and refused tempting offers from Spain when his conscience forbade. Long in Dutch service against the Spaniards, he ended his military career in the Huguenot army of Henry IV. "Roger Williams is worth his weight in gold," wrote one commander, "for he is noe more valiant than he is wise, and of judgement to governe his doings."

Of all manuals of this sort the most popular was written by that

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Bernardino de Mendoza who represented Spain at Elizabeth's court until invited to leave the country on account of his complicity in conspiracy against the state. First published in Spanish in 1595, the book was read in every part of Europe for it was translated into French, German, Italian, and English. It treats very fully of military policy as well as of military operations; of the collection of information in time of peace, of secret hostilities under cover of ostensible neutrality, of developing "underground" movements so that invasion may be made under pretense of liberation. The careful attention given to such matters as well as to the thorough training and discipline of troops explains the disapproving respect expressed by Sir Roger Williams. The English translation was published in 1597 under the title *Theorique and Practise of Warre*, by Sir Edward Hoby, who admits that he found difficulty in translating on account of misprints in the original and unusual words that had no recognized equivalent in English. His marginal notes add much to our pleasure in reading. Sometimes they are colorless, but frequently they are sprightly or caustic. Where Mendoza writes, "when I returned from my embassage in England," Sir Edward interjects, "or rather for your practises banished." When the author advises that the standard of a naval expedition be blessed by some prelate before its departure, the translator comments, "you had so good succes with your standart halowed at Lisbone in presence of the Cardinall, 1588." Once Sir Edward's pent-up fury is released: "blood will one day lie heavie on your soule, when no mortuarie nor dirge shall or can help you."

Examples of general military books of this nature, written by English authors, are: *Of the knowledge and conducte of warres* (1578) by Thomas Procter; *The Pathwaie to Martiall Discipline* (1581) by Thomas Styward; *A Path-way to Military practise* (1587) by Barnaby Rich; *The Approved order of Martiall discipline* (1591) by Gyles Clayton; *The Arte of Warre* (1591) by William Garrard; and (one of the best of all) *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres* (1598) by Robert Barret. Some of these men attempted literature as well as military technology. Barret produced the longest epic poem in the English language but found no publisher, and Procter wrote *A gorgious Gallery of gallant Inventions* and other pieces with delectable titles.

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Most prolific of all these writers was Matthew Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, with more than twenty published works to his credit. Most of these are religious or theological, but among them, strangely, we find *The Practice, Proceedings, and Lawes of armes* (1593), and strangely it is one of the longest and best military treatises of the period. The text is printed in an odd mixture of Gothic and Roman type without any apparent reason for the distinction; a word or a sentence or a whole paragraph of one type may appear in a solid setting of the other. It is written with a wealth of scholarship, quaint in wording by modern taste but not at all pedantic in substance. It should be read by students of history as well as those of the art military, for nowhere can one find a better exposition of the inefficiency and corruption of the Elizabethan military system, or lack of system, or a clearer demonstration of the need and the possibility of reform. The more technical portions of the book are in the nature of field service regulations—not drill. He proposes a full code of military law, or articles of war. This is common enough in the general military works, but Sutcliffe adds copious notes explanatory of each article. It is interesting to note that he recognizes the fallacy of Machiavelli's speculations and the fanciful character of Whitehorne's formations in "battelray"; and that even at this late date he considers archery superior to firearms in the field.

Except for artillery treatises the books we have named are general in character. There remains to be mentioned one highly specialized kind of manual, rarely touched in the library but worn by daily or hourly usage in the field. Military organization as we understand it now did not exist. There was no regular gradation of units, with uniform size and uniform equipment, marching together, camping together and fighting together. Though an orderly system was developing, a sixteenth-century army still consisted commonly of many commands varying in size from a few score to perhaps several thousand, each with a variable proportion of pikes and muskets and bows. Each was held together under its financial or feudal proprietor until battle was imminent. In preparing for action these mobs must be broken up and rearranged into phalanxes of pikes and "sleeves" of shot of appropriate front and depth. This was the task of the sergeant major general and his subordinates, and for their use a special handbook was devised. It

was not merely a statement of principles which might be absorbed into the mind. Breaking up a column of administrative commands and putting it into a line of tactical units involved intricate arithmetical computations. Not many of us could extract the square root of a number even with privacy and deliberation, to say nothing of doing it when the enemy's forest of pikes was already bearing down. So the sergeant major general, like the modern engineer, carried a handy little book, as necessary and as readable as a table of logarithms, which would perform the mathematical operations for him. Of course this must not be his sole reference. Barret draws a ludicrous word picture of an officer pausing in the middle of an evolution and crying out: "Stand still until I have looked in my Booke."

Besides portions of general works, two manuals intended specifically for the sergeant major general were available to the English soldier of the period, both of them translations of foreign books. The work of the Italian Cataneo, published in 1563, was translated into Latin and into English, the latter being published in 1574 and again in 1588, with the title "*Most briefe tables to knowe redily howe manye ranckes of footmen . . . go to the making of a first battayle*. Less mathematical and more enlightening is *The Sergeant Major* (1590), translated from the very popular book by Francisco de Valdés, which may have been first printed as early as 1571. There were also Italian and French versions, sure evidence of its real usefulness.

In surveying the field of Elizabethan military literature one notices certain large blank spaces. Although some general works make passing mention of cavalry it is slight and not a single book is devoted to the subject. One or two whose titles give promise prove to be treatises on horsemanship and not on tactics. This lack might be reasonably explained because England had no occasion to put cavalry into the field, but it happens that there was the same gap in continental literature. Beginning in 1610 a wealth of cavalry manuals appeared on the Continent, by Sereno, Melzo, Basta, Wallhausen, and others, but there was nothing of note in the sixteenth century.

As to fortification, there was a different story. Really scientific works were published on the Continent early in the century and multiplied rapidly, one of them running to a dozen editions. Not so in England.

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Some general works have chapters on fortifications and their attack and defense, but only one book was devoted wholly to the subject. Even that one did not circulate on its own merits. Paul Ive brought out *The Practise of Fortification*, an excellent and practical manual, in 1589 to accompany his translation of the popular *Instructions for the warres*, commonly but erroneously attributed to Du Bellay. The latter did not touch the subject of fortification and the two complement each other. They are found separately nowadays and also sometimes bound together. Fortunately, Englishmen were not seriously concerned with fortifications in their own country. None of importance had been erected for generations, unless we count Henry VIII's "castles" on the coast, which were for defense against naval attack and not against siege. The small border towers are defensible dwelling houses rather than forts.

Almost all of these books are classed in booksellers' language as "rare," most of them with an adverb preceding. If this is true in England, it is still more emphatically true in this country. Of most of them there are less than half a dozen copies recorded here, and of several there is only one. So it is fortunate that we may find nearly all of them in each of two libraries, separated from each other by the width of the continent. It is hardly necessary to name them: Folger and Huntington. A very few other libraries, including some in the middle of the country as well as on its edges, have enough of them for good working purposes. As to Folger, two or three books which are lacking from its collection are luckily to be found in the Library of Congress, just across the street. How many of us, by the way, realize that on Capitol Hill is the greatest concentration of books to be found anywhere in the world in an equal area? When the Army Medical Library joins the group, as it will in a few years, its preëminence will be still greater.

Following the end of the Tudor period there was a gap of several years in which few military books of consequence were published in England. Then the great war raging on the Continent brought a revival of interest, gathering momentum at the approach of civil war at home and producing the standard English books on artillery (Norton's) and on cavalry (Cruso's) and the invaluable works of the two Markhams, Barriſſe, Hexham, Ward, and others. Not only were new

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books written, but many of them went on to several editions—two, three, even six in one instance. This was unusual in Elizabeth's time. There were new books under the Stuarts and they dealt with a changed and changing art of war. So the end of Elizabeth's reign marks the proper ending of one chapter on English military books.

ON THE NATURE OF ELIZABETHAN PSYCHOLOGICAL LITERATURE

By LAWRENCE BABB

I

The last twenty-five years have seen the accumulation of a considerable body of academic studies concerning the influence of theoretical psychology upon Elizabethan literature, especially the drama. Scholars have found abundant documentation for such studies in the rather numerous treatises on psychology published in English during the Elizabethan and early Stuart reigns, some of them translations, others originally written in English. In this essay I shall attempt to define the character of these psychological documents. The task seems worth undertaking both because they have some intrinsic interest and because they cannot be used to the best advantage in literary interpretation without some understanding of their nature. Since Renaissance psychology is inseparable from Renaissance physiology and medicine, there is of necessity frequent reference to the latter subjects in the discussion which follows.

In dealing with Renaissance psychology one becomes involved in terminological difficulties. One is compelled to use the terminology of the twentieth century, including words which the Elizabethans did not know, for instance *psychology*, and others which had different meanings for the Elizabethans from those which they now carry, for instance *science*. Such terms have certain thoroughly modern connotations and implications which are likely to color our thinking considerably. Thus the fact that we are dealing with something under the heading of "science" sets up in our minds certain troublesome expectations. *Science*, to the twentieth-century mind, suggests order, consistency, definiteness, meticulous care regarding both data and reasoning. In science, moreover, we are accustomed to relative unanimity; when scientists disagree they endeavor forthwith to resolve their disagreement by further investigation. Perhaps this description hardly applies to contemporary psychology and to the social sciences; but we think of

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these as "young sciences," and we confidently expect them to mature into something like physics. In "Renaissance science," there are no such order, consistency, and definiteness, no such painstaking investigation, and above all no such unanimity.

Elizabethan treatises on psychology are often loosely reasoned and confusing. Writers make a great show of method without achieving much of the reality. One finds instances in which a writer leaves a topic half treated, instances in which a writer shifts without apparent consciousness of the fact from one meaning of a term to another, instances of classifications which illogically cut across one another, instances of simple muddiness of thought and expression. System, thoroughness, and logical consistency are qualities which few psychological writers seem to have seriously striven for and which few readers seem to have expected.

Even more significant is the confusion of opinion in psychological works taken collectively. The physiological psychology of the Renaissance is a body of theory containing so many contradictions, semi-contradictions, and disharmonies that any exposition of it is likely to misrepresent by introducing into it an orderliness which it does not really have. There is the question of the number of cells in the brain. Some writers say three, others four. Some writers distribute the mental faculties among these cells in one way, some in another. Some call the common sense *fancy*; others apply the same term to the imagination. Some present one classification of the passions, some another. Some distinguish three kinds of spirit, some only two.

Obviously there are confusion and heterogeneity also in modern psychology. The reasons for the discord of opinion are, however, quite different in the two cases. Modern psychology is an inductive, experimental science advancing by various routes (many of them probably blind alleys) presumably toward some approximation of an accurate, factual statement of human nature. If there is confusion, it is due to the very great complexity of the subject, the difficulties of laboratory experimentation, and the comparative youth of the science. We can look forward to definiteness and unanimity. Elizabethan psychology, on the other hand, was essentially deductive and static. It sought an explanation of human nature, not through observation, but in the works of

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Plato, Aristotle, Galen, Avicenna, Aquinas, and other great writers of elder times. In other words, Elizabethan psychologists shared the general and profound respect for authority. Respect for authority, I believe, is the principal reason for the heterogeneity of Renaissance psychology.

For the Renaissance student of medicine or psychology had to read respectfully a great many works of very diverse character, written in all periods from that of Hippocrates down to his own time, though of course the weight of authority was not always equal. The scholar did not question Aristotle's apparently unreasonable opinion that all men of genius were melancholy; his task was simply to explain how this might be true. If he found Galen and Averrhoes in disagreement, he was likely to assume that both were right and attempt a reconciliation. The modern physician or psychologist enjoys a blessed privilege which was denied to his Renaissance predecessor: with few exceptions he may disregard all works written more than a generation ago. Renaissance physicians and psychologists had to deal with a body of literature which had been accumulating since early Greek times and was still growing. It was inevitable that Renaissance psychology should be heterogeneous and confused. Science very badly needed the house-cleaning which Bacon proposed.

The habit of learning from books rather than from nature may explain, incidentally, why Renaissance medicine and psychology accept certain ideas that seem to violate common sense. How can it be that the character of one's dreams is determined by fumes rising from the abdominal organs to the head? During sleep one's head is no higher than his abdomen. But no one raises such questions. How can a humor be dry? "Dry humor" seems to be a contradiction in terms. And surely a dry substance could not flow.¹ It does not seem to occur to Renaissance writers that such matters call for explanation. Ancient authority is sufficient.

It is astonishing to a twentieth-century reader to discover how much

¹ Galen probably meant "dry" to be understood relatively. In a sense molasses is drier than water. Some Renaissance writers, however, evidently consider certain humors absolutely dry. According to André du Laurens, melancholy is "drie as ashes." *A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight*, tr. Richard Surphlet (1599; Shakespeare Association Facsimiles, 1938), p. 95.

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at home the Elizabethans can be with discrepancies and illogicalities. Their indifference to the contrarities and inadequacies of their psychology does not mean, of course, that they were simple-minded or naïve. On the contrary one often gets an impression, as he reads psychological and medical material, of a civilized urbanity which one seldom meets in contemporary scientific writing. It means simply that the Elizabethans lacked the remorseless passion for exactitude, completeness, and logical perfection which (properly) distinguishes the modern scientific mind.

In characterizing Elizabethan psychological treatises, then, one may say first of all that their content is *not scientific*. Whether one considers them severally or collectively, they do not present anything which in 1948 we can properly call a science. Scholars who bring twentieth-century minds to the study of Elizabethan psychology are unconsciously inclined to impose upon it such scientific characteristics as coherence and systematic completeness, to ignore its troublesome entanglements and contrarities, to straighten out and tidy up a bit. To do this is to shape and trim the material into a form very different from that in which the Elizabethans knew it.

If the psychological writings are not scientific, what are they? They are scholarly treatises, that is, compositions in which information acquired by wide and studious reading is put to use. The method of the scholarly psychologists differs, obviously, from that of twentieth-century scholars. The modern method is one which scholars have learned from science, the inductive method, with all the stringent requirements regarding collection of evidence and data which the term implies. The thinking of Renaissance psychologists is predominantly deductive, yet to say that their method is deductive is to imply a greater regard for system than one actually finds in their works. Their method, in so far as they have one, is simply an easy and unconstrained eclecticism. They select whatever seems to them pertinent or pleasing; they ignore whatever they choose to ignore.

Renaissance psychology differs from modern scholarship and from modern science in its method, or lack of it. It differs from both also in its purposefulness. In theory modern science values a fact only for its own sake with no regard for its possible usefulness; in practice modern

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literary and historical scholarship commonly does likewise. The Renaissance psychologist always wrote with a practical purpose in view.

The primary aim of most Elizabethan psychological literature is ethical.² Indeed Renaissance psychology is a branch of moral philosophy. The psychological writer attempts to expound to the reader the primary moral problem of human life and to provide him with the knowledge requisite to meet it. The premise is invariably a principle fundamental in classical and Renaissance ethical thinking, the familiar principle that reason ("right reason") will always, if it is not prevented or perverted by passion, dictate the course of virtue, the course which leads to that contentment of spirit which is the *summum bonum* of earthly existence. Obversely, emotion, if it gains ascendancy over reason, impels man into folly, evil, and misery.

In the psychological treatises one finds definition and characterization of the subdivisions of the human soul and of their various faculties. There is the rational soul, the ego, which distinguishes man from beast. Next in order of dignity is the sensitive soul, which beasts as well as men possess and which has the faculties of sensation, motion, and emotion. Finally there is the vegetable soul, to be found in men, beasts, and plants, which in general directs the humbler physiological processes below the level of consciousness. The learned writers devote much of their space (as various titles indicate) to the passions, faculties of the sensitive soul, because it is in them that man's greatest weakness and greatest moral danger lie. Since the original sin of Adam the passions have been, not the obedient followers of reason that they should be, but rebellious subjects, always ready to rise in insurrection, to blind, to vitiate, or simply to overpower the rational faculties. Thus the moral problem of man is presented as an internal conflict between the rational and sensitive natures, between the human and bestial elements in man, between spirit and flesh.

Psychologists endeavor to make their readers acutely conscious of the

² Sometimes psychology is recommended to the reader as useful in judging and dealing with men. It is supposed to supply one with the identifying marks of the various temperaments and with knowledge of the probable deportment of each. Juan Huarte's *Examen de Ingenios*, tr. R. Carew (1594), is a book written specifically for the purpose of purveying this kind of practical lore. On this utilitarian level Elizabethan psychology is clearly worthless.

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power and insubordinate character of the passions, to acquaint them with the specific nature of each of them, and to suggest the means of their control. Passions, according to the Renaissance view, are physiological as well as psychological states. The psychological writer, therefore, finds it necessary to instruct his reader in the physiology of the four humors, to explain to him the manner in which humors cause passions and passions engender humors, and to suggest to him physiological as well as moral means of keeping the passions in moderation. The remedies on which every man must finally rely are moral: unremitting vigilance on the part of reason and unremitting effort on the part of the reasonable will. Yet there are subsidiary means on the physiological level. One may do much, for example, by regulation of his diet. If he is greatly inclined to anger—that is, if he is of a hot and dry, or choleric, temperament—he may cool himself, moisten himself, by choice of the proper foods and beverages. The numerous dietaries of the period have a moral as well as a medical purpose.

The primary means to virtue is self-control. The primary requisite of self-control is self-knowledge. These are the motivating beliefs which produced the Elizabethan literature on theoretical psychology. Throughout this literature one continually finds echoes of the classical exhortation “nosce teipsum.” The attitude of the writers is not that of the dispassionate teacher but that of the preacher. In fact many of the psychological works available to Elizabethan and early Stuart Englishmen in their own language are by divines: Thomas Rogers’s *Anatomie of the Minde* (1576), Thomas Wright’s *Passions of the Minde* (1601), Thomas Walkington’s *Optick Glasse of Humors* (1607), Pierre Charon’s *Of Wisdome* (translated ca. 1607), F. N. Coeffeteau’s *Table of Humane Passions* (translated 1621), Robert Burton’s *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), Edward Reynolds’s *Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man* (1640), and others. Yet the non-clerical writers in the field are hardly less moralistic than the ecclesiastics. The physician Timothy Bright, for example, takes the position that the highest function of the medical profession is to correct

the infirmities of the mind. For the instrument of reason, the braine, being either not of well tempered substance: or disordered in his parts: all exercise of wisdom is hindred . . . there vnconsiderate iudgement, simplicitie, &

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foolishnes make their seat, and . . . dispossessing reason . . . [debase human nature] farre vnder the condition of brute beasts.³

Bright devotes much of his *Treatise of Melancholie* to discussion of the nature of the soul and to its relation to the body. The mental infirmity mentioned in the title is a significant subject in the writer's eyes principally because of the spiritual dangers which arise from it.⁴ The book is fundamentally a moral, not a scientific work.⁵

When one considers the purpose of Elizabethan psychologists, the scientific shortcomings of their writings seem less significant. The consistency and accuracy of modern science come from its valuing the fact above any usefulness that it may have, in other words from the scientific attitude. The Elizabethans knew nothing of this attitude. They valued a fact or principle according to its usefulness, and they found their psychology ethically useful. Its confusions and contrarities did not affect this usefulness, for as regards such fundamental principles as those sketched above, the authorities were virtually unanimous. It is pointless to charge Elizabethan psychologists with entanglement and contradiction.⁶ They had not learned to value consistency and clarity in detail as we have.

It would be pointless also, I believe, to see any great significance in the fact that Elizabethan psychology by no means provides a complete and accurate description of the processes of the human mind. It presents at least a relative truth. Possibly Renaissance Englishmen were more acutely conscious than we are that truth at best is relative.⁷ After all,

3 *A Treatise of Melancholie* (1586; Facsimile Text Society reprint, 1940), dedicatory epistle, Sig. *2.

4 See the prefatory letter "To his melancholicke friend: M" and Chapters xxxii-xxxvi.

5 One finds similar attitudes in works by continental physicians which appeared in English translation: e.g., Levinus Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions*, tr. Thomas Newton (1576); André du Laurens, *A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight* (see note 1); Jacques Ferrand, *Erotomania*, tr. Edmund Chilmead (1640).

6 Louise C. Turner Forest, in "A Caveat for Critics Against Invoking Elizabethan Psychology," *PMLA*, lx1 (1946), 651-72, accurately and entertainingly describes the confusion and contradiction in Elizabethan psychology. She is substantially right, I believe, in saying that certain contemporary scholars, in expounding Elizabethan psychology, have created a relatively logical and coherent system which did not exist during the Elizabethan period (p. 656). She apparently believes that it is useless to look for any unifying principles. It seems to me that she sees only a negative aspect of Elizabethan psychology.

7 See *Paradise Lost*, V, 563-76; VII, 118-30; VIII, 66-86.

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if we accept Renaissance criteria, the old psychology has greater value than anything that modern science has to offer, for science has given us no comparable rule of living—in fact, no principles of personal ethics at all.

Elizabethan psychological treatises, then, are scholarly treatises written for an ethical purpose. They are further distinguished by their literary character, and in this again they differ from modern scholarly and scientific compositions. Psychological writers of the Renaissance are by no means contented with such neutral exposition as Bishop Sprat has recommended since their time. Manner of presentation is with them a prime consideration. They are motivated both by creative enthusiasm and by the desire to convince and persuade. They endeavor, moreover, to appear in the character of men who have, not only a fund of factual information, but also a broad and humane culture, and they strive continually for stylistic grace and eloquence. Some of them write in verse (Sir John Davies, John Davies of Hereford, Phineas Fletcher). They are, by the way, highly verbose.

The following is an excerpt from an early Stuart work which, I believe, is reasonably typical of English Renaissance psychological literature, Bishop Edward Reynolds's book on the passions:

. . . *Aristotle* hath placed his greatest felicitie in the *contemplation* of the highest and divinest Truths; which he makes to be the object of that supreme part of the Soule. And it was the speech of the Philosopher *Heraclitus* to the same purpose, that *Anima sicca est sapientissima*, (which toucheth something upon that of *Aristotle*, That Melancholy complexions are usually the wisest, for that Temper is the dryest of all the rest) That a Mind not steeped in the humours of carnall and grosse affections, nor drench'd in the waves of a disquiet Fancie, but more rayed and soaring to its originall, by divine *contemplations*, is alwayes endued with the greater wisdom.⁸

One notes the display of learning—the citation of authors—characteristic of works in the humane tradition of the Renaissance; one notes the pulpit resonance and the sustention of the long period (the syntax is a little clumsy); one notes the emotional enthusiasm. Timothy Bright makes a tripartite division of human nature: body, spirit,⁹ and soul:

⁸ *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man* (1640), pp. 36–7.

⁹ Bright refers to the *animal spirit*, a subtle, semi-material fluid which is supposed to

"the bodie of earth: the spirit from vertue of that spirit, which did as it were hatch that great egge of Chaos: & the soule inspired from God, a nature eternall and diuine, not fettered with the bodie . . . but hand-fasted therewith, by that golden claspe of the spirit . . . by this only the bodie affecteth the mind."¹⁰ This may not be masterful style; but the figures of speech, the emotional coloring, the evident striving for a loftiness of language in keeping with the dignity of the subject all indicate that Bright is trying to move as well as to instruct. The learned authors summon all their powers of eloquence when, like Hamlet, they reflect on the excellence of human faculties and the pre-eminence of man among earthly creatures. Man is "the head and chiefe of all that euer God wrought; the pourtraiture of the vniuersall world . . . [a] merueilous and cunning peece of worke";¹¹ "the last hand, the accomplishment, the perfection of the worke, the honor and miracle of Nature."¹²

If one goes behind the vernacular writers to the Latin works upon which they were nourished, he finds a wealth of material of similar stylistic character. For illustration I shall quote from two passages which concern the beneficence of melancholy when it has been properly tempered with other humors. Marsiglio Ficino describes both the physical character and the intellectual effects of the qualified humor:

Tale est ferme colore, quale aurum esse uidemus, sed aliquantum uergit ad purpuram. Et quando tam naturali calore quam uel corporis uel animi motu accenditur? ferme non aliter quam ignitum rubensque aurum, purpureo mixtum calet & lucet, atque uelut iris trahit uarios flagrante corde colores . . . spiritus ex hoc humore creati, primo quidem subtiles sunt . . . animus instrumento siue incitamento eiusmodi . . . semper rerum omnium & centra petit, & penetralia penetrat. Congruit . . . cum Mercurio atque Saturno: quorum alter omnium Planetarum altissimus, inuestigantem euehit ad altissima.¹³

flow through the nerves and serve as a medium of communication between the reasonable faculties and the body. According to Bright and most other authorities of his day, mental aberrations are due, not to corruption of the mind itself, but to vitiation of its physical instruments, especially the animal spirit, by physiological disturbances.

¹⁰ *Treatise*, pp. 37-8.

¹¹ Du Laurens, *Discourse*, pp. 14-5. Both this work and the following are translations from French originals.

¹² Pierre Charron, *Of Wisdome*, tr. Samson Lennard (ca. 1607), p. 8.

¹³ *De Vita Libri Tres* (Basel, 1549), pp. 18-9.

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Jason Pratensis declares that heavenly spirits are attracted to melancholy men

ac sese . . . nimis quam lubentes immittunt insinuantque intimis horum penetralibus, atque ibi considunt, ac deliciantur, tanquam in regione illa clarissimorum syderum uolubili: qui ubi sese commouerint, animum quoque commouent, & mirabiliter afficiunt, coguntque furere . . . furore quidem perciti supra seipsos efferuntur, & quodammodo adorabilis dii efficiuntur, artium. quas nunquam didicere inuentores, legum sanctissimarum conditores, naturalium rerum perscrutatores, diuinorum mysteriorum interpretes, poetae, Prophetæ, Vates.¹⁴

During the Renaissance there was no distinction between the literature of knowledge and the literature of power.

All of the works which I have quoted or cited were written for educated readers in general, not specifically for physicians or psychologists. Several of the authors were men presumably without medical training. The question might arise: Does the same hortative and literary character pervade treatises written by specialists for specialists? The answer is that it is very hard to find such works.¹⁵ Even in the field of medicine, books which would be unintelligible to the educated layman were exceptional. The sharp distinction between scientific specialist and layman which exists today was unknown during the Renaissance. No branch of natural philosophy had yet developed into any such formidable body of knowledge as a modern science. It was still possible for one man to write an encyclopedic work which could command respect, as Robert Burton demonstrated. There were, of course, no professional psychologists. Psychological literature was written either by physicians or by cultivated laymen with a desire to instruct their fellow men in the art of living well.

¹⁴ *De Cerebri Morbis* . . . *Liber* (Basel, 1549), p. 262. Ficino has similar opinions (*De Vita*, pp. 19-20).

¹⁵ The psychiatric sections of general medical works by physicians might be regarded as psychological material written by specialists for specialists: e.g., Christopher Wirtzung, *Praxis Medicinæ Universalis*, tr. Jacob Mosan (1598); Peter van Foreest, *Observationum* . . . *Libri XXVIII* (Frankfurt, 1602); Luis Mercado, *Opera* (Frankfurt, 1608). But in these also one occasionally finds ethical interest and stylistic elaboration. This is less true of medieval and classical medical works.

II

The foregoing has indicated that the psychological treatises constitute one of the categories of Elizabethan and early Stuart literature. In pointing this out, however, I make no claims for the psychological works which are likely to be contested. Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* and perhaps Sir John Davies's *Nosce Teipsum* are well recognized as works of literary merit. There is no other English work devoted primarily to psychology which I should undertake to defend as a literary monument. The writers' literary achievements are not commensurate with their efforts.

Whatever their merits as literature may be, the psychologies are very useful in the interpretation of works in other *genres* and therefore deserve the attention of the student of Elizabethan letters. They are valuable especially in the interpretation of the drama, the *genre* of the Elizabethans' greatest achievement. The evidence that psychological theory influenced the Elizabethan playwrights, including Shakespeare, is patent and abundant.

Psychological language appears frequently, literally or figuratively used, in the lines of Elizabethan plays.¹⁶ The study of the old psychology therefore can supply the lost meanings or faded connotations of many expressions and passages: Rosalind's reference in *As You Like It* to "lean and wasteful learning" (III, ii, 344-5), Othello's insistence that Desdemona's hand is "Hot, hot, and moist" (III, iv, 40), Hamlet's mention of the Devil's practice of victimizing melancholy men (II, ii, 635-40), and so forth.

Knowledge of Elizabethan psychology is serviceable also in character interpretation. There is, for instance, Crites of Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, "A creature of a most perfect and diuine temper. One, in whom the humours and elements are peaceably met, without emulation of precedencie."¹⁷ Jonson's Elizabethan audience would understand that Crites possesses the temperament of perfect balance, that he is—in contrast with the other characters of the play—a physiological version of the Aristotelian Golden Mean. The modern reader is less likely to see

¹⁶ See Albert L. Walker, "Convention in Shakespeare's Description of Emotion," *P.Q.*, xvii (1938), 26-66.

¹⁷ *Ben Jonson*, ed. Herford and Simpson (1925- —), iv, 74.

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the point. Shakespeare's Jaques becomes more intelligible and more interesting when one is acquainted with the Elizabethan concept of the melancholy malcontent,¹⁸ and Autolycus seems more plausible if one knows something about the *merrygreek*.¹⁹ There are many, many such characters in the Elizabethan drama.

In using Elizabethan psychology for purposes of character study, however, one should avoid unjustified assumptions.²⁰ He should not assume that Elizabethan playwrights and playgoers were intimately acquainted with any thoroughgoing, detailed, and consistent psychological system. No such system existed. They undoubtedly were familiar, however, with the rather broad psychological principles upon which one finds general agreement in learned works. They were familiar also with certain more specific psychological concepts which the general fancy had singled out for popularity (such as the various melancholic types and the merrygreek type). Inevitably a psychological concept undergoes some reshaping in the process of popularization. One should not assume, moreover, that, because a dramatist follows psychological theory in one characterization, he has cut all his characters to psychological patterns. The use which Elizabethan dramatists make of psychology in characterization is casual and occasional. At least four out of five dramatic characters correspond to no formal psychological concept. Yet there is an interesting minority which very clearly shows the influence of psychological theory.

The old psychology serves further as a critical aid by contributing to our knowledge of Elizabethan ideas concerning the nature of man and his place in the scheme of things, concerning success and failure

18 See Zera S. Fink, "Jaques and the Malcontent Traveler," *P.Q.*, xiv (1935), 237-52.

19 See Bright, *Treatise*, p. 99.

20 A large part of the critical literature which has utilized Elizabethan psychology in dramatic interpretation has been devoted to character study. This psychological character study has been received with some uneasiness by academic readers. E. E. Stoll, for example, has ridiculed the psychological approach somewhat acidly in "Jaques, and the Antiquaries," *M.L.N.*, liv (1939), 79-85. More recently Louise Forest (see note 6) has published a more elaborate and closely reasoned attack upon the psychologizers. These two writers, in my opinion, are largely justified in their condemnations, justified by the abuse of the method rather than by any inherent unsoundness in it. Because scholars have assumed that the Elizabethan dramatists made systematic use of a systematic science, there has been a great deal of wrenching about and distortion of both dramatic characters and psychological documentation in order to make the two fit somehow together.

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in life, concerning virtue and vice. Recent criticism²¹ has made it clear that the Elizabethan drama can be fully understood only when it is placed against the background of Renaissance beliefs regarding these matters, especially Renaissance moral beliefs. The Elizabethan psychologies supply this background probably more completely than do the documents of any other category. Herein lies their greatest value for the student of the English Renaissance. For Elizabethan psychology should be regarded, not as merely a demi-science which was responsible for some of the oddities of Elizabethan characterization, but as a statement of an ethical view of life.

The psychological literature, then, reveals a great deal about the thinking of the men who wrote the Elizabethan plays and of the men for whom they were written. It reveals, for one thing, that they were very unromantic; they had no indulgent sympathy for unregulated emotion. They would have less patience than later generations have had with Hamlet's brooding lassitude. They would see Hamlet as a person who, although he has been "the courtier's, soldier's, scholar's, eye, tongue, sword," is guilty of unmanly weakness. For Hamlet does not master his grief; grief masters—and ruins—Hamlet. Whatever happens in *Hamlet*, this happens; and although the Globe playgoer may have missed some of the subtleties which the meticulous examination of modern commentators has discovered, he did not fail to see this. The point is emphasized by the contrast between Hamlet and Horatio, the man who is not passion's slave. Shakespeare's audience would be very clearly aware of Antony's tragic moral weakness. It would be much less likely than later audiences to approve the conduct of the glamorous lover who kisses away kingdoms and provinces, who gives all for love and considers the world well lost.

I should like to point out, finally, that acquaintanceship with the Elizabethan psychologies might have values less directly related to literary interpretation. It is worth while to examine occasionally examples of the scholarship of another era and to draw comparisons between it and our own. The Renaissance psychological treatises (and other learned

²¹ One should mention in particular Theodore Spencer's *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man* (1942).

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works of the period) might remind us that scholarly writing and literature need not be so sharply differentiated as they now are. They might show us also that scholarship can have a purpose. Such a thing as purposeful scholarship was once practiced.

THE ELIZABETHAN MALCONTENT

By THEODORE SPENCER

I

The popular view of the Elizabethan period is that it was an age of cheerful expansion, of optimism and exuberance, when self-confident heroes went forth with gusto to conquer a bright and shining world. This early enthusiasm, the popular view would maintain, became less ebullient at the end of the sixteenth century, pessimism and disillusionment set in, and the dawn of the seventeenth century was darkened by heavy clouds of melancholy. Burton's *Anatomy* in 1621 was the culminating expression of a generation's growing unhappiness. "At most periods," says Mr. G. B. Harrison, "[melancholy] is the isolated mood of an individual out of tune with his sphere; in the generation preceding the *Anatomy* it was the prevailing mood with intelligent writers. Few of them escaped it; some of the greatest were obsessed by it."¹

This traditional picture has recently been challenged by Professor Douglas Bush and Mr. F. P. Wilson. Professor Bush has claimed that "one could make out a strong argument for the Elizabethan age as one of pessimistic gloom and the earlier seventeenth century as one of optimistic recovery,"² and Mr. Wilson has emphasized the fact that though the Elizabethan and Jacobean ages had their differences, these are not to be described in terms of the difference between optimism and pessimism. In the light of this conflict of opinion it will perhaps be useful to review the evidence and try to reach some conclusions as to which view is correct.

We may use the figure of the melancholy man or Malcontent as a symbol. What is his background? What is he like? How many varieties of him can we describe? How prevalent and representative a character is he? If we can answer some of these questions, we may be able to un-

¹ "An Essay on Elizabethan Melancholy," suffixed to Nicholas Breton, *Melancholike Humours* (1929), p. 49.

² *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century* (1945), p. 4. F. P. Wilson, *Elizabethan and Jacobean* (1945), p. 17 ff.

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derstand a little more clearly than before the temper of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods.

Elizabethan melancholy has been much studied of late, and emphasis has quite rightly been put on what the Elizabethans, in this respect as in so many others, inherited from the Middle Ages. There are two things to consider, the state of mind, and the medium of expression, and in studying Elizabethan melancholy—the state of mind which became to some extent embodied in the figure of the malcontent—we must first remember that a large body of literature existed which already expressed what the melancholy man most wanted to say about human nature. For centuries people had been writing books which urged their readers to disregard the fact of death by emphasizing the miseries of the human condition and the worthlessness of man's life on earth. In their various ways Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, and Boethius, Ambrose, Cyprian, Innocent III, and Bernard of Cluny, Erasmus, Boaistuau, Cardan, Mornay, and du Vair,³ and their many imitators and translators, had been pointing out that

Not to be born is the best for man.

"We are all born crying," says Gascoigne, translating (in 1576) Innocent III's *De Contemptu Mundi*, "that we may thereby express our misery, for a male child lately born, pronounceth A. and a woman child pronounceth E: so that they say either E. or A.: as many as descend from Eva. And what is *Eva* but *Heu, Ha?* each of these sounds is the voice of a sorrowful creature, expressing the greatness of his grief."⁴ The other writers reach the same moral, and it is interesting to note how popular, through the latter part of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, such works were. To take only one example: in the same year that Gascoigne translated Innocent's thirteenth-century treatise, Edward Aggas translated Phillipe de Mornay's *Excellent discours de la vie et de la mort*. Another edition appeared the following year, the work was translated again by the Countess of Pembroke in 1592, and by A. W. in 1593. The Countess's translation was reprinted in 1600, in 1606,

³ For a partial list of these works see Hardin Craig, "Hamlet's Book," *Huntington Library Bulletin*, Nov., 1934, p. 16 ff.

⁴ *The Droomme of Doomes Day, Works*, ed. Cunliffe (1910), ii, 220.

and in 1607. An emphasis on the misery of the human condition, such as is found in this work, was one of the Elizabethan commonplaces; Stoicism, mediaeval Christianity, and Renaissance humanism combined to create a series of eloquent descriptions of the wretchedness of man which no one living in the period could avoid hearing. The Elizabethans were not self-conscious about platitudes, and the same ones were repeated again and again. "What is it in this life that can delight?" asks Cardan. "Daily trouble to apparel and unapparel thyself, hunger, thirst, sleep not so plentiful nor quiet as dead men have, heat in summer, cold in winter, disorder of time, terror of wars, controlment of parents, cares of wedlock, study for children, sloth of servants, contention of suits, and that (which is most of all) the condition of time, wherein honesty is disclaimed as folly, and craft is honored as wisdom."⁵ Sermons, pamphlets, treatises, all said the same thing, and if an Elizabethan or Jacobean citizen of London followed their teaching he would look about him and say, with Cyril Tourneur: "Now in this town were many sundrie sorts of people of all ages; as old, and young, and middle age: men, women, and children: which did eat, and drink, and make a noise, and die. . . . They were creatures that served the time, followed shadows, fitted humors, hoped of Fortune, and found, what? I cannot tell you."⁶

The existence of this great reservoir of gloomy commonplace made it very easy for anyone stricken by misfortune or whose ambition had received a rebuff to find expression for his feelings as, for example, Nashe did in *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem*; the familiar ideas, so frequently heard, were waiting, as it were, in the back of every Elizabethan and Jacobean mind to be illustrated by new images and to be given new words. In fact the whole question of Elizabethan melancholy is more a question of words than is commonly realized. To the student of literature the most surprising and inexplicable fact about the latter part of the sixteenth century in England is the sudden flowering of vocabulary. Platitudes became vivid, conventions became vitalized, truisms took on the vigor of personification. There was, as in all periods of great writing, a lively and dramatic interchange between words and emotions, words and ideas. Not only did the emotions produce the words, the words pro-

5 Cardan's *Comforte*, tr. Thomas Bedinfield (1573, 2nd ed. 1576), E4^v.

6 *Laugh and Lie Down* (1605), *Works*, ed. Nicoll (n.d.), p. 275.

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duced the emotions, and the feeling of melancholy, for example, was doubtless increased and intensified because so many people were able to write about it with such eloquence. In a time of verbal excitement it was almost inevitable that so common and familiar a state of mind should share in the general flowering and find, in the growing forms of literary art, fresh expression.

II

We must keep such general considerations, of course, continually in our minds, but they do not entirely explain, by any means, the emergence of melancholy types or melancholy individuals in literature and in life at the end of the sixteenth century. That such characters did appear, and that there was a considerable interest in them, no student of the literature can deny, and before we try to account for that interest it will be useful to distinguish between various types that either separately or in combination are described by scientific and imaginative writers.⁷

There are, roughly speaking, five kinds of people with whom melancholy is associated:

1) The naturally melancholy man. This is the type described by the medical writers, by Timothy Bright in 1586, by du Laurens in 1599 and later by Burton. He is a man in whom the humor of black bile is predominant, or who has been thrown into despair by some personal misfortune. The playwright Marston, who is a kind of specialist in gloom, even appeals to such people in his audience; the prologue to his *Antonio's Revenge* speaks as follows:

But if a breast
Nail'd to the earth with grief; if any heart
Pierc'd through with anguish pant within this ring;
If there be any blood whose heat is choked
And stifled with true sense of misery;
If ought of these strains fill this consort up—
Th'arrive most welcome.

⁷ We must keep in mind, of course, the warning of a recent scholar, who points out that "the whole character of sixteenth-century teaching about melancholy was so infinitely various and contradictory that it could not possibly have been applied in the exact, consistent, literal fashion modern scholars would have us believe." Louise C. Turner Forest, "A Caveat for Critics against Invoking Elizabethan Psychology," *PMLA*, lxi (1946), 664.

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Antonio himself, the central figure of the play, is a typical melancholic and acts in a typical way. In act two, scene two, he enters "in black, with a book" (the doctors describe the melancholic as fond of reading) and is almost inarticulate with grief. He insists on being alone (the doctors describe the melancholic as fond of solitude), and when he has driven his friends away, he opens his book. It is obviously one of those we have already mentioned, which describe human misery and attempt to offer consolation for it; it quotes Seneca, *De Providentia*. But Antonio will have none of it. "Pish," he says,

'Tis naught
But foamy bubbling of a fleamy brain
Naught else but smoke.

And he returns to wallow in his melancholic despair.

The naturally melancholy man is portrayed in the Overburian *Characters* (1612) as someone who is "a stranger from the drove: one that nature made sociable, because she made him man, and a crazed disposition hath altered. . . . He carries a cloud in his face, never fair weather. . . . He thinks business, but never does any: he is all contemplation, no action. . . . Nothing pleaseth him long, but that which pleaseth his own fantasies; they are the consuming evils, and evil consumptions, that consumes him alive. Lastly, he is a man only in show, but comes short of the better part; a whole reasonable soul, which is man's chief preeminence, the sole mark from creatures sensible."

A man like this—a man like Antonio, and a man at times like Hamlet—is obviously a borderline case between the naturally melancholy man and the second type.

2) The diseased melancholy man, to whom the medical writers devote most of their attention. They describe him scientifically and suggest means by which he may be cured. He is, says du Laurens in words very similar to those of the Overburian character, "the most caitive and miserable creature that is in the world, spoiled of all his graces, deprived of judgment, reason and counsel, enemy of men and of the sun, straying and wandering in solitary places: to be brief, so altered and changed, as that he is no more a man, as not retaining anything more than the

very name."⁸ There are traces of this type in both Jacques and Hamlet, though neither, of course, is a medical case.

3) The artificially melancholy man. He is nearly always associated with satire and social climbing. For melancholy was considered an attribute of excellence, and as such was assumed by people who wanted to be distinguished. As Panofsky points out, Aristotle (*Problemata*, xxx, 1) had said that melancholics outranked all other men; Florentine neo-Platonists connected this to Plato's theory of divine frenzy, and in the Renaissance, "the hitherto disparaged melancholy became surrounded with the halo of the sublime. Outstanding achievements automatically included the reputation of melancholy—even of Raphael it was said that he was 'malinconico come tutti gli huomini di questa eccellenza'—and soon the Aristotelian tenet that all great men were melancholics was twisted into the assertion that all melancholics were great men. . . . Small wonder that persons with social ambitions were as anxious to 'learn how to be melancholy' as Ben Jonson's Stephen puts it, as they are today to learn tennis or bridge."⁹

In Lyly's *Midas* (1586), V, ii, for example, Motto, a barber, says, "I am as melancholy as a cat"; but the courtier Licio will not allow so low a character to claim so fashionable a term. "Melancholy?" he replies. "Marry gup, is melancholy a word for a barber's mouth? 'Thou shouldst say, heavy, dull and doltish: melancholy is the crest of courtiers' arms, and now every base companion, being in his muble fubles, says he is melancholy." Jonson's gull, Stephen, whom Panofsky refers to, is teased by Mathew in a similar vein: "Oh, it's your only fine humor, Sir; your true melancholy breeds your perfect fine wit, Sir. I am melancholy myself, divers times, Sir, and then do I no more but take pen and paper, presently, and overflow you half a score, or a dozen of sonnets at a sitting."¹⁰

8 *The Diseases of Melancholy, and the Means to Cure Them*, Shakespeare Association Facsimiles, no. 15, London, 1938, p. 80.

9 E. Panofsky, *Dürer* (1943), i, 165 ff. The prestige which the Aristotelian tradition gave to the melancholy man is in marked contrast to the tradition of Galen, the medical tradition, which tended to make him inhuman, sunk in a stupor and afraid of his shadow. This contrast is brought out in an illuminating article by Lawrence Babb, "The Background of 'Il Penseroso,'" *S.P.*, xxxvii (1940), 257-73.

10 *Every Man in His Humor*, III, i.

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4) The malcontent. The malcontent differs from the melancholy man in the cause of his state of mind. The melancholy man, as far as his description in literature is concerned, is made so by grief, by something that has changed his view of human nature, like Antonio and Hamlet. The malcontent is a malcontent because he is, or thinks himself to be, displaced from the social order. It is significant that the most complete representative of the type, Malevole in Marston's *Malcontent*, is hardly associated with melancholy at all; the word itself is never used in connection with him. His displacement from his dukedom has turned him into a quite different being from Antonio or Hamlet: "This Malevole is one of the most prodigious affections that ever conversed with nature; a man, or rather a monster; more discontent than Lucifer when he was thrust out of the presence. His appetite is unsatiable as the grave; as far from any content as from heaven; his highest delight is to procure others vexation, and therein he thinks he truly serves heaven; for 'tis his position, whosoever in this earth can be contented is a slave and damned; therefore does he afflict all in that to which they are most affected. The elements struggle within him; his own soul is at variance within herself; his speech is halter-worthy at all hours. . . . He is as free as air; he blows over every man" (I, i). Being a displaced person himself, he delights in disorder: "Discord to malcontents is very manna" (I, i), and as a malcontent he is available for evil deeds of all kinds. Only occasionally do we hear him strike a note deeper than discord:

In night all creatures sleep;
Only the malcontent, that 'gainst his fate
Repines and quarrels,—alas, he's Goodman tell-clock!
His sallow jaw-bones sink with wasting moan;
Whilst other's beds are down, his pillow's stone.

(III, i, 165)

But the surface he presents to the world is more coarse than the mood of this soliloquy; to other people he speaks roughly and toughly, and this characteristic of his speech is an indication of his villainy. The usurping duke, Mendoza, says of him that he "is a strange villain; dangerous, very dangerous: you see how broad 'a speaks; a gross-jawed rogue" (III, ii).

If we are looking for a similar character in Shakespeare we shall find

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him, not in Hamlet, as Professor Stoll suggested in a well-known article,¹¹ but in Iago. For Iago, like Malevole, is put out of the place in the social order where he belongs, or—in Iago's case—where he thinks he belongs. Consequently, like all Shakespeare's villains, he is an individualist, ready to attack the order that has ejected him and especially the people now established in that order who have taken the place he thinks should be his. Like Malevole he is "gross-jawed"; he speaks bluntly, and his bluntness gets him a reputation for honesty, as, at first, Malevole's bluntness does for him. The words by which Cornwall, in *King Lear*, describes Kent, are an excellent description of Iago, and of many other malcontents, in literature and in life:

This is some fellow
Who, having been prais'd for bluntness, doth affect
A saucy roughness, and constrains the garb
Quite from his nature. He cannot flatter, he;
An honest mind and plain, he must speak truth!
An they will take it, so; if not, he's plain.
These kind of knaves I know, which in this plainness
Harbor more craft and more corrupter ends
Than twenty silly ducking observants
That stretch their duties nicely.

5) The fifth type of character is much more closely connected with the malcontent than with the melancholic; he is, in fact, a kind of derivation or by-product of the malcontent. He is the satirical ranter, who rants for the sake of ranting, not because he has been displaced or frustrated, like the malcontent, but because ranting is the only thing he wants to do. He is, as it were, *congenitally* outside of society, not displaced by a particular set of circumstances. This type of individual is described in the Overburian *Characters* as "A Disaster of the Time": "He is a day-bed for the Devil to slumber on. . . . He infects all society, as thunder sours wine. War or peace, dearth or plenty, make him equally discontented. And where he finds no cause to tax the state, he descends to rail against the rate of salt butter. . . . He is often dumb-mad, and goes fettered in his own entrails. . . ." Heywood's Thersites, in *The Iron Age*, is such a person, and Shakespeare's portrayal of the same character, in *Troilus and*

11 "Shakespeare, Marston and the Malcontent Type," *M.P.*, iii (1906), 281 ff.

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Cressida, is an enlargement and intensification of the picture. He is more "gross-jawed" than Malevole or Iago, a more static figure, like a chorus, a hater of life because he sees in it nothing but "Lechery, lechery; still wars and lechery; nothing else holds fashion." The same type appears in Apemantus, in *Timon of Athens*, and Timon himself, after he discovers the depths of human selfishness and hypocrisy, turns into this kind of misanthropic character rather than into a malcontent. The malcontent is more actively an agent of evil than the misanthrope; the misanthrope relieves himself chiefly through words, the malcontent plans action—revenge, or rebellion—against the order of society. It is significant that the rebellion of Essex was attributed by many contemporaries to the bad advice of the malcontents, the people out of place, whom the malcontent Essex had gathered around him.

III

Such, briefly described, are the main types of character with whom—in varying degrees of closeness—melancholy is connected. But we must not take the distinctions between them too literally; classification is an *ex post facto* performance, and of course neither Marston when creating Malevole, nor Shakespeare when creating Hamlet or Iago, had these distinctions in mind. Hamlet is more melancholy than malcontent, yet there is an element of the malcontent in his character (though he is not, in his own eyes—in spite of Mr. Dover Wilson—a displaced person), and he is capable of the satirical "gross-jawed" ranting that so frequently goes with the malcontent's disposition. Iago's wickedness is not entirely to be explained by his malcontentedness at being only an ensign. But the classifications may be useful in helping us to understand some of the elements of which these characters are composed.

We must now, however, return to our original question and ask whether the appearance of melancholic or malcontent characters on the stage is a reflection of a growing number of such people in real life, and whether or not the early seventeenth century was predominantly more pessimistic than the preceding generation. This is not an easy question to answer; our evidence must come only from those people who were articulate, and hence it is obviously partial and incomplete. But we can

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say, I believe, that there was at least one feature of both Elizabethan and Jacobean society which made that society a breeding-ground for malcontents, if not for melancholics, and that was the life of the court, and the profession of the courtier. The court was full of ambition and frustrated ambition; no serious writer had a good word to say for it. According to Spenser, in *Colin Clout's Come Home Againe*, it is a place

Where each one seeks with malice and with strife,
To thrust down other into foule disgrace,
Himself to raise: and he doth soonest rise
That best can handle his deceitfull wit,
In subtle shifts, and finest sleights devise,
Either by slaundering his well deemed name,
Through leasings lewd, and fained forgerie;
Or else by breeding him some blot of blame,
By creeping close into his secrecie;
To which him needs a quite full hollow hart,
Masked with faire dissembling curtesie,
A filed tounge furnished with tearmes of art,
No art of schoole, but courtiers schoolery.

Sir John Harington, Queen Elizabeth's witty godson, speaks of court life from bitter personal experience:

In August I was much troubled at sundry grievances from divers men in high states: but envy doth haunt many, and breed jealousy. I will bid adieu to good company, and leave suing and seeking at court; for if I have no more friends nor better at Heaven's court than this, I shall begin to think somewhat of brief damnation. I have spent my time, my fortune, and almost my honesty, to buy false hope, false friends, and shallow praise;—and be it remembered that he who casteth up this reckoning of a courtly minion, will set his sum like a fool at the end, for not being a knave at the beginning.¹²

Such an existence, fawning, hypocritical, wasteful, and exasperating, was bound to turn many people into malcontents, people such as Harington himself describes: "The malcontent," he says, "rejoices to hear of spoil, that he whom no chance can lightly make worse, some change may possibly make the better."¹³ And as we read Harington's

¹² *Nugae Antiquae* (1804), i, 168.

¹³ *Ibid.*, ii, 4.

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account of life at the court of King James, it appears even more frustrating than life at the court of Queen Elizabeth.

There were other malcontents, of course, than those created by the court. Mr. G. B. Harrison quotes Robert Greene's description of himself on his return, in the '80's, from abroad, where he had associated with low company. "At my return into England, I ruffled out in my silks, in the habit of *Malcontent*, and seemed so discontent, that no place would please me to abide in, nor no vocation cause me to stay myself in."¹⁴ And no doubt there were other young men, graduates of universities, who relapsed easily into self-distrust, discontent, or melancholy.

But such people exist in every age; and we cannot make any satisfactory generalizations from them. We have one final question to ask: Can any correlation be made between the social and political background of English life, apart from the court, and the popularity of representations of malcontents and melancholics in literature?

Expressions of despair at man's wretchedness were, as I suggested at the beginning, endemic in the period, but the creation, on the stage and elsewhere, of melancholy or malcontented characters seems to have been an innovation at the very end of the sixteenth century. An early example of a character whose humour is melancholic is Dowsecer, in Chapman's *An Humourous Day's Mirth* (1597). We get one of our first malcontents—a crude sketch—in Don John the bastard in *Much Ado* (1598-9), followed by the melancholy Jacques in 1599-1600. The malcontent Feliche appears in Marston's *Antonio and Melida* in 1599, followed by the despairing Antonio in *Antonio's Revenge*. Malevole appears in 1600, *Hamlet* in 1601, and in the next ten or twelve years, among others we have Iago, the Vendice of Tourneur, the Bosola and Flamineo of Webster, somewhat different types, but related to the malcontent, and Chapman's melancholy stoic, Clermont D'Ambois. There is a late portrait of a melancholic taken from Burton, in Ford's *The Lover's Melancholy* of 1628(?). Such, very briefly, is the literary side of the picture.

The historians of the period give a most gloomy account of the last years of Elizabeth's reign. In 1596, English morale was very low. Economically speaking, eleven boom years from 1576-87 had been fol-

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

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lowed by a depression; it was the third and hardest of five years of dearth, continued rain having ruined the crops; it was, says Professor Cheyney, "a year of privation, high prices and threatened internal rebellion, of much military recruiting and naval conscription, of an aggressive campaign against Spain which won ample glory but little profit, of threatened revenge by a new armada and a still further spread in Ireland of the native struggle for independence." "It is evident," he continues, "that under the surface of the carefully regulated Elizabethan administration, there was deep discontent and constant danger of revolt. Along with sincere loyalty to the queen and pride in their country, there was much reluctance to yield submission to constituted authority, much dissatisfaction with prevailing policy, and much practical disobedience. There was, besides, the whole miserable mass of distress, crime and vagabondage that crowded the gallows, prisons, streets and highways of the time. Unemployment was frequent, poverty was everywhere, enclosures were depriving the small farmer of his livelihood, the great poor law of the next year had not been enacted."¹⁵

After 1596 things improved; the new poor law of 1597, better harvests in 1598, the gradual adoption of a peace policy, all helped to raise morale, as did Queen Elizabeth's famous speech about monopolies in 1601. But the rebellion and execution of Essex were profoundly disturbing, and the plagues of 1602 and 1603, and the old queen's approaching death, which produced many fears of a civil war, darkened things again. They were lightened with the peaceful accession of James, only to be darkened once more with disillusionment about his character and its effect on government and society. One contemporary writer called 1605 "the black year."

The connection between the historical background, the general temper of the time, and the literature is obviously tenuous. The miserable condition of man, so frequently emphasized in the homiletic books, was reinforced, obviously, by the sights of daily misery the Elizabethans and Jacobeans had to face so much more frequently and crudely than we do. But that the depression and gloom of the year 1596 were directly

¹⁵ Edward P. Cheyney, *A History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth* (1926), ii, 1, 35. See also J. B. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth* (1936), p. 353 ff.

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responsible for the creation of literary portraits of melancholics and malcontents would be hard to prove. Nevertheless such characters *were* created, and in spite of the fact that the melancholy and discontent which they embody were nothing new, that the wretchedness of man was an old commonplace, and that melancholy had been a familiar and even fashionable disease for several generations, their popularity does reflect, in my opinion, a new and darker view of experience than was normal in the earlier sixteenth century. Shakespeare's tragic period, to some extent at least, was a reflection of its time, and that time, while not so different from the sixteenth century as Mr. Harrison would paint it, is still, as far as its reflection in literature is concerned, not the period of "optimistic recovery" that Mr. Bush describes. There were many others besides Shakespeare's Gloucester who felt more strongly than their fathers had felt that "we have seen the best of our time; machinations, hollowness, treachery, and all ruinous disorders follow us disquietly to our graves."

TWO LATE DRAMATIC VERSIONS OF THE SLANDERED BRIDE THEME

By T. M. PARROTT

The theme of the bride, falsely accused of unchastity and separated from her lover by what seems to him ocular demonstration of her guilt, seems to have had a peculiar attraction for poets and playwrights of the Renaissance. It derives, however, like many Renaissance themes from late classical literature. Its first appearance, so far as is known, is in the Greek prose romance, *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, by Chariton, written according to its latest editor, Warren B. Blake, *ca.* A.D. 150. A summary of the relevant matter of this work, condensed from Blake's translation (Oxford University Press, 1939), may serve to show how early the essential notes of the theme were struck.

Chaereas, a beautiful youth of Syracuse, falls in love with Callirhoe, the daughter of Hermocrates, conqueror of the Athenians in the Sicilian expedition. She returns his love, but since the two families are at strife, a union seems impossible. A general assembly of the citizens, however, forces Hermocrates to permit the marriage. One of the many disappointed suitors of the lady now plans to break the marriage by craft. He arranges to have a servant seduce one of Callirhoe's maids, and sends another, a clever speaker, to tell Chaereas, under pretence of friendship, that his wife is unchaste and that he can furnish ocular proof of her guilt. Chaereas falls for the trick, pretends a journey, and, returning secretly by night, sees the maid's lover enter his house. Rushing in he fails to catch the intruder, but in a passion of rage¹ kicks his wife so violently that she swoons and is given up for dead. Putting his servants to torture he learns the truth, is overcome with remorse, and is barely restrained by a friend from suicide. The apparently lifeless lady is laid in a tomb filled with treasures, but a pirate, breaking into the tomb to rob it, finds her restored to life. He seizes her and sells her as a slave at Miletus. All this is told in the first book of the romance; the further adventures of the lovers, which take them to the court of the Great King at Babylon and end in their happy return to Syracuse together, have no bearing on the later develop-

¹ The statement in the "New Variorum" *M. Ado* (p. 345) that Chaereas mistakes his wife for the lover seems to be derived from Weichberger's outline of the story (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, xxxiv (1898), 341). There is no hint of this mistake in the original, which says that Chaereas, overcome by rage, kicked his wife as she ran to greet him; see Blake's edition and translation.

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ment of the theme, with the exception, perhaps, that on their return the sister of Chaereas is given in marriage to his constant friend, Polycharmos.

Here we have the essentials, which will be repeated with variations, in all later versions. Two lovers, here alone man and wife, are separated by a trick which convinces the man of the lady's unchastity. The trick originates with an unsuccessful suitor who makes use of a wanton servant of the lady to introduce a man into her house by night. This entrance is seen by the lover posted by his rival for that purpose, and it convinces him of her guilt. His reaction is such as to cause a swoon that seems like death. Then comes his discovery of the truth, his remorse, and the final reunion of the lovers.

The next known version occurs in an episode in Juan Martorell's Catalonian romance, *Tirant lo Blanch*,² first printed 1490. This famous romance of chivalry was one of the few books spared at the *auto da fé* of Don Quixote's library. The curate, speaking probably for Cervantes himself, calls it "a treasure of delight and a mine of recreation." A brief outline of the story is given in the *Variorum Much Ado*, p. 346, and the essentials, summarized from the French translation of Caylus, 1737, may be given here.

Tirant, an English knight in the service of the Greek Emperor, is secretly betrothed to the Princess Carmosina, who grants him all favors except the last. Reposada, an amorous widow attending the Princess, offers herself to Tirant, but he rejects her. Under pretence of saving him from shame she accuses the Princess of loving a negro employed in the Court garden, and, pledging him to secrecy, she offers him ocular proof. She leads him into a room overlooking the garden where he sees the Princess kissed, embraced, and led into the gardiner's hut by the negro. As a matter of fact the supposed negro is a merry waiting-maid of the Princess who has been masked and dressed like him by Reposada. The Princess, who takes it all for a merry game, lends herself to the deception, but Tirant is convinced of her guilt. He still refuses Reposada's love, meets and kills the innocent negro, and refuses to look at the Princess or to receive visits from the royal family. As he is about to sail away for the war, the Princess sends the waiting-maid to his ship. She learns the cause of his cruel treatment of his lady and exposes the fraud, producing the mask and dress she wore. Before Tirant can return to shore, a storm drives him out to

² J. A. Vaeth, in *Tirant lo Blanch* (Columbia University Press, 1918), gives a full account and a running analysis of the romance. Unfortunately he only mentions a plot against the lovers without giving any details.

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sea and he is shipwrecked on the coast of Africa. After many adventures he returns with an army to Constantinople. Reposada takes poison, but Tirant is formally betrothed to the Princess. Before the marriage he falls ill and dies in the odor of sanctity, and she dies on his body.

It is altogether unlikely that Martorell knew the Greek romance, but some form of the original story may have come down to him to be quite transformed and embodied in his romance of chivalry. Yet here, as in the Greek, are the essentials of the theme: the slander springing from jealousy, the successful deception practised on the lover, the lady's maid as the instrument of the deception, the long separation and final reunion of the lovers.

As early as 1500 a Spanish version of *Tirant* came into the hands of Isabella d'Este who urged its translation into Italian upon certain members of her circle. Rajna (*Le Fonte dell' Orlando Furioso*, 1876), following Dunlop, believes that this episode in *Tirant* was the source of the Ariodante-Genевра story in *Orlando Furioso*. As a member of the Este circle Ariosto may well have known and used Martorell's work but, if so, he treated his source with his usual freedom. In as much as Ariosto's version is the direct source of the two plays treated in this paper, it seems well to give a fairly detailed summary here to allow the reader to check the Italian narrative with the English dramas.

On a journey into Scotland, Rinaldo, one of the Peers of France, stops overnight in an abbey. He hears there the sad story of Genevra, the King of Scotland's daughter. Accused of unchastity she is doomed by the law to death at the stake unless a champion comes to her defence. Rinaldo exclaims against this partial law—hence the title of our anonymous play—and vows to defend her whether she be innocent or guilty. On his way to the scene of judgment he comes upon two ruffians about to kill a girl. He puts them to flight, takes the girl with him, and hears her story. She is Dalinda, once a servant of the princess, but also the mistress of Polinesso, the Duke of Albany. The Duke, she says, desired to wed Genevra, hoping thus to inherit the kingdom, and persuaded Dalinda to court the princess for him. She did so, but in vain for Genevra loved and was loved by Ariodante, a young Italian, distinguished for his feats of chivalry. On hearing this the Duke planned to separate the lovers. He induced Dalinda to dress herself in her lady's robes and receive him by night at her chamber window, saying that by enjoying a feigned princess he would forget his desire for the true one. Dalinda, of course, agreed, upon which he met Ariodante and in a friendly manner reproached him for inter-

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fering with his suit. Ariodante replied that he and the princess were pledged lovers; the Duke answered that he deceived himself, and suggested that the victor in the contest should be he who could show the surest proof of the lady's love. They exchanged vows of secrecy and Ariodante said the princess had sworn to marry him or die a maid, but Polynesso declared that he had often slept with her, and offered ocular proof of his statement. Two nights later he placed Ariodante where he could see the Duke climb a rope-ladder to a chamber in the palace and be amorously received by Dalinda in her lady's robes. The deceived lover would have killed himself, but was prevented by Lurcanio, his brother, whom he had brought along for fear of treachery on the Duke's part. Ariodante fled from the court and for eight days nothing was heard of him. Then a man arrived who said he had met him on a rock overhanging the sea, had received from him a message to Genevra: "I die because I have seen too much," and then had seen him leap into the sea. Enraged at his brother's death, Lurcanio now reveals what he too had seen and invokes the law against Genevra. Although he believed his daughter innocent, the King could only consent to her trial by combat, but in the meantime he arrested some of her maids to inquire into the charge. This frightened Dalinda who fled to the Duke for protection. He dispatched her to his castle in charge of two men ordered to kill her on the way.

Her story ended she and Rinaldo proceed to the scene of combat at St. Andrews, where they find an unknown knight fighting as the lady's champion, while the wicked Duke looks on. Rinaldo stops the fight, reveals the plot, challenges and kills the Duke, who with his last breath confesses the fraud. The strange knight now reveals himself as Ariodante. He had indeed leaped into the sea, but, quickly repenting, had swum ashore, and, hearing of Genevra's danger, had come to fight for the lady he still loved. The King endows him with Polynesso's lands, gives him Genevra's hand in marriage, and at Rinaldo's request pardons Dalinda.

If Ariosto, indeed, drew upon Martorell's romance, it is clear that he gave a quite fresh coloring to the story. He set it in the age of legendary romance, introduced the striking feature of the "partial law,"³ provided a champion for the slandered bride, and enlarged the rôle of the waiting-maid to make her a willing accomplice in the fraud. It is interesting to note how far these innovations are retained in later versions.

Some twenty years after Ariosto's death, 1533, Bandello retold the story of the slandered bride in the twentieth tale of his *Novelle*, 1554. Rajna believes that Bandello drew directly from Ariosto, but this seems

3 This "law" comes from the Arthurian cycle. It reappears as late as Tennyson—see Arthur's reference to the "fierce law and the flaming death" in his speech to Guinevere.

unlikely.⁴ Certainly he discards all Ariosto's innovations, sets the story in historic times against the background of the Sicilian Vespers, 1282-3, and converts it into a rather sentimental domestic tale. He gives an original turn to the plot by making the slanderer repent and confess his fraud to the lover. The lover then agrees to marry another lady of the family he has wronged since the slandered bride is supposed to have died of grief, and this proposed marriage leads to the final reunion of the lovers.

Since a translation of Bandello's story is easily accessible in the Variorum *Much Ado* and elsewhere, there seems no need to dwell further upon it here. Certainly it has no bearing upon our two plays.

These two Italian versions of the old theme are two divergent streams from which Renaissance poets and playwrights drew the matter for their work. As early as 1583, "a historie of Ariodante and Genevra" was played at court by "Mr Mulcaster's children," i.e., the boys of the Merchant Taylors' school.⁵ Some time before 1589, Spenser retold Ariosto's version with some changes in the form of a moral tragedy (*Faerie Queene*, II, 4), and Harington translated the *Orlando* in 1591. On the other hand Belleforest included Bandello's tale in his *Histoires Tragiques*, 1582, and this popular collection served as a source for a German play, Ayler's *Die Schöne Phaenicia*, between 1593 and 1605, for the Dutch *Timbre ende Fenicie*, 1618, and, as is well known, for Shakespeare's *Much Ado*, 1599.⁶ It may be noted in passing that while Shakespeare relied mainly on this version, he restored the disguised waiting-maid, who is absent in Bandello. Shakespeare found her either in Spenser or directly in Ariosto.

4 Weichberger (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, xxxiv, 345) makes the interesting suggestion that Bandello, who knew Greek, as Ariosto did not, had seen the manuscript of Chariton's romance at Florence, recalled the essentials of the theme, and later used them as the foundation of what he offered as a true story.

5 In Munday's *Fedele and Fortunio*, performed at Court 1584, a somewhat similar deception is practiced on Fortunio by Fedele, his rival in love, to persuade him of his lady's inconstancy. But this is only one incident in the tangled intrigue of a play translated from Pasqualigo's *Il Fedele*, 1576.

6 It is just possible that there was an earlier dramatic version of Bandello in English. On New Year's Day, 1574-5, Leicester's company played "the matter of Panecia" at Court. If "Panecia" is a misspelling of Phenicia, or Fenicia, the slandered bride of Bandello, this lost play would be the earliest known dramatization of his tale and may have served as a source for Shakespeare.

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Much Ado About Nothing was one of the most successful of Shakespeare's comedies. It appeared in print in 1600, within a year of its first performance, with the statement on the title-page that it had been "sundrie times publickly acted." It was twice performed at Court during the festivities celebrating the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, 1613, the second time under the title of *Benedicte and Betteris*. It was these two capital acting parts, no doubt, which made the play a stage success. So much indeed is suggested in verses prefixed to the 1640 edition of Shakespeare's *Poems* where their names are mentioned as rôles which would pack "cockpit, galleries, and boxes." This is an interesting testimony to the popularity of Shakespeare's play just before the closing of the theatres. Yet it is well known that some thirty years earlier dramatic fashion had begun to swing over to tragi-comedy of the Beaumont and Fletcher school. It was probably this shift which led the unknown author of *The Partial Law* to dramatize anew the story of the slandered bride, along the lines of tragi-comedy.

The Partial Law was discovered in a manuscript of the seventeenth century by Bertram Dobell about 1900 and published by him in an edition limited to two hundred copies in 1908.^{6a} Dobell dates the play anywhere between 1605 and 1630, a fairly wide range. Greg⁷ suggests that the play dates from the reign of Charles I. This seems quite possible, for the author was not only familiar with the work of Beaumont and Fletcher but seems also to have been an admirer of Massinger, who became playwright-in-chief of the King's Company in 1625, the year of Charles's accession.

Nothing whatever is known of the author. Bullen once suggested the name of Glapthorne, but the stiff rhetorical versification of *The Partial Law* is very different from Glapthorne's easy Fletcherian rhythm. Internal evidence seems to show that he was a gentleman of the Court, a lover of falconry and of horses, a connoisseur of contemporary drama, and eager to enroll himself among the courtly playwrights of the time.

Since there are only a few copies of *The Partial Law* in this country, it seems advisable to give here a scene-by-scene analysis of the play. I

6a The MS. is now no. 553.1 in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

7 *M.L.R.*, iv (1908-09), 118-9.

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have used the Columbia University copy kindly loaned me for this purpose.

The scene is laid in Corsica, a very proper change from Ariosto's Scotland, a country most unlikely to be regarded in the reign of Charles I as a fit setting for romantic action. Corsica, on the contrary, like Shakespeare's Bohemia or the Sicily of Beaumont and Fletcher, was an unknown land where anything strange and romantic might happen. The play opens with a formal scene of exposition in which two lords discuss the King's favor to Bellamour, a "late-come Italian" visitor at court. One of them suggests that Bellamour is even more favored by Florabella, the King's daughter. If this be true, it would run contrary to the wish of Philocres, Duke of Majorca, a suitor in secret for the lady's hand. The King, we learn, has arranged a tilting at which the Duke as challenger will maintain the tenet:

That to persist in a neglected love
Is greater sign of base and abject minde
Than love or constancy.

This is a paradox which recalls those propounded by Ford in *Honor Triumphant*, 1606. After a brief scene introducing Bellamour as a modest gentleman and lover high in favor with the King, the action gets well started in the third scene. Here Philocres asks Lucina, "a Lady of the Court, companion to Florabella," if she has urged his suit to the princess. She has done so, but in vain; the princess will not hear her and seems to love another. A courtier enters to tell the Duke in plain words that Florabella "dotes" on Bellamour, and that if he will withdraw, he may see them coming, "link't arme in arme," and may overhear their talk. He does so and hears the princess declare her detestation of him and her love of Bellamour. He vows a secret revenge and departs. In the talk that follows the princess avows her readiness to elope with her lover and gives him a chain of pearls to wear as her favor at the tilting. This is not bad drama; it shows in action what is briefly told in Ariosto's narrative, the love of the princess for the Italian stranger. The act ends with a prose dialogue between three women come to see the tilting and three serving-men; it recalls a scene in *A King and No King* (II, ii). The scene changes into verse when the King and Florabella, on the

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upper stage, survey the tilters as they pass below and comment on the devices and mottoes of their shields, a patent imitation of a scene (II, ii) in the ever popular *Pericles*.

The second act opens with a dialogue between Philocres and Lucina in which we hear that he had been unhorsed by Bellamour at the tilting. It goes on to Lucina's declaration of her passion for the Duke. He sees in this a chance for revenge on the lovers and arranges a rendezvous with her in the antechamber of the princess to which he will ascend by a silken ladder. The author has taken some pains to motivate the action here, for when the Duke remarks it would seem "harsh and uncouth" for him to forget the princess so soon, Lucina replies: "Think I am she," and herself suggests the disguise in the robes of the princess. The situation has been taken over from Ariosto and, as drama, has been improved, for in the poem Dalinda has been the mistress of Polynesso before the action begins. As Lucina leaves, Bellamour enters and a rude challenge from the Duke precipitates a duel which is interrupted by the entrance of the King. Philocres professes that he loves Bellamour and that the seeming duel was only a friendly fencing bout. Bidding them swear friendship, the King departs. Then comes a long and rather wordy scene of the exchange, under a vow of secrecy, of their proofs of Florabella's love. When Bellamour hears the Duke declare that he has known her "carnally," he attacks him sword in hand, but desists when Philocres offers him immediate and ocular proof. He bids the lover stand that very night under Florabella's window, mark what happens, and remember his vow of secrecy. After two short scenes to bridge the time until the rendezvous we come to the window scene, which, by the way, Shakespeare wisely omitted. Our author, however, makes considerable play with it: Bellamour, doubting the Duke's assertion, suspects that he may have been lured here alone at night to become the victim of a treacherous attack. With this in mind he hails a passer-by, Garamont, a typical Beaumont and Fletcher character, amorous, bellicose and trusty, and bids him stand apart, but hasten to his aid if summoned. Garamont suspects some trouble is brewing, quietly creeps up to his friend—good stage business—and like Bellamour sees the Duke climb a ladder and fall into the arms of the disguised Lucina whom both of them mistake for the princess. In an outburst of grief and rage Bella-

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mour attempts suicide, but is stopped by his friend, who suggests that revenge would be more fitting. This comes straight from Ariosto, but here our author gives the lover a long speech in which he adjures Garamont to forget what they have seen, since he himself would rather lose a million lives than have his lady's finger ache.

The third act opens with the King's concern over Bellamour's absence. In the second scene the princess relates a dream in which she saw her lover "hood-winkt" and robbed of his heart. This is the author's invention to secure a romantic symbolic effect. A messenger then enters to report Bellamour's last words and death as in Ariosto, whereat the princess swoons. After a brief intercalary scene, Garamont, playing once more the part of Lurcanio in the poem, denounces the princess as the murderess of Bellamour; he has himself been a witness of her unchaste behavior, and now invokes the law, mentioned here for the first time, against her. Philocres asserts her innocence, but declines to act as her champion.

In the first scene of act four Florabella's maids tell of their lady's grief and curse Garamont as a slanderer; it appears that he had failed to keep a rendezvous with one of them on the night of the window scene, an apparent attempt to lighten the story with a dash of comedy somewhat in Massinger's fashion. In the next scene Lucina begs the Duke to act as the champion of the princess, since he knows her to be innocent. He declines, under the poor excuse that it is beneath his dignity, but he persuades Lucina to fly with him, promising to wed her in Majorca. On her exit he declares his intention of making away with her before she could betray him and whispers instructions to two of his rascally servants. After a scene between two of Florabella's maids which reveals the wantonness of one and the fidelity of the other, the next explains why Lucina has not been summoned, like the other maids, to testify at the council's inquiry into the charge against the princess. The action drags here, and to eke it out the author indulges in a long description of a fine horse, which recalls the report of Pirithous in the last scene of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.

The denouement begins with the last scene of act four. It introduces a new character, Sylvander, to play the part of Rinaldo in the poem. To keep his rôle a secret from the audience the author sends him

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promptly off the stage after an interview with the disguised Bellamour. Then the lover explains how he has been saved from the sea by a fisherman—Ariodante's sudden change of heart was unfitting in our author's eyes for a dramatic hero. Bellamour now plans to return to court to see if the princess mourns his death and to do something to show how well he had deserved her love. There is no mention here of his intent to champion her; that is reserved for a later surprise. On his exit Lucina is dragged in by the Duke's servants who stab her and fall to fighting over her jewels. Most opportunely Sylvander enters, chases them off, and heals her with a wonder-working balsam, perhaps a reminiscence of *Don Quixote*.

The last act opens with two brief scenes discussing the coming trial and denouncing the law as unfair to women. Then the disguised Bellamour appears and learns that a "pretty little gentleman" has offered to fight for the princess; a right which he promptly claims for himself. This scene merges into the next where the princess, heavily veiled, is led to the scaffold; she chooses Bellamour rather than the "little gentleman" as her champion. The trial by combat between Garamont and Bellamour begins with the proper spectacular formalities, but is soon interrupted by Sylvander who leads in Lucina "in man's apparel." He charges Philocres with plotting the deception and fights with him. When they are separated by the High Constable, he unmask his companion—s.d.: "*He pluckes out Lucina's hat and beard*"—and she confesses her part in the fraud. Philocres calmly remarks: "I am a Prince, you cannot torture me," and walks off untouched. The death of the villain, as in Ariosto, would violate the convention of tragi-comedy; we recall the escape of Pharamond, a like cowardly villain, in *Philaster*. Bellamour unmask and reveals himself to Garamont, "his best of friends." Here, with the reunion of the lovers, the play should end, but the author has still a surprise in store. The King appears, unveils the princess, and finds to his surprise—and ours—that the veil concealed her maid, Fiducia. The maid tells how at the bidding of her mistress she had furnished her with man's apparel and herself had played her lady's part. The King calls for torture to discover the truth of this strange tale—compare the threat of torture to Bellario in *Philaster*—but the maid is pardoned on the intercession of the "little gentleman." Bellamour and he depart to find

the missing princess. Sylvander takes the opportunity to deliver an oration: he is a gentleman of Cyprus in search of the absent Cyprian prince who has become King by his father's death; he also rehearses his rescue of Lucina. Now the princess returns, "in her own clothes," reveals herself as the "little gentleman," having resolved to be her own defender. This may, perhaps, be a reminiscence of the disguise and duel of Aspatia in *The Maid's Tragedy*. Bellamour is brought back, "discovereth himself to be the Prince of Cyprus," and asks for the hand of the princess. It is granted; so is Florabella's plea of pardon for Lucina, and Sylvander's for abrogation of the partial law. The King proclaims "a day of Jubilye."

The Partial Law cannot be called a good play, but it is not without interest to the student of English drama. It is a late example of a common Elizabethan practice of transforming Italian narrative into English drama. Shakespeare had done this with marked success both in tragedy and comedy, but by the date of *The Partial Law* his influence was on the wane. The author of this play, steeped in the tragi-comic convention, selected the same motif that Shakespeare had used in *Much Ado*, but he drew on the other stream of the tradition, on Ariosto rather than on Bandello, that is, on the romantic, not the realistic domestic version of the old story. This choice brought with it the omission of Shakespeare's original contribution of comedy in the characters of Benedick and Beatrice, Dogberry and Verges. Our author's own attempts at comedy are among the feeblest portions of his work. So long, however, as he keeps close to Ariosto there is a certain vitality in the action. It is where he departs from his source that his weakness as a constructive playwright becomes apparent. Dissatisfied with the simple conclusion of Ariosto's tale, he substitutes for it a denouement of the tragi-comic type, packed with disguises and surprises. The whole business of the veiled princess is an original and unnecessary addition; so too is the stage-effect of the unmasking of Lucina, and the sudden revelation of Bellamour as King of Cyprus. In contrast with the directness and credible motivation of the earlier scenes, the denouement is long-drawn-out and theatrical rather than dramatic. As a whole the play is a striking example of the decadence of Elizabethan drama under the prevailing convention of its later years.

Two Dramatic Versions of

If the *Ariodante and Geneva*, performed by Mr. Mulcaster's children in 1583, had been preserved, we might have drawn an interesting contrast between an academic treatment of the theme near the beginning of Elizabethan drama and a tragi-comic version near its close. There remains, however, a contrast to be drawn between *The Partial Law* and another play on this theme written more than a century later, under quite different dramatic conventions. This is *The Law of Lombardy* by Robert Jephson, Esq., produced at Drury Lane, February 8, 1779, and published in the same year with a dedication to King George. Jephson's name is hardly known today; he is not even mentioned in the *Oxford Companion to English Literature*; but he was a person of some importance in his time. Born and educated in Ireland, he spent some years in London where he came in touch with various members of Dr. Johnson's circle, Goldsmith, Burke, and Garrick. He was appointed Master of the Horse to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and served in that capacity under twelve viceroys. In Ireland he began writing for the stage, and Horace Walpole, whose acquaintance he had made in London, helped him to get his plays produced there. Walpole solicited "with zeal" a license for Jephson's first play, wrote an epilogue for it, and rejoiced in what he calls its "prodigious success." This was the tragedy *Braganza*, produced at Drury Lane, February 17, 1775, and repeatedly revived. Jephson's second play, *The Law of Lombardy*, does not seem to have pleased Walpole so well; he criticizes the credulity of the hero and blames the verse as "too rich" for drama. Yet he was delighted with Jephson's success in transforming his "wild tale," *The Castle of Otranto*, into what he calls "a rational play," *The Count of Narbonne*, 1781. Since we know so little of Jephson, it is at least a plausible assumption that it was from Walpole that he caught the taste for romantic themes which marks all his serious plays. Certainly in our play he drew his material from one of the romantic masterpieces of all time, Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.

Since *The Law of Lombardy* is easily accessible in Inchbald's *British Theatre* (1808) and in *The London Stage* (1824-7) only a summary of the action need be given here. That, however, seems necessary that the play may be compared with *The Partial Law* and with its source.

the Slandered Bride Theme

The scene is laid in Lombardy, perhaps to give a semi-historical background to the romantic theme. The action opens promptly with Duke Bireno urging his mistress, Alinda, to press his suit to the Princess Sophia. She replies that the lady loves Paladore, a visiting Briton, distinguished both in council and in arms. Bireno plans "a finer snare" in which she must assist him. The King, we learn, plans to wed Sophia to Bireno, the next heir to the kingdom, but she rejects the match with instinctive aversion. In the crucial scene between the rivals Bireno, under the guise of friendship, dissuades Paladore from courting Sophia, insinuates that she is his mistress, and offers proof of his assertion. They meet again beneath Sophia's chamber window; Bireno informs the lover of the Lombard law against unchaste women, and swears him to observe three conditions: never to reveal what he has seen, to renounce his quarrel with Bireno, and to depart at once. He then hands Paladore a love-letter in Sophia's hand and two portraits, one of Paladore, which the lover had given her, the other of her which she had promised him. Paladore then sees at the window a woman adorned like the princess who lets down a rope-ladder and embraces the climbing Bireno. The lover attempts suicide, but is prevented by a servant who has followed him.

Bireno now denounces the Princess to the King and Senate as the mistress of Paladore and invokes the law against her, hoping by her death to inherit the kingdom. In spite of her indignant denial she is led to prison to await the trial by combat. The scene which shows Bireno's mistress in the hands of his ruffians is given a novel turn: she pleads for life since she is with child by Bireno. One of them stabs her, but her cries summon Paladore, conveniently wandering near by. He chases the ruffians off and hears the dying Alinda confess that she has forged the letter, stolen the portraits, and dressed herself like the Princess to receive Bireno. Paladore departs to take vengeance on the slanderer.

A popular revolution to free Sophia fails, since she will not fly and leave behind a tarnished name. On her way to the scaffold she professes her willingness to die if her death may cause the repeal of the cruel law. Paladore enters as her champion and kills Bireno in the combat. The King endows him with Bireno's lands and blesses his union with Sophia.

The likeness to Ariosto's narrative, often in minor details, is perfectly apparent. It is surprising that Nicoll (*History of Late Eighteenth Century Drama*, p. 95) should say: "For the story . . . Jephson went back to *Much Ado About Nothing*." There is nothing in common between the two plays except the old theme of the slandered bride, the fraud on the lover, the exposure of the fraud—in how different a manner!—and the final reunion of the lovers.

Two Dramatic Versions of

Shakespeare, as is well known, follows the Bandello version; Jephson that of Ariosto. This, in fact, was known in Genest's day, 1832, when a gentleman wrote to that industrious historian of English drama to state that Jephson had taken his plot from Ariosto and had translated from him Alinda's plea for life (*Some Account of the English Stage*, vi, 585). The statement as to the "translation" is, of course, wrong, for Ariosto's Dalinda makes no plea at all; but the gentleman is quite correct as to the plot. Jephson has taken a dramatist's liberties with his material, but a comparison of his play with Ariosto will show that his omission of incidents and characters is mainly for the sake of dramatic economy. His changes and additions are designed to give the action a sense of reality, to interweave more closely the threads of the plot, and, especially, to darken the villain and heighten the character of the Princess. Sophia is, in fact, a heroic figure; she was recognized as such by Mrs. Siddons, who revived the play for her benefit in 1789, playing the part of Sophia to her brother's Paladore. In strong contrast to Sophia Jephson has drawn the weak and sentimental Alinda⁸ and has invented her plea to wring the tear of sensibility from the ladies of his audience. Yet her death, like that of Bireno, is demanded by "poetic justice"; she may not be pardoned like her prototype in Ariosto and *The Partial Law*.

The Law of Lombardy is not a play to please the modern reader. Its stiff and formal characters are creatures of the theatre; they bear little resemblance to real life. The dialogue is loaded with sentimental and moralizing speeches, couched in the "gaudiness of phraseology" against which Wordsworth was later to revolt. Yet this play has a certain value for the student of literature. It represents a struggle toward romance in the drama, a struggle impeded by the still lingering neo-classic convention. The complete absence of anything like comedy marks the author's acceptance of a convention which from Rowe's day on had replaced comedy in serious drama by tender sentiment. It reflects also, to some extent at least, the national temper of Jephson's day. Only three years before the appearance of *The Law of Lombardy*, the playwright Murphy had commented on "this grave, this moral, pious age." There is nothing in this play to offend the most strait-laced critic of the drama; it is a

⁸ It seems curiously appropriate that this rôle was first taken by Mrs. Robinson, the unfortunate "Perdita."

the Slandered Bride Theme

piece of work quite proper to be presented to that respectable paterfamilias, George III. It is, perhaps, a better mirror of its age than was *The Partial Law*, for that play belongs to a time when drama had lost its hold on the general public, and had become, so to speak, the private property of the Court. Of the two the later play is certainly a better example of dramatic construction. It is a "well made" play, whose close articulation surpasses the loose and rambling technique of *The Partial Law*; it is the work of a professional, not of an amateur playwright.

Finally both plays have this in common: a deliberate choice of the most romantic version, Ariosto's, of the old story of the slandered bride, and both attempt to shape it for the stage in accordance with the dominant dramatic convention of their day.

SOME NOTES ON AUTHORS AND PATRONS IN TUDOR AND STUART TIMES

By F. P. WILSON

Ben Jonson observed in *Discoveries*—and the observation appears to be his own—that Poetry had done much for those writers who had only saluted her “on the by” and had even advanced them in their professions, but that she had proved herself a mean mistress to those who had wholly addicted themselves to her. The lot of the purely professional writer who could look for support from no settled patron and from no income other than that derived from his pen was indeed precarious. Nor was it made much less precarious if an author became prose-writer or dramatist as well as poet. Nashe and Dekker were as versatile, popular, and prolific as any of their contemporaries under Elizabeth and James, yet were continually in difficulties; and Shakespeare would never have lived at New Place or been buried in the chancel at Stratford Church if he had depended for a livelihood merely on the sale of his poems and plays or upon gratuities received from patrons.

According to Thomas Evans, in the dedication to his poem *Oedipus* (1615), “the multitude of Writers in our age hath begotten a scarcitie of Patrons”; and among those who held that the excess of men educated to learning was a danger to the state were Richard Mulcaster, William Cecil, and Robert Burton. In Mulcaster’s view the only remedy was to regulate the number of learned men by act of parliament. In old days, he urged, the Church was a harbour for all educated men, and there were livings in plenty; but now, “will ye let the *fry* encrease, where the *feeding* failes? Will ye haue the *multitude* waxe, where the *maintenance* waines?” Lofty in conceit, yet forced to follow a mean calling, the “unbestowed” scholar troubles the whole company, “as winde in the stomach.” So Mulcaster in chapters 36 and 37 of his *Positions* (1581).¹ In every age a sense of injured merit has swollen the ranks of political mal-

¹ And so, without acknowledgement to Mulcaster, Leonard Wright in his *Summons to Sleepers* (1589). Cf. Sig. C1^r with Mulcaster’s *Positions*, ed. R. H. Quick (1887), pp. 136–7.

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contents; and William Cecil the statesman had yet more reason than Mulcaster to fear the unemployed scholars:

persons that had forsaken their native countries, being of diuers conditions and qualities, some not able to liue at home but in beggarie, some discontented for lacke of preferments, which they gaped for vnworthily in Vniuersities & other places, some banckerupt Marchants, some in a sort learned to contentions, being not contented to learne to obey the Lawes of the lande.²

In a notable passage on poetry and beggary in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1624 ed., part 1, sec. 2, mem. 3, subsec. 15) Burton writes about the discontented scholar in much the same strain as Mulcaster and Cecil; but Burton also has much to say about the unworthiness of patrons, whether patrons of letters or of livings:

our Patrons of learning are so farre now adayes, from respecting the *Muses*, and giuing that honour to Schollers, or reward which they deserue, & are allowed by those indulgent priuiledges of many noble Princes, that after all their paines taken in the *Vniuersities*, cost and charge, expences, irksome houres, laborious taskes, wearisome dayes, dangers, hazards (barred *interim* from all pleasures which other men haue, mewed vp like haukes all their liues) if they chance to wade through them, they shall in the end be reiected, contemned, and which is their greatest misery, driuen to their shifts, exposed to want, pouerty and beggery.

If a scholar turn schoolmaster or curate, continues Burton, he gets but falconers' wages, £10 a year and his diet, and is turned out if he does not please patron or parish. Let him become trencher chaplain in a gentleman's house, and all that he may aspire to in time is a small rectory and a cracked chambermaid. Let him become secretary to some nobleman or ambassador, and he rises and falls with his master. As for the gentry, only a sprinkling of them are well learned. The greater part are wholly bent for hawks and hounds; and if they read a book at any time it is an English Chronicle, *Amadis de Gaule*, a play-book or a news-pamphlet, and then only when they cannot stir abroad: "winke & choose betwixt him that sits downe (cloathes excepted) and him that holdes the Trencher behinde him: yet these men must be our Patrons, and wise by inheritance."

The testimony of Nashe and Dekker and the authors of the *Parnas-*

² *The Execution of Iustice in England* (2nd ed., 1583), Sig. A3.

sus plays, and of many other pamphleteers, poets, and dramatists is to the same effect. The system of patronage had worked pretty well during the Middle Ages. Patrons were not pestered by a multitude of poets, and scholars had safe harbourage in the *scriptoria* of their monasteries. But writers of a later age had no such stable foundation to write from as that of a monastery, and the number of those who could turn for assured support and patronage to noblemen and gentlemen who knew them and encouraged them in their work was very small. Daniel, Drayton, and Jonson were among the fortunate ones of their generation. Most professional writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries chopped and changed from one minor patron to another, never certain of receiving a reward for their homage and seldom returning in expectation of that reward to the same patron. Moreover, the concentration of the book-trade in London made the development of local talent more difficult than it had been during the Middle Ages, and it greatly increased the power of publishers and booksellers. After the invention of printing the old system of patronage slowly broke down under the weight of the increase in writers, books, and readers, and a new system slowly took its place. What this new system was to be reveals itself perhaps for the first time at the end of the seventeenth century when a professional author (John Dryden) succeeded in making financial arrangements with a bookseller (Jacob Tonson) satisfactory to both parties and far more satisfactory to the author than could have been the charity of any patron.

But in Tudor and Stuart times the economic position of the author was more precarious perhaps than at any time in English history. Such slight evidence as we possess suggests that a usual price paid by a publisher for a pamphlet was forty shillings.³ The author's financial interest in his work ceased as soon as he had sold it to the publisher, for there was no authors' copyright. The plight of the poor author is revealed with unusual frankness by the bookseller John Marriot in introducing to the reader the *Poems* of Robert Gomersall (1633):

To praise the worke, were to set my selfe to sale, since the greater its worth is, the more is my benefit, & not the Authors: He good man may have an

3 Cf. 2 *Return from Parnassus* (ca. 1601-02), I, iii; G. Wither, *The Schollers Purgatory* (ca. 1625), p. 130; J. Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark (1898), i, 105.

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Ayery, but I a reall profit. An Ayery one, I terme it, for I judge others by my selfe, who cannot feed by praises.

To feed on aery or visionary profits was the lot of many a professional author in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, an insubstantial diet.

In addition to the sum received from a publisher an author might, if he were fortunate, receive another fee in reward for a dedication. Here too forty shillings is sometimes mentioned as the sum received or expected,⁴ but we may note that the importunate Richard Robinson, who has left a record of the sums he extracted from sundry patrons between 1576 and 1602, regarded forty shillings as handsome and quoted Philipians 4:18—"I received an odour that smelled sweet, etc."—at the patron who gave him so much. His best benefactors, the Earl of Rutland and Sir Christopher Hatton,⁵ gave him six angels (£3 in gold); Sir Philip Sidney—with his father "many tymes benevolent unto my pore study"—gave him four angels; Anthony Watson Bishop of Chichester gave him a paltry two shillings ("not so thanckfull as I deserved"); Queen Elizabeth or her deputy gave him thanks; and the Earl of Warwick and Sir Thomas Egerton gave him nothing.⁶

Robinson usually received some 25 copies of each of his works which he sold privately for what he could get. We know that workmen in an Elizabethan printing shop were allowed one or more copies of each book they printed, but we do not know how far this privilege was extended to authors.⁷ Practice may have varied from author to author, from publisher to publisher, and even from book to book. One of Robinson's most profitable works was *The Auncient Order, Societie, and Vntie Laudable, of Prince Arthure* (1583), copies of which he presented

4 N. Field, *A Woman is a Weather-cocke* (1612), dedn., and perhaps J. Stephens, *Cinthias Revenge* (1613), A2^r, though Stephens may be referring to forty shillings as payment for a pamphlet. In Dekker's *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, ch. v, "four to six angels" is mentioned.

5 In *A Discursive Probleme concerning Prophecies* (1588), Sig. A2^r, John Harvey pays a tribute to Hatton as a patron of learning and speaks of "many famous Dedications, Inscriptions, Prefaces, Titles, Directions, & Letters missiue, extant in your Right Worshipfull, and Right Honorable most renowned name."

6 Robinson's *Eupolemia* is printed by G. M. Vogt in *S.P.*, xxi (1924), 629-48.

7 Cf. F. P. Wilson in *The Bibliographical Society 1892-1942, Studies in Retrospect* (1945), p. 84; F. R. Johnson in *The Library*, 5th Ser., i (1946), 97.

(at a price) to "Prince Arthur" (Thomas Smith), to the 56 knights, and to the esquires of that society of London archers which called itself the Ancient Order of Prince Arthur. No doubt Dekker, who wrote two poems in praise of the gentlemen of the Artillery Garden—*The Artillery Garden* (1616) and *Warres, Warres, Warres* (1628)—saw to it that he was supplied with copies for distribution among the members.

Much more evidence is available on the practice of making one dedication do for more than one patron, a practice that might be honest or dishonest. It was dishonest when the patron was persuaded that the dedication was peculiar to himself. The rhymer William Fennor seems to have been guilty of this deceit, and certainly of the deceit of appropriating to himself another man's work, when on St. George's Day 1615 he presented to eight knights of the Garter eight manuscript books all fairly written, "and for anothers wit was well rewarded." Payment to the author, the scribe, and the binder had cost the shifty Richard Vennar eight crowns, money which he did not recover from the shifter Fennor to whom he sold them.⁸ But the fullest exposure of the shifts of dedicatory cony-catchers is in Dekker's *Lanthorne and Candle-light* (1608), chapter v. Here the cheaters print at their own charge some small parings of wit, their own or another's, have copies bound in vellum with gilt fillets and silk ribbon at the four corners, and with the aid of a portable alphabet of type make one dedication serve many patrons. Dekker makes another allusion to these deceits in *2 Honest Whore*, I, i, where a poor scholar presents a book to Count Hippolito, and is asked: "How many partners share with me?" "Not one in troth, not one," replies the scholar, and the dramatist sees to it that he is well rewarded.

If we wanted an example of a man who lived on the parings of other men's wits, we could not do better than choose Anthony Nixon, arch-plagiarist of the first twenty years of the seventeenth century: he stole his texts from a variety of authors and also his dedications.⁹ But I do not know that enough evidence has survived to convict Nixon or any

⁸ So John Taylor in one of his "flyting" pamphlets with Fennor: *A Cast over the Water* (1615).

⁹ Cf. F. P. Wilson in *The Library*, xix (1938-9), 28-31; L. Ennis in the *Huntington Library Quarterly*, iii (1940), 378-401.

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other man of that date of the deceitful dedication of one work to several patrons. For examples as outrageous as those of which Dekker writes in *Lanthorne and Candle-light* we have to turn to the middle of the century. We may turn to the actor-publisher Andrew Pennycuicke, whose editions of Dekker and Ford's *Sun's Darling* (1656) and of Massinger's *City Madam* (1658) are distinguished by the number of variant dedications which have survived, or rather of variant patrons, for the dedications remain the same.¹⁰ Or we may turn to Thomas Jordan, an adept in the art of setting his name to the work of other poets, of tricking out the same work with new title-pages to give it the appearance of novelty, and of exacting a dedication fee from as many victims as possible. Thus *A Royal Arbor of Loyal Poesie* is in part or in whole the same work as *A Rosary of Rarities Planted in a Garden of Poetry* and as *A Nurserie of Novelties in Variety of Poetry*; his *Death Dissected* (1649) is Edward Buckler's *Buckler against the Fear of Death* (1640);¹¹ and in many a copy of his works the name of a patron is stamped in by hand, and (as nothing dates a book like a date) so too is the date on the title-page. Jordan could have taught Dekker's cony-catchers a trick or two, and the task of his bibliographer—if he secures one—will indeed be unenviable.

But an author might bestow a book on more than one patron yet remain an honest man. The two copies of *Cynthia's Revels* (1601) with appropriate dedications on specially printed leaves to Lucy Countess of Bedford and to Camden do not convict Jonson of dishonesty. The extant copies of Dekker's *Newes from Hell* (1606) are three of them dedicated to Sir John Hamden, knight, and one of them to John Sturman, gentleman; but death or refusal to accept a dedication may account for such sudden changes of patronage; and as the same author's *Foure Birds of Noah's Arke* (1609) is divided into four main parts he was obviously entitled to dedicate each part to a different patron and (let us hope) collect more than one fee for his pains.

Very uncommon—but exactly how uncommon we shall not know

¹⁰ There are four in different copies of *The Sun's Darling* (two in Bodley, Dyce, Ashley—British Museum) and five of *The City Madam* (three in Bodley, Ashley—British Museum, Huntington).

¹¹ H. R. Mead in *The Library*, 4th Ser., xxi (1940-1), 203-06.

until Mr. Franklin B. Williams has completed his work on dedications in English books before 1640—are books which contain printed dedications with blank spaces in the superscription in which the author wrote the name of a patron. Here, too, no dishonesty was intended, for the fact that his name was written not printed would indicate to any man that the dedication was not peculiar to himself. Examples are found in three small pamphlets by the physician Walter Bailey: *A Briefe Treatise touching the Preservation of the Eyesight* (1586), *A Briefe Discours of certain Bathes or medicinall Waters in the Countie of Warwicke* (1587), and *A Short Discourse of the three kindes of Peppers in common vse* (1588). In three successive years Bailey had pamphlets privately printed for presentation to his friends and patients as New Year greetings. While the dedications to these pamphlets are printed, the superscriptions—e.g., “To the right honorable my very good Ladye the countesse of harforde” in the British Museum copy of the pamphlet of 1588—are in manuscript. Blanks are left in the dedications themselves to enable the author to adjust the titles of address (“your honour,” “your worship”) to the rank of the dedicatee.

These brief observations on a large subject may end with a notice of a recent discovery. In *The Library* for 1926 I published an article on “Ralph Crane, Scrivener to the King’s Players” in which I drew attention to Crane’s statement in his *The Workes of Mercy* (1621) that his “vsefull Pen” had been employed by the King’s Players, and went on to identify many non-dramatic manuscripts from his pen and several dramatic manuscripts.¹² Crane wrote a fine calligraphic hand, and if as the satirist Richard Niccols maintained¹³ there were many idle humorists who disdained to read printed verses and “in whose fine fingers no papers are holesome, but such, as passe by priuate manuscryption” Crane should have been in constant employment. *The Workes of Mercy*, however, contains a long biographical preface in verse in which Crane

¹² To the dramatic manuscripts there noted add a transcript of Middleton’s *Game at Chess*—Crane’s third (R. C. Bald in the *Modern Language Review*, xxxviii (1943), 177–80); and the Chatsworth MS. of Jonson’s *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (F. P. Wilson in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 8 November 1941). Among the plays in the First Folio of Shakespeare which may have been printed from Crane’s transcripts are *The Winter’s Tale*, *The Tempest*, and 2 *Henry IV*.

¹³ *The Furies. With Vertues Encomium* (1614), Sig. A3.

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tells of his ineffectual struggles to earn a living as a scrivener, and the book itself with its collection of undistinguished religious verse is an attempt to secure for himself as an author the money which had so far evaded him as a scrivener. As I wrote in 1926, "it is a mark of his poverty and of his skilful mendicancy that *The Workes of Mercy* has at least three dedications and as many patrons. . . . But he does not follow the practice of those 'Falconers,' satirized in Dekker's *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, whose epistles dedicatory varied in nothing but in the titles of their patrons. For each patron he writes an appropriate epistle."

Some time after the year 1625 Crane brought out a second edition of *The Workes of Mercy* under the title *The Pilgrimes New-yeares-Gift*, in which he continued the story of his life to include an account of his sufferings from the great London plague of 1625. From these additions it is clear that Crane was making a last desperate attempt to relieve his poverty and was doing so by an appeal to more than one patron:

Through City, Countrie, Court, Church, law & stage
I haue pass'd thorough in my *Pilgrimage*,
Yet here I stand *Fortunes Anatomie*,
A spectacle of *Times Inconstancy*:
And what's to come (to keepe me from *despaire*)
Must rise from you (*great Obiects of my prayer*).

The only copy of this pamphlet known to me in 1926 was that in the British Museum. This lacks a dedication. Recently a copy has come into my possession which contains the dedication here reproduced in the exact size of the original. The pamphlet is in octavo (A-C⁸), C8 the title-page being conjugate with C1. The dedication is printed on a separate piece of paper and is loosely stuck in. As will be seen, the printer has left a space between the superscription and the dedicatory poem, and in this space Crane has written the name of a patron. Sir John North, gentleman-usher to Charles I, was the younger brother of Dudley North, third Baron North. The signature "Dud: North" on the title-page of my copy may be that of the Sir Dudley North who became the fourth Baron and father of those famous brothers, Francis, Dudley, John, and Roger, whose memory is kept fresh by Roger's pen. What reward Crane received from Sir John North and the other dedi-



TO
The (*Selected*) Goodnesse, of
the no lesse adorned with the outward
Graces of happy *Reputation*; then delight-
ted with the inward Sweetnes of
divine Affection
Sir Iohn North Knight, One of the *k^{ts}* of *y^e h^{ble}* Order of
y^e Bath: & gent: haishce of his Ma^{*ties*} Priny Chamber.

FAME your heroick-Worth re-sounds so cleere;
Your Zeale, and Cheerfull *Acts of Pietie*,
That they haue brought an aged *Pilgrime* here,
(With *Humblenes* and *Benedicite*)
To lay this *Dutie* of a bleis'd New yeere
On the faire *Shrine* of your *Benignitie*.
His *Offering* is but small: But *Noble Spirits*
Performe for *Vermes Cause*, not Others *Merits*.

in Tudor and Stuart Times

catees to whom he sent his verses we do not know, but his last dated manuscript belongs to December 1632, and there he speaks of "Age, Affliction, Greif and Want." Like so many writers of his age, he is Fortune's Anatomy, a Spectacle of Time's Inconstancy.

"OLD STYLE—NEW STYLE"

By W. W. GREG

Twenty years ago, at the time of the Newton celebrations, an eminent historian wrote to the papers to complain that the bicentenary of Sir Isaac's death was being commemorated on the wrong day—20 March 1927. "There are" he asserted "two correct dates for Newton's death—March 20, 1726, by the old calendar, and March 31, 1727, by the reformed calendar. By no reckoning can March 20, 1727, be correct, and not until next Thursday week [31 March 1927] will two hundred years have elapsed since Newton died."¹ Though this last statement is, in a sense, perfectly true, the letter was, of course, written in a spirit of pure mischief. Its author knew perfectly well that, in giving dates of English history between 1582 and 1752, it is the reasonable practice of all historians, including himself, to retain the Old Style reckoning current at the time, but in regard to the year, to follow the now universal custom of beginning it on the first of January.² The letter merely illustrates how easy it is to bedevil matters of chronology by failing or refusing to distinguish between two quite distinct questions.

Any competent historian may, I presume, be trusted to know the meaning of the letters "o.s." and "n.s." used in connection with dates. Unfortunately writers on English literature are not always competent historians—any more than I myself—and it is evident from their use of these letters that they often do not know their meaning. The symbols in question are one of those technicalities that sometimes turn a display of specialized knowledge into a betrayal of ignorance. All too often we find the literary historian making such a statement as that Queen Elizabeth died on "24 March 1603, n.s.," meaning no more than that she died on that day in what we call 1603, but which according to

¹ *The (London) Times*, 21 March 1927.

² It has been said, and that on the highest authority, that we perpetuate the old custom of beginning the year on Lady Day when we speak of the Revolution of 1688, because James II was not officially succeeded by William and Mary till 13 February 1688/9. But a revolution is more than the settlement that ends it, and since William landed at Tor Bay on 5 November and James fled from Whitehall on 11 December (finally leaving England on the night of 22-3), there seems little reason to cavil at the traditional dating.

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the official usage of the time was still 1602. In fact the statement is, of course, simply untrue; and it may not therefore, I think, be superfluous or impertinent to point out exactly what the terms Old Style and New Style mean.

The distinction between Old and New Style is itself a perfectly simple one: the terms refer to what are usually known as the Julian and Gregorian calendars, two systems of adjusting the length of the year so that it shall contain an integral number of days. The reckoning instituted in 45 B.C. by Julius Caesar, on the advice of the Greek astronomer Sosigenes, assumed that the year was equal to $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, and it therefore provided for a year of 365 days, with an extra day added (in February) every fourth (leap) year, making it 366 days. But in fact the length of the year is not $365\frac{1}{4}$ days; it is 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, and 46 seconds—that is, 11 minutes and 14 seconds less than had been assumed. The result was that by the sixteenth century the correspondence between the calendar and the seasons, which it was the object of the reckoning to preserve, had grown to be ten days out; the calendar having, of course, lagged behind the seasons. This was corrected in 1582 by the bull *Inter grauiissimas* of Pope Gregory XIII, which ordained that ten days should be omitted from the calendar that year (4 October being followed by 15 October) and that in future century-years (1600, 1700, etc.) should only be leap years if the number before the noughts was a multiple of four.³ The Gregorian reform, however, was not adopted in England till 1752,⁴ when eleven days (between Wednesday, 2 September, and Thursday, 14 September) were dropped—the discrepancy having, of course, grown from ten days to eleven through 1700 being a leap year according to the Julian but not according to the Gregorian reckoning. Thus for a hundred and seventy years Old Style persisted in England, while countries owing obedience to Rome were using New Style, with

3 The reckoning was mainly based on the calculations of the Neapolitan Aloysius Lilius (Luigi Lilio Ghiraldi) and some writers therefore speak of the Lillian year. It was criticized by the younger Scaliger in his *Emendatio temporum*, and some of his objections are said to have weight. The Gregorian rule for leap year is, of course, that in force today—1900 was not a leap year. The adjustment is accurate to within half a minute a year, but the accumulated error since 1582 is now about three hours, and a further adjustment will ultimately have to be made.

4 A bill to introduce the reform was read twice in the House of Lords in March 1585, but it never became law.

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dates ten or eleven days ahead. According to the Gregorian calendar (N.S.) Queen Elizabeth died, not on 24 March at all, but on 3 April.

But did she die in 1602 or 1603? This question of the year has come to be confused with the question of the day because the bull of Gregory XIII that instituted the New Style reckoning also enacted that the year should begin on 1 January, and the same provision was incorporated in the act that introduced the New Style into England.⁵ But the beginning of the year is in fact an entirely different matter from the reform of the calendar that gave rise to New Style, as becomes evident when we observe that, whereas Gregory's reform was at once adopted, though sometimes with reluctance, wherever his bull was current, the adoption of 1 January as the day on which to begin the year took place at very different times, even in Catholic countries. The Estates of Holland had adopted it as early as 1532, Spain as early as 1556;⁶ Scotland adopted it in 1600, Florence not till 1749, and Venice as late as 1797; the papal chancery itself, whence had issued the reform, seems to have delayed making the change till 1621 in briefs and 1691 in bulls. In England the new custom was not officially adopted till 1752, but private practice had varied for a couple of centuries and more. Modern historians, dealing with events in England before 1752, naturally give the year according to the custom now current (beginning it on 1 January) but at the same time retain the Old Style dates of contemporary records, unless it is desired to relate them to the New Style reckoning prevalent abroad. When this is necessary a double date is given—thus in the seventeenth century the summer solstice would be 11/21 (or 12/22) June—just as, to avoid ambiguity, a double year-number⁷ may be given—for example, Hilary Term 1601/2. Thus every historian would give the date of James I's

5 In France the term *nouveau style* was used before 1582 to indicate the use of the calendar year, which was adopted in that country between 1563 and 1567 (an act of the former year being confirmed in the latter). But, according to the *New English Dictionary*, the term New Style was never used in England before the Gregorian reform and always with reference to it. It applies, of course, to the reform as a whole, and thus includes beginning the year on 1 January, but it cannot be applied to the convention respecting the year apart from the date within the year.

6 In Spain this was in fact a reversion to earlier usage, for in regions subject to Visigothic rule 1 January was instituted as the beginning of the year in the fifth century and not abrogated in favour of Christmas till between 1349 and 1420 in different parts of the peninsula.

7 A clumsy phrase in English, but familiar enough in German as *Jahreszahl*.

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accession as 24 March 1603, although at the time it would have been officially given as 24 March 1602 in England and as 3 April 1603 in most foreign countries—facts that can if necessary be combined by writing 24 March/3 April, 1602/3.⁸

Now, this question of "the beginning of the year," which properly has nothing to do with Old and New Style, is from the historical point of view far more complicated than Gregory's reform of the calendar. In the first place, to be exact we should speak of "the day on which the year-number is changed" rather than "the beginning of the year," for there is no essential connection between the two. When Julius reformed the calendar in Rome the year began on 1 January,⁹ and in a very important sense it has begun on 1 January ever since. For in spite of the determination of the Church to date its era from the Conception or the Birth of Christ (and therefore to begin each year of it on 25 March or 25 December) common folk have always clung to the old pagan custom, and "New Year's Day" has never meant anything but 1 January. At court the new-year gifts were always given on that day, and even the Church reckoned the Golden Number and the Dominical Letter from it. Calendars and almanacs invariably ran from January to December, whether they were in manuscript psalters or printed Bibles, or were hawked as popular pamphlets and prognostications.¹⁰ News-sheets, establishing regular publication in the mid-seventeenth century, followed the practice of the calendar. There is a pleasant irony in the fact that it was a papal bull that re-established the old pagan reckoning as a necessary reformation of the chaos introduced by the conflicting practices of Christendom.

To us it seems strange and even contradictory to alter the year-num-

8 The double year-number should be written 1602/3, not (as it often is) 1602-3. The latter either means 1602 and 1603, or else applies to a period including a portion of each: for example, the Christmas season of 1602-3 ended with Twelfth Night 1602/3.

9 The Roman year was originally one of ten months beginning on 1 March, but two months had already been added at the beginning.

10 There may, of course, have been almanacs drawn up for special purposes that ran differently, just as today some university presses issue diaries beginning in October. English Bibles, it is worth noting, definitely begin the year in January. Thus the original edition of the Authorized Version in 1611 contains "An Almanacke for xxxix yeeres" from 1603 to 1641. Under 1603 the first dates are Septuagesima Sunday, 20 February, and Ash Wednesday, 9 March; the last is Advent Sunday, 27 November; Easter is 24 April. From this it follows that the 20 February and 9 March specified are those of 1602/3 not of 1603/4.

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ber at any time other than the beginning of the year, but to the mediaeval and even to the Elizabethan mind it doubtless appeared natural enough. For the use of regnal, pontifical, ducal and episcopal years was much commoner and more wide-spread then than now, and in the middle ages at any rate, people who needed to use year-dates at all would be at least as familiar with these reckonings as with the Years of Grace. Indeed, it has been truly said that "The Year of Grace did not practically concern the common man." But dating by regnal or other similar years meant changing the year-number on some arbitrary day within the calendar year, and thus no surprise was felt if the legal or ecclesiastical reckoning likewise involved adopting a new year-number on some apparently arbitrary day. Once this is clearly grasped we may relax our language a little. To speak of "the date on which the year-number is changed" is an awkward way of expressing a simple fact, and no harm will be done if in what follows I use as equivalent the familiar phrase "the beginning of the year," provided that the reader bears in mind exactly what is meant.

Into the many uses regarding this "beginning of the year" that have prevailed at different times and in different localities there is happily no need to enter here. The Year of Grace¹¹ has been held to begin on 1 September, 24 September, 25 December, 1 January, 1 March, 25 March,¹² and worst of

11 It may be worth while mentioning that the "Year of Grace" is an English invention. The Incarnation was used as a point of departure in computing an Easter Table by the Scythian monk Dionysius Exiguus at Rome in 525 (the table beginning in 532) but with no idea of instituting an era. It first appears as a chronological notation in certain English charters late in the seventh century, after St. Wilfrid had expounded the Dionysian Table at the Synod of Whitby in 664, and it was later adopted by Bede. But while adopting the era, Bede continued to begin the year either with Christmas (as in his treatise *de temporum ratione*) or with the Indiction of 24 September (as in his *History*). However, the use of the term *ab incarnatione* for the Dionysian cycle naturally suggested Lady Day as the starting point for the year likewise, and this gradually came to supersede the established Christmas. The earliest indications of the use of 25 March as the beginning of the year are found in the ninth century, but it did not become established in England before the first half of the twelfth century. Thenceforward it was the official usage till 1752. Reminiscences of the earlier custom survive, however, as when some Elizabethan historians date the accession of William the Conqueror 1067 because he was crowned on Christmas day and reckoned his regnal years from then.

12 When Lady Day superseded Christmas a further complication ensued, for at some places the beginning of the year was postponed for three months (*stylus Florentinus*), whereas at others it was more logically advanced by nine months (*calculus Pisanus*).

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all on Easter Sunday (or rather Easter eve);¹³ but in England in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries, of which alone I propose to speak, the only choice lay between 1 January and 25 March. There is no question but that officially the year began on Lady Day, and any legal instrument may be assumed to be dated according to what is sometimes called the Year of the Incarnation.¹⁴ But personal practice varied. Men of official or legal position, aspiration, or inclination naturally followed, more or less consistently, the official usage. On the other hand, ordinary people were for the most part content with the pagan reckoning of the almanacs they bought. There was, of course, much uncertainty. Philip Henslowe, pawnbroker and theatrical speculator, was rather uneducated, though perhaps fairly typical of the small London business man of his time; in his daily accounts he most often changed the year-number some time in March, but almost as frequently in January or April; 1 January and 6 May are his extreme limits.¹⁵ Ben Jonson, who was certainly educated, and in some ways rather pedantic, altered his practice about the time of his visit to Scotland,¹⁶ when he abandoned the popular in favour of the official usage, though he was never wholly consistent. Sir Kenelm Digby, who edited his remains, reverted to the calendar year.¹⁷ Printers differed in their practice. Pynson and Julian Notary began the year on 25 March; de Worde and Berthelet on 1 January, at any rate in their popular books. Generally speaking, legal and official publications were, of course, dated according to the official custom, while in other works the calendar date seems to have been preferred. In books that bear a year-date only, it is often impossible to be certain; moreover, the question is complicated by the fact that, then as now, printers were fond of putting dates on their books in advance of the actual day of publication. A popular work issued in December would

13 The reckoning *a passione* was a distinctively French use, but the era continued to be reckoned either from the Conception or the Nativity.

14 The year beginning on 1 January is sometimes called the Circumcision Year; but the year was not made to begin on that day to commemorate the event; rather the Feast of the Circumcision was instituted to remove the pagan associations of 1 January.

15 *Henslowe's Diary*, 1904-8, ii, 327.

16 But not in consequence of it, unless through antagonism, for in 1619 when he made his pilgrimage, 1 January had been recognized as the beginning of the year in Scotland for close on two decades.

17 "The Riddle of Jonson's Chronology," *Library*, 4th Ser., vi (1925-6), 340-7.

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very likely bear the date of the following year; and in the case of a book issued early in March with the date of the calendar year we cannot be sure whether the printer was following the calendar or anticipating the legal year. Indeed, a book dated 1603 may have appeared as early perhaps as November 1602 or as late as March 1604, a span of sixteen or seventeen months.

Thus in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and well on into the eighteenth, we cannot be certain, except in the case of official documents, whether a date between 1 January and 24 March inclusive follows the calendar or the legal usage, unless there is internal evidence on which to decide. Naturally much inconvenience resulted from this uncertainty, and about the middle of the seventeenth century it became the custom among careful writers to employ a double dating for the ambiguous period, writing for example, as in a book before me, "Cal: Jan: 1667/8." And where there is any possibility of confusion editors and critics will do wisely to adopt this practice. When no doubt can arise they may contentedly follow the calendar year—but let them remember that, however the year is reckoned, all English dates down to 2 September 1752 are Old Style.

Any but the most advanced specialist will find all he needs to know regarding "The Beginning of the Year in the Middle Ages" in a paper communicated in 1921 by R. L. Poole to the British Academy (*Proceedings*, vol. x). But though he mentions the dates at which 1 January was officially adopted in various countries, he does not discuss actual practice in post-medieval times. A less detailed account will be found in the same writer's *Medieval Reckonings of Time* (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge: Helps for Students of History, No. 3; 1918). There is also much useful information in another pamphlet (No. 40 of the same series, 1921), J. E. Wallis's *English Regnal Years and Titles, Hand-lists, Easter Dates, etc.*: Gregory's reform is succinctly explained on p. 49. For the mathematical aspect of the subject, see the article "Calendar" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (eleventh edition). I have drawn freely on these sources.

W. W. GREG

ELIZABETHAN PROOFING

By FREDSON BOWERS

Considering the importance of the subject for textual criticism, it is rather astonishing that before the appearance in 1940 of Dr. W. W. Greg's now classic monograph on the Pide Bull *Lear*¹ no attempt had been made to examine the actual mechanical processes by which the Elizabethan printer proofed his sheets as a part of his normal printing operations. Greg's monograph was concerned only with *Lear*, and hence he made no inference whether his hypothesis for *Lear* could be applied to the proofing and printing of other books. So stimulating were his theories, however, that two investigations have stemmed from his monograph in an attempt to work out his hypothesis for *Lear* in terms of standard Elizabethan printing.²

The importance which Greg's hypothesis for *Lear* has attained, and the extensions which are being made of it in bibliographical research, may perhaps warrant a somewhat more precise examination of its probability than has hitherto been offered. I have recently undertaken the first half of this problem and have endeavored to show that the evidence of the running-titles casts severe doubt, in my opinion, on the probability that *Lear* was proofed and printed according to Greg's reconstruction. Necessarily, I undertook the responsibility of reconstructing the printing of *Lear* according to a somewhat different system which in my belief was more probable to the evidence of the running-titles.³

1 W. W. Greg, *The Variants in the First Quarto of "King Lear": A Bibliographical and Critical Inquiry* (1940), pp. 40-57.

2 In his "New Uses for Headlines as Bibliographical Evidence," *English Institute Annual*, 1941 (1942), pp. 207-14, C. J. K. Hinman mentioned briefly certain results he had attained by applying the Greg hypothesis, with one important modification, to the printing of the 1626 *Othello*, and brought forward the possibility that the method used for *Othello* might have been the standard procedure for Elizabethan books printed with two skeleton-formes. Several years later F. R. Johnson in "Press Corrections and Presswork in the Elizabethan Printing Shop," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, xl (1946), 276-86, attacked the modification which Hinman had made for two-skeleton printing in Greg's theory and argued for what was in effect the precise application of the *Lear* method to printing with two or more skeletons.

3 See my "An Examination of the Method of Proof Correction in *Lear*," *The Library*, 5th Ser., ii (1947), 20-44.

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It may be appropriate, therefore, to extend this special investigation into the more general field of normal Elizabethan printing practice to ascertain what are the probabilities for my hypothesis for *Lear* applying there.⁴

I think it must be emphasized that any consideration of methods of Elizabethan proofing can never be made independently of an examination of the running-titles, which reveal whether one, two, or three or more skeletons were used to impose the formes. Upon the number—but, more important, upon the precise method by which the number of formes was employed—depends our knowledge of the presswork which printed the sheets. Obviously, the proofing is almost completely bound up with the method of the presswork, and specifically with the crucial matter of the precise order of the formes laid on the press not only within the sheet but from sheet to sheet. Only when someone has the courage to embark on a huge collation job on books printed by selected printers and then equates his findings with the presswork as

4 I must make clear at the start the purposes and limitations of this enquiry. In the first place, it must be understood that this is a matter on which Dr. Greg has not touched, and therefore I am not attempting to place myself in opposition to any views which he has expressed about standard printing. Secondly, I must refer on occasion to opinions in Dr. Johnson's article cited above, since they represent the natural extension of Greg's *Lear* hypothesis to two-skeleton printing (*Lear* was printed with three skeletons), and must be commonly held beliefs. It is necessary to state, however, that although my investigation of *Lear* was written and accepted in 1941, publication was held up by the war, and hence Dr. Johnson was unaware of the facts contained in it when he published his general review and estimate of current theories. He has since most generously written me that he thinks the views expressed in this present paper based on the *Lear* investigation come closer to the facts than others proposed. Finally, although my examination of the difficulties of applying the *Lear* hypothesis precisely to two-skeleton printing is intended to strengthen my own theory, it also serves to clear the ground in part for consideration of Dr. Hinman's reconstruction of the printing of *Othello* as a perfectly plausible alternative. Within the limits of this paper it is impossible for me to deal with this point adequately, and therefore I must omit all reference. I may say that in theory I find several difficulties in its way, but it would be somewhat improper to discuss these at length until Dr. Hinman has finished his researches and published his results. Hence the attempted extension of the Greg hypothesis to two-skeleton printing which I specifically oppose in this paper is limited to the following: (1) forme I of a new sheet was placed on the press, a proof or two was pulled, and the forme was immediately removed; (2) forme II, which had been "simultaneously" imposed, was substituted on the press and printed uncorrected states until the proof of forme I was returned and the type corrected; (3) at this point corrected forme I was substituted on the press, perfected the sheets already printed by forme II, and thereupon continued to print the rest of the edition-sheet; (4) as the last operation, forme II, now corrected from proof taken from an early pull, was again placed on the press and perfected the remaining sheets.

revealed by the running-titles and the number of compositors employed can we be able to speak definitively of this matter.

Whether or not a method of informal preliminary proofing was (or could be) adopted, a printer was often faced with the necessity for correcting type from printed proofs made from a forme on the press. Minor variations may be expected in the manner in which this correction was managed, but I suggest there were only two general methods for proofing: one for one-skeleton books and one for two-skeleton books.⁵ Except where a printer's type supply was limited, we may hesitate to believe that the most elementary method of proofing was forced upon him by his use of only one skeleton to impose both formes of a sheet when if he wished he might readily use two skeletons, which would offer a more efficient method.⁶ The very considerable number of books before the Restoration printed with only one skeleton shows that many printers willingly accepted the waste of time involved in proofing enforced by one-skeleton work. For it was a waste. Variant states in one-skeleton books can be produced by no other method than stopping the press when proof is returned and keeping the press idle while the corrections are made in the type of the forme.

5 This is assuming that systematic proofing would be employed. The evidence of variant in relation to invariant formes in two-skeleton books shows clearly that many books were systematically proofed, but we cannot say that *all* books would be treated so. It is my impression that there was more at least semi-systematic than casual proofing. At any rate, if the unsystematic is to be detected and isolated, we must know as precisely as possible how systematic work was managed so that its characteristics can be recognized.

6 Possibly certain books which begin with only one skeleton and later shift to two result from a printer's discovery that more proofing was necessary than he had expected, although a correction of the original estimate of the relation of the time of composition to that of machining may be the better explanation. For this relation, see Hinman, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-14. Another explanation may also be possible. In my article on *Lear*, I advanced the theory that a limited supply of type may sometimes have dictated the use of one rather than two skeletons, since type is available for distribution earlier with one than with two. Hence in certain circumstances, it would not always be possible for a printer to have a free option whether he would use one or two skeletons. For instance, I have noticed that only one skeleton is used for both formes of a sheet in some printing that seems to have been done with two presses printing alternate sheets, a circumstance that seems to be dictated more by limitation of type supply than by the size of the edition-sheet. As another instance, a group of 1661 play quartos I am interested in seem to have been printed on two presses, with two skeletons for each press. Yet peculiar evidence develops that the type supply was insufficient to stand such a strain and that abnormally early distribution had to be undertaken. The relation of the type supply to the number of skeletons and hence to the method of presswork is a subject which will bear investigation.

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The fact that before 1600 this was a very commonly used method for printing causes me to believe that if we are looking for what can be termed *basic* Elizabethan proofing, we have it here. Two-skeleton printing was an extension of one-skeleton, devised to secure relatively continuous presswork by avoiding the delay between the removal of the wrought-off forme from the press and the start of printing the next forme. For reasons which will become apparent, I feel that this was the major delay which was circumvented and that a certain reduction possible in the time for press-corrections was only a minor consideration. If delay in continuous presswork is avoided in the imposition of formes, we should expect the two-skeleton printer to modify the basic method of proofing in a manner which would be the simplest and most obvious extension of that basic method to the changed circumstances. First, then, the improvement in proofing ought to be a *normal* extension of the one-skeleton method aimed at getting rid of the period of idleness with one-skeleton work; second, it should be so simple and obvious that we should find it almost uniformly adopted.

Now as I have previously pointed out, with one-skeleton printing since there is nothing the press can work on while the forme has been removed for correction, it is forced into idleness. To a printer used to this work the most obvious thing to do when faced with a similar stoppage when he was utilizing two skeletons was to plug the gap by putting his second forme for the sheet on the press at this time and pulling its proofs so that correction in the type could be made at leisure and without interrupting presswork further.

Hence we arrive at my hypothesis for the standard printing of two-skeleton books. With one skeleton, correction could not be managed until the press had printed a number of incorrect states of the first forme of a sheet to be machined. When the proof sheet, the first pull, was returned, the press was stopped and the forme removed to be corrected. At this point occurred a delay which the two-skeleton printer was capable of filling, and I suggest that he printed his first forme in the manner sketched up to this precise point and only then substituted his second forme. Thus while forme *I* was being corrected, forme *II* was given a minimum make-ready and a proof pulled.⁷ Type-correction would

⁷ The necessary make-ready to secure a satisfactory proof would be the knocking up

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normally take no extraordinary amount of time, and I suspect that by the time forme *II* was got in shape for proofing, or had had further necessary work done on it which would save time later, corrected forme *I* had been returned to the press. It is unlikely that any sheets were actually printed by forme *II* at this time. When corrected forme *I* was ready, forme *II* was removed from the press to be replaced by forme *I* which completed printing its heap of white-paper. The process is exactly like that for a one-skeleton book except that the interval of correction of the forme first on the press has been profitably utilized in a manner impossible with one skeleton. The printer had saved stopping the press during the printing of forme *II* and had probably performed some useful make-ready and registration which would save him time later. He had done all this within the standard pattern of one-skeleton printing with which he was familiar, most simply and efficiently adapting it to two-skeleton work.

If proofing were done by this system, the apparent results would approximate those achieved by an application of Greg's hypothesis, in that one forme of each sheet would be variant and one invariant. It seems incumbent, therefore, to examine both possibilities in some detail, after pointing out that it is dangerous to equate Greg's theory, which is suitable only for a three-skeleton book and which was offered only for *Lear*, precisely with the circumstances of simultaneous imposition in a two-skeleton book. In actual fact the circumstances are profoundly different.

of some and the forcing down of other sorts which had not impressed satisfactorily, I am inclined to believe that this may have been done under any system before a proof was pulled. The rather high proportion of uncorrected states which we sometimes find in variant formes must mean that proofreading was made into a lengthy process or at least was not immediately performed at all times. Indeed, perhaps a possible explanation for some of our invariant sheets is that the proof was read more promptly than usual and returned before the adjustment of register and the final make-ready had been accomplished. Nevertheless, the normal percentage of uncorrected states is higher than we should expect, I think, and ought to have been reduced if the proof had been pulled before make-ready, especially if the adjustment of register and the final make-ready had been performed during the proofreading. This matter is of especial pertinence for one-skeleton books and for the first forme to start printing with two-skeleton work. There may even be grounds for believing that at least on occasion the proof for correction was not pulled until all this preparation of the forme had been completed and printing started. I may well be wrong, but I do not recall seeing an extant proof sheet which exhibited the condition of the type and of the margins which we should expect from a forme which had undergone no treatment whatever from the pressman.

Greg's reconstruction of *Lear* ingeniously provides in theory for no delay in presswork from beginning to end of a succession of proofed edition-sheets except for the brief pause necessary to switch the formes on the press. This continuous presswork with truly simultaneous imposition of formes is the very heart of Greg's hypothesis, and therefore it is most important for us to note that it is possible only in a book like *Lear* printed with three skeletons.

In the first place, simultaneous imposition of two formes of a sheet about to be printed can mean only that before presswork on sheet Y is completed, both formes of sheet Z are imposed and locked up with their skeletons so that either one indifferently can be placed without delay on the press to begin printing, or proofing, sheet Z the moment sheet Y is perfected. This is what Greg believes occurred in *Lear*; and although I think I have shown three sheets in *Lear* which were not handled in this manner, I am sure that for most of the sheets he is perfectly correct in conjecturing truly simultaneous imposition of both formes before the pressman demanded the first forme for a new sheet. When two skeletons are used, however, such a state of affairs is impossible. One forme of sheet Z can be imposed at any time after forme *I* (first off the press) of sheet Y has completed impression. But the second forme of sheet Z cannot be imposed until forme *II* (last off the press) of Y is washed, rinsed, and its skeleton stripped and imposed about the remaining forme of Z. The only conditions under which this process would approximate Greg's hypothesis for *Lear* are as follows: forme *I* of sheet Y is rinsed (or only washed) and left unstripped on the stone until forme *II* of Y has been rinsed; both are then simultaneously stripped and imposed about both formes of Z; one of these formes, which one would be indifferent, is placed on the press for proofing and the other for printing.⁸

This circumstance might occasionally be found when presswork on a sheet had ended with the close of a working day, but as a settled procedure it could never be acceptable, and no one, of course, could con-

⁸ This is perhaps taking too scrupulous a view. Let us say, perhaps, that forme *I* of Y is imposed about forme *I* of Z but is not locked up. Before the press has occasion to call for any forme of Z, forme *II* of Y has been rinsed and its skeleton imposed about the remaining forme of Z but not locked up. Then when the press called for a forme, the choice was indifferently made which forme would be locked and delivered.

template such a strict meaning of *simultaneous* for two-skeleton books. Rather, *simultaneous imposition* would imply that forme *I* of sheet *Z* is ready for *proofing* on the press immediately after forme *II* of sheet *Y* is removed, but that the actual *printing* of sheet *Z* does not begin until forme *II* from sheet *Y* is imposed in *Z* and, following the proofs from forme *I*, begins the actual printing. Both formes of sheet *Z*, therefore, are imposed in their skeletons at the moment the real printing begins. This is not actually simultaneous in theory or in results, and its divergences from the theoretical treatment of the imposition of the formes in Greg's hypothesis have two far-reaching consequences which make me doubt whether this theory can be considered to be essentially similar to Greg's.⁹

The first divergence is, briefly, that under normal circumstances in Greg's system it is indifferent whether the inner or the outer forme is first placed on the press for proofing, since both are imposed before the last forme of the previous sheet is removed from the press. Unsystematic variation in the order of the formes on the press from sheet to sheet is a theoretical characteristic of true simultaneous imposition and is found in *Lear*. On the other hand, in a two-skeleton book there is observable a generally systematic tendency to put formes through the press in a specific order, which means that the skeleton of the inner forme of *Y* is

⁹ The crux of the matter is the amount of time taken to impose the second forme of *Z* from the last forme of *Y* off the press. Granted that only under irregular and somewhat uncommon circumstances can the true simultaneous imposition of both formes be managed with two-skeleton printing; yet if the delay in imposing the second forme for *Z* is so slight as not to interrupt continuous presswork (in that it is available sufficiently early after the proofing of forme *I* of *Z* so that the press is not unnecessarily idle), then of course the effect of simultaneous imposition has been secured—although it is dangerous to give it that label. Precisely this point is, I think, debatable. It has been implied that the washing, rinsing, and stripping of a wrought-off forme, followed by the re-imposition of its skeleton about the new type-pages on the stone, is a relatively brief procedure which would not alter the effect of simultaneous imposition if we posit certain activities about the press to fill the interval. I shall return to this subject later; but it is pertinent to state here that the account Moxon gives of the whole process of rinsing and imposition seems to me to require a considerable time, and Moxon speaks of the necessity to take considerable pains in the operation. If my explanation for the introduction of the third skeleton in *Lear* is correct, it was constructed for one specific occasion when the compositor found it quicker to build a whole new skeleton than to rinse and then to re-impose from an available wrought-off forme. This does not suggest that the process of treating a wrought-off forme before its skeleton could be laid about the waiting type-pages was so brief that simultaneous imposition in effect could be secured. But Moxon's instructions are perhaps the best evidence.

normally transferred to the type-pages of inner Z, and so forth.¹⁰ I think this uniformity is caused by the very reverse of simultaneous imposition.

The second divergence is of material interest. "Simultaneously imposed" two-skeleton books necessarily produce a delay in presswork since the physical act of pulling a proof must take less time than the washing, rinsing, and re-imposition of forme *II* of the previous sheet. Whether this delay is more apparent than real is, for the present argument, beside the point. The heart of Greg's true system, to repeat, is the fact that there should be no delays in presswork except those occasioned by the simple exchange of the formes on the press to substitute the printing for the proofing forme. Yet delays in presswork appear when Greg's system is applied to two-skeleton books, since the wait between the pulling of the proof of forme *I* and the imposition of forme *II* was not contemplated in Greg's reconstruction of *Lear*. If continuous presswork is one of the keystones of Greg's hypothesis, any derived hypothesis for two-skeleton books which interrupts actual presswork differs so essentially as to have automatic doubt thrown upon it. That the necessary delay might theoretically be filled by other activities is immaterial when one considers that these filling-in activities have no place in Greg's reconstruction and hence are not required by him to cover other operations.

Yet regardless of the place these activities were assigned in the chain of continuous printing, some servicing of the press was necessary. At least between the machining of sheets the heap of perfected sheets had to be removed (but Moxon does not assign this as a pressman's duty), the new heap of paper set out, a clean tympan-sheet adjusted to take the place of the cloth used for perfecting, the ink supply renewed on occasion, and special inking made of the fresh type in the new forme.

Since these activities have not been minutely considered, we may profitably enquire whether any previously overlooked evidence is available which will suggest that they might or might not overlap the compositor's rinsing and imposition of his second forme. Here, I believe, we may introduce a speculation based on the evidence of running-titles.

¹⁰ Casual variations between inner and outer formes of sheets are not unusual and can readily be explained, but consistent and systematic variation is much more uncommon than a general uniformity in the transference of skeletons to identical formes in successive sheets.

The first wrought-off forme of a sheet would be lifted from the press, washed by the pressman, and handed over to the compositor who might rinse it at that time or later just before imposition. But normally at this point the type-pages for the next sheet would not have been set through the penultimate page (\$4^r of a quarto); hence this washed forme would lie on the distributing bench until it could be rinsed, stripped, and transferred to a full complement of type-pages in a forme on the stone.¹¹ If all eight type-pages of a quarto were lying arranged on the stone when this rinsed forme was stripped, it would be a matter of comparative indifference whether it was imposed about the inner or the outer forme of the new sheet;¹² and if this circumstance continued with successive sheets we should have consistent and unsystematic variation in the formes chosen to impose.¹³ That we have, in general, fairly systematic imposition of inner forme from inner and outer from outer in two-skeleton books is, I suggest, some evidence for a belief that the usual practice was to impose the inner forme from the rinsed forme when signature \$4^r (*i.e.*, the seventh type-page of a quarto) was completed and before signature \$4^v was composed.

11 I think it can be proved that the type-pages of a forme in a normally printed book were complete before they were imposed. There is every evidence that distribution was delayed until the skeleton of a forme had been removed to impose another. In *Lear* and in some 1661 quartos I am investigating where it was necessary to release type before setting had progressed to the point where complete imposition could be made, partial imposition at an earlier stage in the composition of the new sheet produced unique treatment of the individual quarters of the skeleton used for imposition.

12 Although it cannot be completely ignored in our evaluation of evidence, the early tradition that the inner forme must precede the outer through the press seems to have decayed by 1600 except when circumstances necessitated. *Lear* and various other books show that when the choice was indifferent, the selection seems also to have been indifferent.

13 Except in special circumstances detailed below, a switch in the order of the skeletons chosen to impose the formes in a two-skeleton book must always be evidence of a change in the order of the formes through the press. If, for example, we know that the inner forme of Z was imposed from the outer forme of Y which was last off the press, inner Z must have been imposed last and outer Z first if continuous presswork was observed. The only conditions under which inner Z could instead be first delivered to the press are as follows: (1) Presswork on sheet Y concluded at the end of a day, and that night or early next morning the forme of outer Y was rinsed and re-imposed about inner Z before the start of presswork on Z. Even here normal imposition of inner Z from inner Y would have been delayed, but this is possible under the circumstances. (2) The compositor was so far behind the press that he had not rinsed inner Y and had not finished setting inner Z before outer Y was washed and turned over to him. When Sig. Z4^r was set, he had no rinsed forme with which to begin immediate imposition, and so indifferently chose outer Y to rinse and impose.

But this general systematic succession of formes is not invariable. Some of the impositions where the succession of the formes is broken may be explained quite naturally as resulting from the start of the process at the very end or the beginning of a printing day when both wrought-off formes would be lying on the bench together after the press had finished machining an edition-sheet. Nevertheless, this explanation will not cover all of the various examples of occasional switching in the skeletons used to impose the formes of successive sheets within a book where a regular pattern of uniformity has been largely established. Thus when we find the skeleton of the outer forme last off the press being used to impose the inner forme of the next sheet, we must sometimes either conjecture an inexplicable delay in presswork or else come to the more rational conclusion that all eight type-pages were in such cases lying ready on the stone when the first rinsed forme was stripped for the first imposition of the new sheet, and that the compositor therefore indifferently chose to impose the new outer forme with the skeleton of the wrought-off inner.

If we accept the conjecture that *as a general rule* the systematic imposition of skeletons about similar formes indicates imposition from the rinsed forme when the seventh quarto type-page has been composed, then it follows that in those examples not to be explained by overnight breaks in printing, a shift in the imposition of a skeleton about a different forme indicates that the rinsed forme was not stripped for imposition until the eighth type-page was lying on the stone. I think it possible to draw certain inferences from this hypothesis. Obviously, if the compositor waits until he has completed setting the whole gathering before imposing one of its formes, he is under no pressure to deliver a forme to the press at the first possible moment. The fact that as a general rule the reverse is true would seem to indicate that usually presswork and speed of composition were so relatively and economically balanced that the compositor felt the necessity to have an imposed forme ready for the press as early as possible.¹⁴ If this is so, and it is what we should

14 Dr. Hinman's studies, referred to above, of the relation between the number of skeletons and the size of the edition-sheet as vitally tied in with the speed of composing versus presswork, bolster the argument that in general the compositor worked under some pressure. We cannot ignore the possibility that some compositors from habit always imposed inner from inner forme even though the outer had been completely set and was lying

ordinarily expect, we should recognize that composing speed, being dependent upon difficulties in the manuscript, extra long lines of text, and certainly accidental pieing from time to time, is more variable than presswork. Hence we must believe that in normal printing various occasions arose when the compositor fell behind the press instead of maintaining a somewhat precarious balance. If he had been consistently ahead of the press, he would have set his eighth type-page, on some occasions at least, before he imposed the first forme, and we should have more books exhibiting general variation in the order of formes. It follows that if he were behind his usual relation to presswork there would be times when the eighth type-page would not be composed at the moment the press was ready for the already imposed first forme of the new sheet. Here the pulling of a proof and the activities about the press would need to cover the setting of \$4^v in addition to the treatment and imposition of the newly wrought-off forme. If the compositor were slightly more behind and had completed \$4^r but had not imposed the inner forme by the time the press was calling for a forme, then the activities about the press might cover the necessary imposition of the first forme, but certainly not this first imposition, the composition of \$4^v, the rinsing of the washed wrought-off forme just released by the press and the imposition of its skeleton about the new outer forme. Presswork would be seriously delayed after the proof of the first forme was pulled and before the press could receive the imposed second forme from which printing was to start. One should not underestimate the

on the stone. Nevertheless, we have the evidence of those books exhibiting unsystematic and consistent variation that not all compositors were so habituated. One interesting imposition in *Lear*, that of sheet E, may perhaps be best explained as imposition made of E when the first type-page of F was also on the stone, thus indicating that imposition was not made at any automatic point regardless of the time available before the press would require the forme. Here, according to my reconstruction, outer E was first through the press. We cannot ignore, also, the fact that inner forme imposed from inner by no means proves that there was not time to set \$4^v before the press actually called for the inner forme. The inference I am arguing for is simply this. Certain books show that the compositor had no fixed choice for imposing one forme rather than another when both were available. Others show a decided preference for regularity but occasional variation. Still others show complete regularity. These last are uninformative, but those with occasional irregularity can be taken logically as indicating that the compositor had no fixed habit but was imposing his inner forme first because the press would soon be requiring it and he had not yet completed setting his outer forme. This shows, what we should expect, that in general there was a close balance between composition and speed of presswork. The rarer completely irregular books show that the compositor was keeping ahead of the press at an ideal rate.

time that would be taken in treating a forme, spreading and rinsing the lines of type, and finally picking up the skeleton piece by piece and re-imposing it in its precise place about the new type-pages.

These delays would be largely of no consequence with the system of printing and proofing which I advocate, since the press prints copies of the uncorrected forme first placed on it before the second-imposed forme is substituted for proofing. But with any such rigid system of proofing as has been suggested, *where with every sheet the eighth type-page had to be composed by the time the last forme of the previous sheet was removed from the press*, the delays that inevitably develop in setting would be fatal to efficiency. It also seems to me to follow that no system which was so delicately balanced that the printer counted on invariably stretching the activities about the press to cover the various delays which would normally develop before the second forme could be delivered is a practical one. Usually only the single act of rinsing and re-imposing a forme is envisaged; I believe this was a longer process than it is taken to be; but, more important, on numerous occasions this requirement would have to be supplemented by various other time-consuming operations before the all-important second forme could be delivered. The activities about the press which may be listed as performed in the interval between the first and second formes need not have been invariable, and even in aggregate with the two to three men about the press and perhaps other helpers in a shop, they should have taken relatively little time: indeed, they might have been performed only during the necessary make-ready and the washing of the wrought-off forme. Hence I am led to distrust any hypothesis which isolates these press activities and uses them as a normal practice completely to cover the variable interval in the compositor's duties. Under ordinary circumstances one should expect that the compositor was charged with having a forme ready on demand for the press on the basis that press-work attempted to be continuous in the handling of the type. This expectation seems to me to be buttressed by the usual evidence of running-titles¹⁵ which reveals, in comparison, relatively fewer occasions when the compositor had sufficient leisure to set \$4^v of a quarto before finding it necessary to impose the inner forme.

¹⁵ The principles for using running-titles are partly treated in my "Notes on Running-

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For these reasons, and especially because it seems difficult to believe that the required rigid schedule could possibly be maintained, I am inclined to doubt completely whether an Elizabethan printer would devise or would engage himself to a proofing system which was utterly inelastic, and which on various occasions would lose him money by a seriously idle press. As Dr. Johnson writes: "printing-house process was undoubtedly variable on many points, capable within certain limits of being altered to suit special circumstances. To this one must add the corollary that all parts of the printing process are closely interlinked, so that a change which might seem a desirable means of avoiding delay at one stage of the process would be rejected if it would simultaneously introduce confusion and possible delay at a later stage and thus sacrifice everything that had been gained."¹⁶ These are wise words, and consistent with them I advocate the probability that a printer would devise a method of proofing which was capable of elastic adjustment within a regular process,¹⁷ not a system which could not be consistently maintained when the inevitable bottlenecks developed, and which required a compositor to be consistently farther ahead of the press than the available evidence suggests he usually stayed.

However, in the last analysis I think that any system for two-skeleton work which assumes that the printer pulled a proof of his first forme and then immediately began to print his second must stand or fall with Greg's hypothesis for *Lear* which puts the formes through the press in this order. In my investigation of *Lear* I endeavored to show that the consequential alteration of the catchword in sheet K could have been handled readily with the "normal" order of the formes through the press, and I echoed Dr. J. G. McManaway's review of Greg's mono-

Titles as Bibliographical Evidence," *Library*, 4th Ser., xix (1938), 315-38, supplemented by "The Headline in Early Books," *English Institute Annual*, 1941 (1942), pp. 185-205. C. J. K. Hinman's "New Uses for Headlines as Bibliographical Evidence" in the same *Annual*, pp. 207-22, ingeniously carries forward certain principles.

¹⁶ *Papers Bib. Soc. Am.*, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

¹⁷ As part of a general elasticity, a printer might well have preferred a system which could dispose of the necessity to proof a forme found not to require it. Any system which envisages rigidly systematic proofing and puts both formes on a press one after another, the first for proofing and the second to begin the printing, is less elastic than one which modifies standard one-skeleton printing and offers a choice whether to stop the press for proofing or to run off the edition-sheet without it.

graph in querying the practicability of the immediate perfecting of early sheets required by his hypothesis, especially in the light of the fact that a tympan sheet, not a specially substituted perfecting cloth, would almost necessarily have been used.¹⁸ My analysis of the running-titles seemed to indicate beyond all question that *Lear* could not have been imposed and printed with the order of the formes through the press which Greg conjectured without an inexplicable series of delays at the press which would have sacrificed more than the time which might have been gained by the process of simultaneous imposition. Moreover, if the book were printed according to his reconstruction, it was precisely the fact that the new formes were simultaneously imposed in most cases from formes just off the press, although earlier wrought-off and presumably rinsed formes were available, which causes a series of delays the like of which I have seen in no other Elizabethan book.¹⁹ Finally, I attempted to show that the running-titles form a pattern which precisely fits the proofing method I have advocated here on theoretical grounds as the one most likely to be adopted as a modification of one-skeleton printing. If my analysis of the evidence wins any acceptance, then Greg's hypothesis becomes a theoretically logical

18 This immediate perfecting of the first printed sheets of forme II when proof-corrected forme I is returned to the press has always seemed to me a prime difficulty. The only possible reason would be slightly easier handling of the sheets by getting them immediately out of the way and on the drying rack. Yet I cannot believe the removal of the sheets was sufficiently urgent to risk considerable spoilage. A quite speculative point may be mentioned in connection with the possibility of immediate perfecting. In some books one or more leaves are blank in some copies but in others contain letterpress either in the form of supplements to the text, variant title-pages, or possibly material to be used as a cancellans. When this letterpress is not the result of re-running the sheets at a later date, it must be laid to insertion by press-alteration, with the printer failing to re-run his already printed sheets to impress the additional material in all copies. Certainly on some occasions we may reasonably conjecture that the printer did not re-run his sheets because he did not want to take the time required for this operation and was content to have the new material present only in some, not in all, copies. I am not sure, however, that we can be satisfied with this as an invariable explanation, and I should query whether he *could* re-run these sheets even if he wished. The case would be analogous to immediate perfecting, except here the special frisket would receive an offset (no cloth would be possible). I think we may well speculate whether the offset problem does not account for some of the books with this peculiarity, and if so then there may be additional reason to doubt immediate perfecting.

19 Specifically, from sheet C through L there were only two sheets out of the nine that could have been printed as he conjectures without a delay in continuous presswork which the simultaneous proofing utilizing three skeletons was theoretically set up to prevent.

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method but one which on the evidence of the running-titles was not used with *Lear* or with any other quarto I know.²⁰

I have made so much of *Lear* in this discussion because in this play we have an example where the introduction of unique evidence gives us a pattern of running-titles by which we can actually test the probable method of proofing and printing in an Elizabethan book. If my interpretation of the running-titles proves correct, it is possible from them to evolve a hypothesis which seems to coincide precisely with the evidence of the running-titles in two-skeleton printing. Hence until I find myself in the unfortunate position of being clearly corrected, I should like to maintain that probability and the available evidence indicate the average two-skeleton Elizabethan book was printed and proofed as follows:

- 1) A forme of a fresh sheet was made ready, placed on the press, and machining started. The first pull was sent to the proofreader, and printing continued until the corrected proof was returned.
- 2) The forme was then removed from the press and corrected.
- 3) In the interval of this correction the second forme of the sheet (which had been imposed while the first forme was printing) was substituted on the press, and after a minimum make-ready a proof was pulled. If there was still time, possibly further necessary treatment was given it, such as adjustment of register.
- 4) The first forme, now corrected, was returned to the press and finished machining the white-paper.

²⁰ Putting the question of *Lear* aside, I have found in the examination of the running-titles of a number of quartos, both Elizabethan and Restoration, no example where the use of more than two skeletons with one press can be equated with the proofing method of simultaneous imposition. Hence I believe Dr. Hinman was correct in calling Greg's hypothesis revolutionary printing in relation to normal procedure, for the vast majority of books could not have employed it. To me, it is an argument of some weight that though in certain respects it is the most efficient system that can be devised, it was not at least customarily employed. Writers have been too prone to accept three-skeleton printing with one press as a fairly normal process. My experience has been quite the contrary, and I venture to say that when three-skeleton Elizabethan quartos are properly investigated most of them will prove to be the result of printing with two presses. On the evidence of *Lear*, the use of three skeletons put a severe strain on the supply of type: the compositor of *Lear* got around this difficulty by a most unusual method of imposition which I have not seen paralleled before a group of books in 1661 printed on two presses with four skeletons. It cannot be too much emphasized that (although more may well exist) no one has yet brought forward another book printed like *Lear*. To accept its three skeletons as an example of normal printing, therefore, is a most dangerous proceeding.

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5) During this interval the second forme was corrected from its marked proof and was therefore immediately available to perfect the complete edition-sheet, usually in an invariant state.

I may point out that this reconstruction has no effect on the really important consequences for textual criticism of Greg's investigations. In two-skeleton work the "invariant" forme of a variant sheet is to be taken as proof-corrected.

THE LAMPORT HALL-BRITWELL COURT BOOKS

By WILLIAM A. JACKSON

Charles Edmonds, of Willis and Sotheran, announced in a letter to *The Times* for Friday, October 4, 1867, the discovery of an unknown edition of *Venus and Adonis* (1599), as well as of a copy of *The Passionate Pilgrime* (1599), of which last only one other copy was then known. After mentioning these two books, his account continues:

The circumstances under which the discovery was made are very remarkable. No one, not even the respected owner (Sir Charles Isham) of this precious volume and of several other rare and valuable works printed about the same time, was aware of his possessing such literary treasures, till my professional examination a few days since of the books contained in the old library at Lamport, in Northamptonshire, brought them to light. There, in a back lumber room, covered with dust and exposed to the depredations of mice which had already digested the contents of some of the books, and amid hundreds of old volumes of various dates and sizes, the far greater part of which are of very trifling value, I discovered a little collection of volumes contemporary, or nearly so, with the work in question, the very sight of which would be sufficient to warm the heart of the most cold-blooded bibliomaniac. In this same place they had remained uncared for and unexamined for a period exceeding the "memory of the oldest inhabitant". It was impossible to ascertain why they had been banished from the large library below stairs, which among a considerable quantity of common and now comparatively valueless books, contains some of great rarity and value. The majority of these, as was shown by documents which I had the privilege of examining, and many of which had the original cost prices affixed, were collected by Sir Justinian Isham, the fifth baronet, a gentleman of great literary acquirements, who built the library and altered the house in the time of King George I, it having been originally erected by John Isham, Esq., in the reign of Elizabeth, and afterwards altered and improved in the time of Charles I from a design by John Webb, the son-in-law of Inigo Jones. The books now discovered were no doubt collected by a more remote possessor of the property—possibly by Thomas Isham, who died in 1605, and whose grandson, John, was knighted by King James I at Whitehall; . . . There is every evidence to show that the books have remained in the house from a very remote period, and that no additions of any moment have been made to the library for the last 150 years.

It should be remarked, however, in extenuation of the books in question

The Lamport Hall-Britwell Court Books

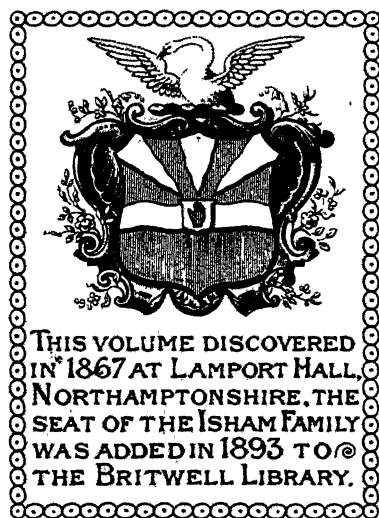
having for so many years attracted no attention, that the more precious of them being bound in the old common vellum of the period, and without lettering or any outside indication of their contents, would challenge no notice except from a real and curious lover of old, and to most people, uninviting looking books.

Since that first announcement, the "Lamport Find", as it is usually called, has been frequently, and usually inaccurately, referred to in the literature of bibliophily. It seems, therefore, worth while to set forth the following account of the Isham books in a volume dedicated to the memory of Dr. J. Q. Adams, for he had under his care in the Folger Library almost a score of Isham-Britwell volumes, several of which he had himself selected for addition to that Library which he so ably administered and increased.

Although the family of Isham had dwelt in Northamptonshire longer than any other of the county families, it was not until 1560 that John Isham purchased the manor of Lamport from Sir William Cecil. John Isham, Master Warden of the Mercers Company of London and one of the Merchant Adventurers of Flanders, married Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Barker, likewise a Master Warden of the Mercers and believed, although on very slender grounds, to be a relative of Christopher Barker, the Queen's printer. John Isham probably had little to do with the founding of the library, but his son Thomas, who succeeded him in 1595 at the age of 30, although he had been blind since a great sickness which he had at the age of 14, is believed to be the founder of the Lamport Library. There are letters now deposited by Sir Gyles Isham in the custody of the Northamptonshire Record Society at the County Hall, Northampton, which show him ordering books through his son at Cambridge. His heir, Sir John Isham, the first baronet, was something of an Italian scholar and he, no doubt, continued to add to the library. In one of his letterbooks, now in my possession, there is a letter of June 6, 1624, addressed to his London agent, Robert Pearson, in which he says, ". . . and for the Bookes which you write of I should very well like & allow of what you shall do there in. And do desire you to send them downe with the rest of y^e thinges which you buy for me by Sherman the waggener of Northampton vpon wednesday the last day of the Tearme . . ."



A. Bookplate of Sir Thomas Isham



B. Lamport-Britwell Label

The Lamport Hall-Britwell Court Books

His son, Sir Justinian Isham, the second baronet, was a man of learning and culture, though perhaps of little humor, for it was he whom Dorothy Osborne described when, a widower with four daughters, he came to court her in 1653, as "the vainest, impertinent self-conceited learned coxcomb that ever I saw". He undoubtedly added considerably to the library, and in 1654-5 he employed his friend John Webb, the pupil and connection, but not the son-in-law, of Inigo Jones, to rebuild the west front of Lamport Hall.¹ Sir Justinian's second wife was a granddaughter of Thomas Egerton, Viscount Brackley, the founder of the Bridgewater Library, and whether or not the collecting of books is an inheritable characteristic, it is interesting to note how frequently in succeeding generations of both the Isham and Egerton families there have been book collectors.

It was for the next baronet, Sir Thomas, that David Loggan engraved in 1676 "a print of your cote of arms", or rather two plates, for the first one, reproduced in W. J. Hardy, *Book-Plates*, p. 9, has an esquire's helmet and no "bloody hand of Ulster", so that Loggan had to make a new plate which was heraldically proper for a baronet (see Plate III, A). The letters which Loggan wrote Sir Thomas concerning these plates are a *locus classicus* in the history of the English bookplate,² as the plates themselves are among the finest examples of the "Restoration" style.

Sir Thomas Isham died in 1681 and was succeeded by his brother Sir Justinian, who died in 1730 and was followed by his son, another Justinian. It was the latter, the fifth baronet, who built the library room at Lamport.³ These two Justinians were learned men and the friends of learned men. The library at Lamport contained many books which they must have collected or which are inscribed to them, but it contained little of importance of a later period; and the number of books which had by that time accumulated at Lamport was far greater than could be housed on the shelves of the library proper. In 1921, even after two auction sales and other dispersals, the shelves of that room were still filled with old calf-bound volumes, so that it is understandable if some of the

¹ Webb's drawings are still in existence and together with his letters were published in *R.I.B.A. Journal*, xxviii (1921), 565-82.

² W. J. Hardy, *Book-Plates* (1893), pp. 8-11; W. Hamilton, *Dated Book-Plates* (1895), i, 69.

³ For a view of the library as it was in 1921, see *Country Life*, xlix (1921), 677.

unlettered, vellum-bound pamphlets had been relegated to a lumber room.

As Edmonds has nowhere published a complete list of the rarities which he found in that upper room,⁴ it is not surprising that there has been some confusion about the "Lamport Find". At this distance it is probably not possible to determine just which of the numerous valuable and rare books were still on the library shelves and which were in the lumber room, nor is it of much importance. But some notion of the rarities at Lamport can be obtained by various means. For example, Edmonds printed in 1880 an eight-page quarto prospectus entitled *An Annotated Catalogue of the Library at Lamport Hall* (see reproduction of the title from a copy in the author's possession, Plate IV). According to a note at the bottom of the title, "The object of the following pages is to present a List of some of the most rare and interesting Books and Manuscripts preserved in the above Library, full details of which are given in the MS. Catalogue of 520 pages". Where that manuscript catalogue may now be is not known, but about two hundred items are listed in this printed prospectus, and from it one can form a fair notion of how rich the collection once was.⁵ In 1877, Sir Charles Isham had lent fifteen of the most important and rarest pieces for the Caxton Celebration at South Kensington, and at various times had permitted Edmonds to exhibit the Shakespearian volume at his place of business,⁶ so that even then at least a part of the collection must have been known to those who followed such matters.

At Puttick and Simpson's, 15 July 1874, Sir Charles had sold a number of the books of lesser literary interest, and through the same auctioneers, 14 December 1886, he disposed of his copy of the second edition of Brereton, which copy was later in the Kalbfleisch, Lefferts, Church, and Huntington collections. In 1893, Wakefield Christie Miller acquired

⁴ The list of unrecorded works found at Lamport and published in *The Athenaeum*, 11 January 1868, p. 57, is admittedly incomplete.

⁵ On page 6 of this prospectus is listed, in a section headed "Fine Arts", a work entitled "Lacework: The True Perfection of Cutworks. Lond., 1598.", of which no copy can be traced, although a book of this title was licensed to William Jaggard, 23 January 1598 (Arber, iii, 101). It is possible that this work is the original of one section of John Taylor's *The Needles Excellency*.

⁶ Edmonds edited four volumes of "The Isham Reprints" (1870-95), and for the Roxburghe Club, *A Lamport Garland* (1881).

AN
Annotated Catalogue
 OF THE
LIBRARY AT LAMPORT HALL,
 NORTHAMPTONSHIRE,
 THE SEAT OF
 SIR CHARLES E ISHAM, BART.,
 INCLUDING
 COPIOUS NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS
 ON THE
 RARE, UNIQUE, AND HITHERTO-UNKNOWN BOOKS OF ENGLISH POETRY,
 EARLY ENGLISH PLAYS, AND PROSE WORKS,
As well as on other interesting Books and Manuscripts preserved therein,
 BY
Charles Edmonds,
 EDITOR OF THE ISHAM SHAKESPEARE HALL NEWES OR
 OF DUBLIN CHURCHWARDEN THE MONTHLY LULLY
 LAMPORT GAZETTEER OF ENGLISH POETRY,
 POETRY OF THE ANTIJOURN

MDCCCLXXX

* * * The object of the following pages is to present a List of some of the most rare and interesting Books and Manuscripts preserved in the above Library, full details of which are given in the MS. Catalogue of 320 pages

The Lamport Hall-Britwell Court Books

by private treaty 130 of the rarest items (of these more later), while at Sotheby's, 17-18 June 1904, Sir Vere Isham sold 355 lots, including a number of pamphlet collections. At this sale there were sold a number of rarities, such as the unique copy of Lodge's *Rosalynde*, 1596, now in the Huntington Library; Ben Jonson's copy of Savonarola's *Triumphus Crucis*, 1633, now in the Shakespeare Memorial Library at Stratford; a large-paper copy of François Du Jon's *The Painting of the Ancients*, 1638, now in the Folger Library; etc. But this did not end the dispersal of the Isham books, for in 1935 the British Museum purchased from Sir Gyles Isham eight leaves of the Cotton manuscript of Eccleston's *Chronicle*, which Walter Rye had discovered at Lamport in 1879.⁷

The hundred-odd volumes purchased for the Britwell Court Library formed the core of the Lamport Library, whether one regards them from a purely literary or a bibliophilic standpoint. No other copy of twenty of those items is now known, and the majority of them belong to the greatest period of English poetry. Furthermore, all but a few are in the finest possible condition, clean, uncut—some were unopened when found, and many in original vellum, sheep, or calf. The only similar collections with which these books may be compared are those of Sir Robert Gordon and Frances Wolfreton. In 1894, ten Lamport books were sold by Wakefield Christie Miller to the British Museum, together with sixteen Britwell duplicates which the finer Lamport copies had replaced. Five of the Lamport books have not been traced in the Britwell sales. As they were all duplicates of ones already in that library, and as none of them was of any great rarity or value, they were probably privately disposed of. The remaining 115 items were sold in the various Britwell sales from 1910 to 1927, in exactly one hundred lots, for several were still bound together in original vellum. The hundred lots fetched a total of £51,725, which is an amazing sum for a collection of this kind of unillustrated book. Nevertheless, it is not unlikely, even without the competition of Folger and Huntington, that if sold again today they would bring an even larger sum.

Besides making his elaborate manuscript catalogue of the Lamport books, Charles Edmonds labeled all of the unlettered vellum bindings with a small paper label with printed border (2 x 3 inches), on which

⁷ See *British Museum Quarterly*, ix (1934), 115-7.

The Lamport Hall-Britwell Court Books

in a copper-plate hand he wrote the author and title. All eighteen of the volumes, containing thirty-three works, which are still in their original vellum retain these labels. But seventy-two of the books were bound in various colored moroccos by Pratt, with the Miller arms and Wakefield Christie Miller's monogram.⁸ And in most of them, whatever their binding, there was placed a bookplate with the Isham arms and the legend, "This volume discovered in 1867 at Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire, the seat of the Isham Family was added in 1893 to the Britwell Library" (see Plate III, B).

The following list of the Lamport-Britwell books is based upon that published by Reginald E. Graves in *Bibliographica*, iii (1897), pp. 418-29, but is supplemented and corrected from manuscript notes in my copy of a privately printed catalogue of "English Poetry in the Britwell Library", as well as from other sources.

- | | | |
|-----|------|--|
| STC | 24+ | Abbot, G. A Briefe Description [second edition], 1599. CLEMENTS LIBRARY. Britwell June 1919, no. 1. |
| | 685 | Anton, R. Moriomachia, 1613. L. Acquired 1894. |
| | 719a | Apuleius, L. The XI Bookes of the Golden Asse, 1582. Untraced. Britwell June 1920, no. 26, sold to "English Collector." |
| | 980 | Averell, W. An Excellent Historie, 1581. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 24. Not unique; J. P. Collier records another in <i>N. & Q.</i> , 4th Ser., iii (1869), pp. 5-6. |
| | 1429 | Barksted, W. Mirrha the Mother of Adonis, 1607. FOLG. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 32. |
| | 1484 | Barnfield, R. Cynthia, 1595. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 109, bound fourth with 4268, 12367, and 24097. Unique, cf. title of Reed-Heber-Britwell-Folger copy of first edition reproduced Britwell Cat. 1923, no. 42. |
| | 1556 | Basse, W. Three Pastoral Elegies, 1602. HN. Britwell Dec. 1919, no. 2. |
| | 1559 | Bastard, T. Chrestoleros, 1598. FOLG. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 38. |
| | 1695 | Beaumont, Sir J. The Metamorphosis of Tabacco, 1602. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 45. |
| | 3634 | Breton, N. Brittons Bowre of Delights, 1597. HN. Britwell |

⁸ One book, the G. Dowes, was bound in blind-tooled russia, presumably for Sir Charles Isham.

The Lamport Hall-Britwell Court Books

- Dec. 1919, no. 10. The British Museum received the Luttrell-Farmer-Ellis-Heber-Britwell copy despite Garnett, *Three Hundred Notable Books*, p. 41.
- 3648 — A Diuine Poeme, 1601. FOLG. Britwell Mar. 1921, no. 8—Harmsworth.
- 3649 — An Excellent Poeme, 1601. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 76.
- 3659 — Honest Counsaile, 1605. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 80. The British Museum acquired the Inglis-Heber-Britwell duplicate in 1894.
- 3667 — A Merrie Dialogue, 1603. HN. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 84. The British Museum acquired in 1894 the Heber-Britwell duplicate.
- 3669 — The Mothers Blessing, 1602. C. H. PFORZHEIMER. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 82.
- 3672 [—] No Whippinge, nor Trippinge, 1601. HN. Britwell Nov. 1919, no. 107. Bound third with 25351 and 14071. The British Museum received the imperfect Luttrell-Britwell copy in 1894, despite Garnett, *Three Hundred Notable Books*, p. 44.
- 3673 — Olde Mad-Cappes New Gally-Mawfrey, 1602. HN. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 83. The British Museum acquired a Britwell duplicate in 1894.
- 3674 — An Olde Mans Lesson, 1605. Untraced. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 79, resold July 1927, no. 130. A fragment of eight leaves only.
- 3680 — The Passion of a Discontented Minde, 1602. FOLG. Britwell Mar. 1921, no. 9—Harmsworth.
- 3683 — The Pilgrimage to Paradise, 1592. HN. Britwell Dec. 1919, no. 8.
- 3696 — A Solemne Passion, 1598. HN. Britwell Dec. 1919, no. 13.
- 4268 C., E., Esquire. Emaricdulfe, 1595. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 109, bound first with 12367, 24097, and 1484.
- 4283 C., J., Gent. A Poore Knight, 1579. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 112.
- 4518 [Camden, W.] Reges, Reginae . . . Sepulti, 1600. WESTMINSTER ABBEY. Britwell Dec. 1919, no. 18.
- 4985 Chapman, G. Ouids Banquet of Sence, 1595. HN. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 129. Bound second with 4990 and 17414.
- 4990 — Σκιά Νυκτός, 1594. HN. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 129. Bound first with 4985 and 17414.

The Lamport Hall-Britwell Court Books

- 5326 Citois, F. A True and Admirable Historie, 1603. L. Acquired in 1894. Imperfect.
- 5956 Craig, A. The Amorse Songes, 1606. FOLG. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 183—W. A. White.
- 6151 Cutwode, T. Caltha Poetarum, 1599. HN. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 185.
- 6350+ Davies, Sir J. Epigrammes, [1599]. HN. Britwell Dec. 1919, no. 85. Bound with 22342 and 22358. Unique.
- 6351 — Hymnes of Astraea, 1599. HN. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 199.
- 6566 Deloney, T. Strange Histories of Kings, 1602. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 230. Unique. Bodleian has no copy.
- 6785 Des Portes, P. Rodomonths Infernall, 1607. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 231.
- 6820 Dickenson, J. The Shepheardes Complaint, [1596]. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 233. Unique.
- 7202 Drayton, M. Idea, 1593. HN. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 226.
- 7217 — Poemes Lyrick and Pastorall [1606?]. NYPL. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 233—O. D. Young.
- 7231+ — To the Maiestie of King James. Second impression, 1603. Untraced. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 242.
- 7378 [Duwes, G.] An Introductorie, [1539?]. HN. Britwell Mar. 1924, no. 264.
- 7521 Edwards, R. The Paradice of Dainty Deuises, 1596. HN. Britwell Dec. 1919, no. 74.
- 7525 Edwards, T. Cephalus and Procris, 1595. L. Acquired 1894. A fragment, 4 ll. only.
- 7594 Elizabeth, Queen. The Poores Lamentation, 1603. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 545.
- 7606 Ellis, G. The Lamentation of the Lost Sheepe, 1605. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 270.
- 10596 Evans, W. Pietatis Lachrymæ, 1602. HN. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 261. Unique.
- 10686 Faret, N. The Honest Man, 1632. HN. Britwell Mar. 1926, no. 212.
- 10771 Fenner, D. A Defence of the Godlie Ministers, 1587. FOLG. Britwell May 1920, no. 181—Harmsworth.
- 10798 Fenton, J. King James His Welcome, 1603. FOLG. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 285—W. A. White. The British Museum acquired in 1894 the B.A.P.-North-Heber-Britwell duplicate.
- 10944 Fitz-Geffrey, C. Sir Francis Drake, Oxford, 1596. HN. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 438. Bound with 17385.

The Lampport Hall-Britwell Court Books

- 11058 Fletcher, G. Christs Victorie, 1610. HD. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 295.
- 11158 Ford, J. Farnes Memoriall, 1606. ROSENBACH. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 301.
- 11339 Fraunce, A. The Countesse of Pembrokes Emanuel, 1591. C. H. PFORZHEIMER. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 295. Bound second with 11340 and 11341.
- 11340 — The Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch, 1591. C. H. PFORZHEIMER. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 295. Bound first with 11339 and 11341.
- 11341 — The Third Part of the . . . Yuychurch, 1592. C. H. PFORZHEIMER. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 295. Bound third with 11339 and 11340.
- 11480 Fulwood, W. The Enimie of Idlenesse, 1586. HN. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 298.
- 11638 Gascoigne, G. The Whole Woorkes, 1587. A. A. HOUGHTON, JR. Britwell Mar. 1925, no. 252—F. B. Bemis. [Gayton, E.] Chartae Scriptae, 1645. Untraced. Britwell Feb. 1910, no. 124.
- 12217 Greene, R. Arbasto, 1584. HN. Britwell Dec. 1919, no. 33. Leaves A3, and C3-4 are from the Charles Davies copy which was acquired in 1894 by British Museum. S.T.C. 12217 and 12218 are identical.
- 12244 [—] Greens Ghost, 1626. Untraced. The only copy in Britwell Library sold Mar. 1923, no. 325, now Rosenbach, apparently not Lampport copy.
- 12311 Greene, T. A Poet's Vision, 1603. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 339.
- 12367 Griffin, B. Fidessa, 1596. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 109. Bound second with 4268, 1484, and 24097.
- 12504 [Guilpin, E.] Skialetheia, 1598. FOLG. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 344—W. A. White. The British Museum acquired in 1894 the Sotheby May 1846—Britwell duplicate.
- 12606 Hake, E. Newes out of Powles Churchyarde [1579]. HN. Britwell Dec. 1919, no. 53. The British Museum acquired in 1894 the Freeling-Britwell duplicate.
- 12716 Hall, J. Virgidemiarum (Pt. II), 1598. C. H. PFORZHEIMER. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 349. Bound with 12717.
- 12717 — Virgidemiarum (Pt. I), 1598. C. H. PFORZHEIMER. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 349. Bound with 12716.
- 12751 Har., W. Epicedium, 1594. FOLG. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 73. The British Museum acquired in 1894 the B.A.P.-Sykes-Heber-Britwell duplicate.

The Lamport Hall-Britwell Court Books

- 14029 Hutton, L. *The Blacke Dogge of Newgate* [1596?]. HN. Britwell Mar. 1924, no. 443. Imperfect.
- 14071 I., W. *The Whipping of the Satyre*, 1601. HN. Britwell Dec. 1919, Lot 107. Bound first with 25351 and 3672. S.T.C. 14071 repeated as 25352.
- 14784 Jonson, B. *Ionsonus Virbius*, 1638. Untraced. There were three copies in the Britwell sales but it could not have been one of them, for that sold Mar. 1921, no. 114, is now Folger (Harmsworth) and bears on verso of title the stamp of the Charterhouse Library; while the other two copies (Feb. 1922, no. 399 and Mar. 1923, no. 386) are described as being in the Britwell Library before 1868 in a privately printed catalogue of the poetry in the library.
- 15686 Ling, N. *Politeuphuia*, 1598. C. H. PFORZHEIMER. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 65.
- 16589 The CL. *Psalmes*, 1602. FOLG. Britwell May 1920, no. 391—Harmsworth.
- 16658 Lodge, T. *A Fig for Momus*, 1595. C. H. PFORZHEIMER. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 440.
- 16674 — *Scillaes Metamorphosis*, 1589. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 436.
- 16696 Lok, H. *Ecclesiastes*, 1597. Untraced. Britwell 24 Feb. 1910, no. 136. An imperfect copy, bought by Dobell.
- 17091 Lynche, R. *Diella*, 1596. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 426.
- 17133 M., E. *Humors Antique Faces*, 1605. FOLG. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 497.
- 17143 M., Jo. *Phillippes Venus*, 1591. FOLG. Britwell June 1920, no. 198.
- 17253 Mandeville, Sir J. *Voyages and Trauailles*, 1627. FOLG. Britwell June 1919, no. 534—Harmsworth.
- 17385 Markham, G. *The most Honorable Tragedie*, 1595. HN. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 438. Bound with 10944.
- 17414 Marlowe, C. *Hero and Leandr*, 1598. HN. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 129. Bound third with 4990 and 4985. Unique; compare reproduction of title in *Britwell Catalogue* and Garnett, *Three Hundred Notable Books*, p. 42, also see Hazlitt, p. 695.
- 17414+ — *Hero and Leander*, 1598. L. Acquired 1894. Bound with 21535 and 21536. Unique. See note on 17414.
- 17454 Marprelate, M. *O Read Ouer* [1588]. QUARITCH. Britwell May 1920, no. 323.
- 17457 — *Theses Martinianæ*, [1589]. QUARITCH. Britwell May 1920, no. 317.

The Lamport Hall-Britwell Court Books

- 17547 Mary, B. V. The Song of Mary the Mother of Christ, 1601. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 621.
- 17569 Marie Magdalens Lamentations, 1601. ROSENBACH. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 462.
- 17875 M[iddleton], T. The Blacke Booke, 1604. N.Y.P.L. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 485—G. Arents.
- Milton, J. Paradise Lost, 1667. A. A. HOUGHTON, JR. Britwell Dec. 1919, no. 60—Seth Terry.
- Paradise Regain'd, 1671. A. A. HOUGHTON, JR. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 479—Seth Terry.
- 18369 Nash, T. Haue with You, 1596. C. H. PFORZHEIMER. Britwell Dec. 1919, no. 66.
- [Neville, H.] Newes from the New Exchange, 1650. HN. Britwell Mar. 1926, no. 394.
- Nevizanus, J. Silva Nuptialis, Paris, 1521. Untraced. Britwell 10 June 1917, Lot 776.
- 18511 Newton, T. Atropoion Delion, 1603. QUARITCH. Britwell Dec. 1919, no. 68.
- 18546 Nicholson, S. Acolastus His Afterwitte, 1600. HN. Britwell Mar. 1921, no. 180. The British Museum acquired 1894 the Luttrell-Farmer-Steevens-Bindley-Hibbert-Bright-Britwell duplicate.
- 18583 Nixon, A. The Christian Navy, 1602. FOLG. Britwell Dec. 1919, no. 69—Harmsworth.
- 18755 O., I. The Lamentation of Troy, 1594. HN. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 501. The British Museum acquired in 1894 the Caldecott-Britwell duplicate.
- 18943 Ovidius Naso, P. The Heroycall Epistles, [c. 1584]. ROSENBACH. Britwell Mar. 1921, no. 195—R. B. Adam—R. Isham.
- 19338 Parry, R. Sinetes Passions, 1597. HN. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 529. Unique.
- 19805 Petowe, H. Elizabetha Quasi Viuens, 1603. D. F. HYDE. Britwell Dec. 1919, no. 77.
- 19808 — Philochasander and Elanira, 1599. L. Acquired in 1894.
- 19876 Phillips, J. Vt Hora, sic Fugit Vita, 1591. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 540. Unique.
- 19975 Plato. Platoes Cap. 1604. HN. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 540. The British Museum acquired 1894 an imperfect Britwell duplicate. According to Hazlitt, the title was in Bagford Collection, query now placed in British Museum copy.
- 20169 Powell, T. Vertues Due, 1603. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 546. Unique.

The Lampport Hall-Britwell Court Books

- 20992 Rich, B. *A New Description of Ireland*, 1610. Untraced. Not located in Britwell sales. The Britwell (Reed-Heber) copy now Folger.
- 21120 Robinson, R. *The Reward of Wickednesse*, [1574]. FOLG. Britwell Mar. 1921, no. 259—Harmsworth.
- 21206 Rogers, R. *A Garden of Spirituall Flowers*, 1610. FOLG. Britwell May 1920, no. 409—Harmsworth. Unique.
- 21225 Rogers, T., of Bryanston. *Celestiall Elegies*, 1598. HN. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 571. Unique.
- 21364 Rowlands, S. *Aue Caesar*, 1603. HN. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 558.
- 21534 Sabie, F. *Adams Complaint*, 1596. HN. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 584. The British Museum received in 1894 the Luttrell-Bindley-Heber-Britwell duplicate.
- 21535 — *The Fishermans Tale*, 1595. L. Acquired 1894. Bound with 17414+ and 21536.
- 21536 — *Flora's Fortune*, 1595. L. Acquired 1894. Bound with 17414+ and 21535.
- 21537 — *Pans Pipe*, 1595. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 596. Really only Pt. I of volume which should contain 21537, 21535 and 21536. The title of 21535 is bound with this copy.
- 21616 Salesbury, W. *A Dictionary*, 1547. CARDIFF PUBLIC LIBRARY. Britwell Mar. 1924, no. 677.
- 22137 Seager, F. *The Schoole of Vertue*, 1593. HN. Britwell Mar. 1923, no. 595. Unique.
- 22342 Shakespeare, W. *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 1599. HN. Britwell Dec. 1919, no. 85. Bound with 22358 and 6350.
- 22358 — *Venus and Adonis*, 1599. HN. Britwell Dec. 1919, no. 85. Bound with 22342 and 6350. Unique.
- 22426 Sherley, Sir A. *Witts New Dyal*, 1604. HN. Britwell Mar. 1921, no. 269.
- 22949 Southwell, R. *A Foure-Fould Meditation*, 1606. L. Acquired 1894. A fragment only.
- 23078 Spenser, E. *Complaints*, 1591. Untraced. The Britwell Library already contained the uncut Heber copy bound uniformly with the Britwell Spensers. The Lampport copy does not occur in the Britwell duplicate sales. The Folger Library has a copy bound by Pratt without Christie Miller arms which might be the Lampport copy.
- 23579 Sylvester, J. *Monodia* (Pt. I), [1594]. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 647.

The Lampport Hall-Britwell Court Books

- 23687+ Tarlton, R. Tarletons Tragicall Treatises, 1578. FOLG. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 649, a fragment, 8 ll.
- 23695 Tasso, T. The Lamentations of Amyntas, 1596. L. Acquired 1894.
- 24050 Throckmorton, F. A Discouerie of the Treasons, 1584. Untraced. Britwell Feb. 1910, no. 117.
- 24079 Timberlake, H. A True and Strange Discourse, 1603. FOLG. Britwell June 1919, no. 807—Harmsworth.
- 24097 Tofte, R. Laura, 1597. HN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 109. Bound third with 4268, 12367, and 1484. British Museum received other Lampport copy.
- 24152 Tourneur, C. The Transformed Metamorphosis, 1600. L. Acquired in 1894. Unique.
- 24345 Turner, R. The Garland of a Greene Witte, [1595?]. HN. Britwell Mar. 1921, no. 314. Unique.
- 24800 Virgilius Maro, P. The Nynne Fyrst Bookes, 1562. CHAPIN. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 690—H. V. Jones.
- 24918 W., T., Gent. The Lamentation of Melpomene, 1603. HN. Britwell Mar. 1921, no. 317. Unique.
- 25082a Warner, W. Albions England, 1597. Untraced. Not in Britwell sales.
- 25226 Weever, J. The Mirror of Martyrs, 1601. FOLG. Britwell Feb. 1922, no. 703.
- 25351 The Whipper of the Satyre, 1601. HN. Britwell Dec. 1919, no. 107. Bound second with 14071 and 3672. The British Museum acquired in 1894 the Britwell duplicate.
- 26014 [Wrednot, W.] Palladis Palatium, 1604. HN. Britwell Mar. 1924, no. 849. Unique.

THE FOLGER *SECRET OF SECRETS*, 1572

By THOMAS P. HARRISON, JR.

For students of Lydgate, Gower, or Hoccleve the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum* is a work of first importance. Whereas the fifteenth century generally abounds in translation, paraphrase, and imitation, after 1500 direct interest in this famous treatise dwindled to an occasional rendering of passages in English verse or prose.¹ The discovery, therefore, in the Folger Shakespeare Library of a copy of an edition² not listed in the *S.T.C.* and heretofore undescribed invites a reëxamination of the importance of the *Secret of Secrets* in Elizabethan thought. The present purpose is first to describe the unique Folger copy, then to illustrate the continuity of its ideas and occasionally direct acquaintance with the work.

The Folger book is a small octavo (13.2 x 7.8 cm.), black letter, with collation A-L⁴, lacking the last leaf, L₄, of the Table, which begins on L₃^r. Of the forty-three leaves thirty-nine, A₂-K₄, are numbered with Arabic numerals. The title, completely enclosed in a border of type ornaments, is as follows:

¶ THE SECRETE OF SE-/CRETES, CONTAINING THE/ most excellent and learned instructions/ of Aristotle the prince of Philosophers:/ vvhich he sent to the Emperour, King A-/lexander: very necessarye and profitable/

1 To the sixteenth century belong two editions, 1528 and 1572, of a single fairly complete prose translation, the subject of this paper. A short verse rendering in 1548 by William Forrest, *Pleasant Poesye of Princely Practice*, remained in MS. until recently (E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser., xxxii, 1927). Later two abridgments were published: *Ocia Imperialia, being Select Exercises of Philosophy, Policy, War, Government*, in *The Temple of Wisdom*, by John Heydon (1663); and *Aristotle's Secret of Secrets contracted: being the sum of his advice to Alexander the Great about the Preservation of Health and Government*, for H. Walwyn (1702). Invaluable for students of the *Secret* is the work of Robert Steele (*Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, Fasc. V (1920)—hereafter in this study referred to as *Bacon*). Other edd. by Steele are Lydgate and Burgh's *Secrees of old Philisoffres* (E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser., lxvi, 1894) and *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum* (E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser., lxxiv, 1898). A recent and useful ed. of a French translation is by Oliver A. Beckerlegge, *Le Secr   de Secrez by Pierre d'Abernun* (Anglo-Norman Text V, 1944).

2 Steele, *Bacon*, p. xxxiv, notes the date and adds, "Unknown edition, mentioned in 1702 ed." Beckerlegge, p. xxiii, states that "nobody has been able to identify" the 1572 edition. Its existence has been known apparently only from an allusion to it in the 1702 edition. Here Walwyn states that "the English [edition] printed at London 1572 he [the translator] found to be out of Print" (The Bookseller to the Reader, p. iv).

The Folger Secret of Secrets, 1572

for all maner of estates and degrees./ With some instructions in the/ ende
of this booke, touching/ the iudgment of Phi-/sognomie./ [7 lines of verse
in black letter]

¶ IMPRINTED AT LON-/don by VV.VVilliamson for An-/thony Kit-
son, dwelling in/ Paules Churchyard at/ the signe of the/ Sunne./
(. .) 1572 [short rule].

The verso of the title-page is blank; the text begins on A2^r with “The prologue of a doctour, in recommendation of Aristotle, the prynce of philosophers.” After a series of epistles and another prologue, the first chapter begins, B2^r, “of the maner of kinges, as touching largesse.” The text ends on K4^r: “Thus endeth the abstract of the/secret of secretes of Aristotle/Prince of Phyloso-/phers” (type ornaments below).

On K4^v begins an addition which is not noted in the title: “Here followeth certayne reasons of/ the great Philosopher Sydrac to the King/Boctus, which I haue translated/out of the Pycardes speach,/ thinking it necessary/in this sayde/treatise.” This afterthought comprises five pages—K4^v–L2^v—of excerpts from the *Roman de Sydrac* or *La fontaine de toutes sciences*, a work in many respects similar to the Aristotelian *Secretum*.

The other prose edition of the *Secret* is that translated by Robert Copland and printed by him in 1528;³ and here, too, appear the *Sydrac* passages. This translation, it emerges, is from beginning to end identical with the Folger issue, which, then, is simply Anthony Kitson’s reprint with revised spelling of Copland’s direct translation.⁴ This, it will be

3 The unique Copland work, in the Cambridge University Library (Sayle, *Early English Printed Books in the University Library, Cambridge* (1900), no. 339), has been examined in microfilm. Often noticed by bibliographers, the book has never been described. It is in 4^{to} (A–I⁴, A1 lacking) and, excepting E2 and I3, is fully signed. Table, A2^r and A2^v. After the prologues and epistles, A3^r–B2^r, the text proper begins, B2^r, and ends, I1^v. The excerpts from *Sydrac* begin, I1^v, and end, I3^v. Then follows “Lenvoy and excuse,” I3^v–I4^r, comprising five stanzas of 7-line verse with a “Dytee du translateur” (saying of the French translator):

Tost ou tard pres ou loing
A le fort du foible besoing

I4^v contains the colophon: “Thus endeth the secrete of secretes of Arystotle w the gouernale of prynces and every maner of estate with rules of helthe for body and soule. . . . Newly translated & enprynted by Robert Copland at Londō in the flete strete . . . MCCCCXXVIII. the VII day of August . . .”

4 Anthony Kitson, London bookseller (1549–79) and member of the Drapers’ Company, issued only eight books; the *Secret of Secrets* is not listed. An almanac is the only

seen, probably was made from two French manuscripts, one containing the *Secretum Secretorum*, the other the *Roman de Sydrac*.

A comparison of texts shows that Copland employed the same French version as that used for the shortened English manuscript translation (ca. 1460) known as B. M. 18 A vii, now accessible in Steele's edition of *Three Prose Versions*.⁵ This French version is represented in B. M. Harleian 219⁶ and was printed in similarly shortened form by Anthoine Verard, Paris, 1497.⁷ Comparison of Verard with Copland and with the 1460 version discloses no marked discrepancy, as later illustrations will confirm. Difference in diction proves that Copland worked from the French independent of the 1460 translator, who, however, patently used the same French version.

Although the *Secretum* reflects Greek thought, no Greek original exists nor is thought ever to have existed despite the assertion to the contrary in the prologue to the work. Steele believes that "it had its origin in the interaction between Persian and Syriac ideas which took place in the seventh to the ninth centuries of our era."⁸ In short, the work probably existed first in a Syriac text of which nothing is known. From

book printed for him by Williamson, printer and bookseller, 1571-4 (Ames-Herbert-Dibdin, *Typographical Antiquities* (1819), iv, 541, and McKerrow, *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers . . . 1557-1640* (1910), p. 165). Kitson "was several times in trouble with the Stationers' Company, who fined him for offenses against their rules" (E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade* (1905), p. 86); and hence there may be a connection in Kitson's revised issue of Copland shortly after the death in 1568 of William Copland, who took over the business after his kinsman's death.

5 It is printed as the first, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-39. The second is translated from a Latin source. The third, *The Gouvernauce of Prynces*, is James Yonge's translation (1422) of the French of Jofroi of Waterford (ca. 1290), important as the version used by John Gower, *Confessio* (ca. 1390) (cf. G. L. Hamilton, "Some Sources of the Seventh Book of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*," *M.P.*, ix (1911), 323-46).

6 Cf. Steele, *Bacon*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii. It is cited also in connection with the work of Lydgate (ca. 1440) and Hoccleve (ca. 1412). "I am disposed to think that he [Lydgate] either used a poor Latin text alone, or that if he used a French one, he referred to the Latin as well. The French text in Harleian 219, is the sort of copy that would have been placed at Lydgate's disposal" (Steele, *Lydgate and Burgh*, p. xv). In his *Regement of Princes* (ca. 1412) Hoccleve is believed to have used the Latin text from which derives first the MSS. Harleian 219, then the English 1460 version (A. H. Gilbert, "Notes on the Influence of the *Secretum Secretorum*," *Speculum*, iii (1928), 93 ff.).

7 The copy of this work, in the Morgan Library in New York, contains the *Gouvernement des princes* (to fol. 22^r) and, separately, *le trésor de noblesse* and *les fleurs de Valere le grand*.

8 *Bacon*, p. x.

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this, according to full versions of the work, it was turned into Arabic by Yuhanna ibn el-Batrik (or Ibn Yahya al-Batrik) or Johannes filius Patricii, or John Avendeath, a converted Jew and a well-known translator (d. 815). This short text, which Steele calls the Western Arabic, was translated into Latin by one John of Spain or Johannes Hispalensis during the twelfth century.

A longer Arabic version, the Eastern, was translated (*ca.* 1220) into Latin by Philip, a clerk in the service of Archbishop Guido de Vere, member of an Anglo-Norman family living in Lincolnshire.⁹ His longer translation from the second Arabic text makes use of the text of Hispalensis; and later revision further removes the distinctions between the two original Arabic texts. Philip's revised Latin text was that known to Roger Bacon, who further rearranged, revised, and annotated it *ca.* 1257.¹⁰

Some confusion appears in the prologue of the shortened Latin and French texts and hence of the English translations under discussion. In these the dedication of Philip to his patron, Guido de Vere, is altogether omitted. They begin with the prologue of the Arabic translation containing current traditions about Aristotle,¹¹ namely, "the prologue of a Doctour, in recommendation of Aristotle" (A2-3 in the Folger copy). This is followed by the two epistles—Alexander to Aristotle, and Aristotle to Alexander (A3^r-A3^v). Then appears "the prologue of a doctour named Philip that translated this boke into latine" (A4), the text then stating that Philip was "a chylde of Parys." Philip of Tripoli, whose initial dedication is omitted, was probably a native of Paris; but here, as Steele notes in connection with the similar error of Lydgate, Philip is confused with the Arabic translator Yuhanna ibn el-Batrik,

9 Cf. Charles H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* (1924), pp. 137-40, and Beckerlegge, *op. cit.*, p. xx.

10 Steele (*Bacon*, pp. xxx-xxxvii) describes 9 French MSS. and 14 printed French texts, 1484-1540; 13 printed Latin texts, 1477-1505; and innumerable texts in Dutch, German, Italian, and Spanish. The 7 English MSS. do not include that by John Metham, 1448 (*Works*, ed. Hardin Craig, E.E.T.S., 1916, Old Ser., 132). Metham cites his authority, "the Pryuyte off Phylosophyr, the qwyche was made be the excellent philysofhyr Arystoty!" (Craig, p. 118).

11 One states that he ascended to heaven "in likenesse of a Doue of fyre." Steele (*Lydgate*, note for l. 98) states that the Latin of the fuller texts is *columpna*—a column, corrupted in some MSS. into *columba* and in French *columbe*—a dove.

filius Patricii; "Paris" is arrived at from the erroneous form *filius Parisii*.¹² In other words, an original Latin copy, omitting Philip's dedication, retained his name in the heading, where it became confused with that of the Arabic John. This prologue relates his discovery of the book in the Temple of the Sun built by Esculapius (Hermes) and his subsequent translation of the Greek into Syriac (Caldee) and thence into Arabic.

With the long "epistle sent to king Alexander by Aristotle" (A4^v-B2^r) the treatise proper begins as "the man of the study takes upon himself the task of telling the man of affairs what he should do."¹³ Aristotle now consents to disclose esoteric doctrines which he reserved for his most intimate disciples.

And the cause why I haue opened and related my secretes figuratiuely, and somewhat darcely [he states in the 1572 text], is that I doubt and feare much that this booke sholde come into the handes of infect persons, and in the power of arrogant and euill folkes, which might know the secretes of God: and God knoweth well that they be not worthy . . . and if thou discouer these secretes, thou shalt haue shortly euill fortunes, . . . (B1^r)

Like the *Sydrac*, the *Secret of Secrets* is encyclopedic in range.¹⁴ Written professedly for a king, it explores not only every phase of a king's relationship to his subjects—including, it will be noted, scholars—but, in chapters like those on Justice and Truth, all the private virtues. A second major theme is health and the ways to maintain it, with

¹² Cf. *Lydgate and Burgh*, p. 89.

¹³ Steele, *Bacon*, p. ix.

¹⁴ The 59 chapter headings are as follows: on largess; largess and avarice, and other vices; virtues and vices and Aristotle's doctrine; understanding; the final intention that a king ought to have; evils that follow fleshly desire; a king's wisdom and ordinance; worthiness, religion, and holiness; purveyance; vestments; countenance; justice; worldly desires; chastity; sporting, discretion; reverence; how a king ought to remember his subjects; his mercy; pains and punishments; knowledge of the said pains; how a king ought to keep his faith and oath; study; how a king ought to keep his body; the difference of astronomy; the governance of health; the governance of sick people; in how many manners a man may keep his health; of divers meats for the stomach; an epistle of great value; the manner to travel; abstinence of meat; how pure water ought not to be drunk; the manner to sleep; the keeping of custom or wont; how one ought to change custom; the four seasons of the year; prime-time; summer; autumn or harvest; winter; natural heat; things that fatten the body; things that lean the body; the first part of the body; the second part; the third part; the fourth part; natural heat; the qualities of meat; the nature of fish; the nature of waters; the nature of wine; goodness and harm that come of wine; the form of justice; king's secretaries; king's messengers; governance of the people; physiognomy of the people.

an exposition of physiology; and the treatise on physiognomy, a branch of astrology, helped a man to choose friends wisely and avoid enemies. The pervasive doctrine of moderation is voiced at the outset, "Of the maner of kinges, as touching largesse" (B2^v):

. . . It is euident that the qualities be to be reprooued whē they go from the meane, and be auaricious, foolishe liberall: But if thou wilt enquire or seeke largesse, regarde and consider thy power, and the time of the necessitie, and the merites of men: and then thou oughtest to geue as thy power wyll (by measure) to them that haue neede, and be worthy of it: for he that geueth otherwise, he breaketh the rule of largesse, and sinneth. And he that geueth his goodes to him that hath no neede, he getteth no thanks: and all that hee geueth to them that bee not worthy, is lost. And he that spendeth his goodes outrageously, shall soone come to the wylde brimmes of pouertie, and is lyke hym that geueth victorie to his enemies over hym.

"Of studie" touches upon the proper relationship of wealth and scholarship (D4^v):

Take heede that thou haue studyes and scoles in thy cities, and cause al thy people to learne their children letters, and noble sciences, and use them to studie. For thou oughtest to helpe and succour the gouernayle of studients and poore scollers. And giue auantages and prerogatiues to good studients that profite to their learnyng: and this wyse thou shalt geue example to them that be laye, exalt their prayers, and receaue their writyng meekely, praise them that ought to be worshipped. Geue thy goodes to them that be worthy. Cherishe clarkes, and styrrer them to praise thee, and put thee and thy workes in goodly writynges, which by them shalbe perpetually praysed.

"How a king ought to kepe his body" includes the famous story of the poisoned maid (Er^v):

And thinke on deare sonne, that when thou wast in the parties of Inde, manye people made to thee great presentes and faire. Among the which was sent a faire mayden, which in her childehood had ben nourished with venyme of Serpentes, whereby her nature was conuerted into the nature of Serpentes. And than, if I had not wisely beholden her, and by my artes and wyt knownen her, because that continuallye, and without shamesfastnes, euer she loked in the faces of the people. I perceaued that with once bityng she woulde haue put a man to death, as sithens thou hast seene the experience before thee: and if I had not knownen her nature, at the first tyme that thou hadst medled with the sayd mayden, thou hadst been dead without remedie.¹⁵

15 In the *Gesta Romanorum* (chap. x) this story is moralized, and in almost every treatise on poisons, from Avicenna to Sir Thomas Browne, it is a stock question for argu-

As with such Elizabethans as Edmund Spenser, Justice is regarded as a cosmic principle (H₃^v):

O most discreete king, Iustice cannot be prayzed to much, for it is of merueylous sharpe nature, lyke to the most glorious God, and he ordayned it ouer hys Aungels, ouer hys workes, and ouer all realmes: and thou ought to keepe iustice, . . . For by maynteyning of iustice he foloweth God, . . . By iustice the earth was made, and kings ordained to keepe and maintayne iustice, for it maketh subiectes meeke and obedient, prowde men lowly, and kepeth all persons in safe fro wronges and domages, and therefore they of Inde say, that the iustice of a goode Lorde is better to good subiects, then the plenteousnesse of the earth. And also they saye that the iust & reasonable Lord, is better than the rayne that falleth in the evening.

Later passages from the discourse "Of justice" suggest the essays of Francis Bacon (H₄^r):

Therefore, if thou hast any thing to do, aske counsell, for thou art but one man, & shewe not all the courage to thy counsellors, nor let them not know what is in thy wyll to doe, for if thou shewe thy minde at the beginning, thou shalt be disprayed: Than attemper thine heart, and thy will, but here counsel first, and manifest not that, that lyeth at thy heart, till thou come to put it in effect. Consider well the counsell of euery man, and which of them hath iudged thy matter and counceled the best for thee, and with the best loue that he hath towarde thee: and when thou hast thus recorded thy counsell, put thy minde in effect without delay, for the greatest destruction that may come to a King, is to be slow in hys works & to leese time.

So much, then, for the general tenor of the *Secret*. Turning now to the work of writers who directly acknowledge the *Secret of Secrets* as their authority, first consideration is due Roger Bacon, who regarded the *Secretum* not only as genuine but as the greatest of Aristotle's works. In his own writings, accordingly, he extensively quotes it, especially in the *De Retardatione Accidentium Senectutis*. Next to Avicenna, Aristotle is here most frequently quoted, and of the thirty-six quotations, twenty-five are from the *Secretum*. "It was," say Bacon's editors, "the most complete compilation on the subject then known."¹⁶ Twenty years after

ment. For full consideration cf. Wilhelm Hertz, "Die Sage vom Giftmädchen" (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen von W. Hertz*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1905), pp. 156-277.

¹⁶ A. G. Little and E. Withington, *De Retardatione Accidentium Senectutis cum aliis Opusculis de Rebus Medicinalibus* (*Opera Inedita Rogeri Baconi*, Fasc. IX (1928), p. xxxiv).

Bacon's death Arnold of Villanova copied the treatise and issued it under different title as his own. In 1540 Arnold's work was translated into English,¹⁷ and in 1590 Bacon's own text was issued at Oxford by John Williams and in the next century translated into English.¹⁸ This treatise provides a tangible link between the two Bacons, Roger and Francis, for despite slurring allusions to the work of his predecessor it is likely that Sir Francis was well acquainted with the earlier treatise on old age, if not also with other writings of Roger Bacon.¹⁹

Two centuries after Roger Bacon, Hoccleve freely versified passages from the *Secretum*.²⁰ Early in the poem *The Regement of Princes* (1411-2) he acknowledges his authority (st. 292-3), and side-notes throughout quote the corresponding Latin. The treatise is addressed to Prince Henry, and, as Dr. Furnivall writes, "We may well believe that Hoccleve's counsels to the young prince may have had some effect in turning him from his wild ways when he became king."²¹

Of the Hoccleve passages drawn from the *Secretum* two stanzas (347-8) are especially interesting. The poet is pointing out the necessity of a king's restraint in speaking to his subjects:²²

Bet is, þe peples erës thriste and yerne
Hir kyng or princes wordës for to here,
Than þat his tongë goo so faste & yerne
That mennës erës dul of his mateere;
ffor dullynge hem, dulleþ þe herte in fere
Of hem þat yeuën to him audience;
In mochil spechë wantiþ not offence. . . .

17 J. Drummond, *Defence of Age and Recovery of Youth* (1540).

18 Richard Browne, *The Cure of Old Age and Preservation of Youth by Roger Bacon a Franciscan Frier* (1683).

19 On means to prolong life cf. Francis Bacon, *De Augmentis scientiarum*, iv, 2, and *History Natural and Experimental of Life and Death, or of the Prolongation of Life*. In *The New Atlantis* he refers to Roger as "your Monke that was the Inventour of Ordnance, and of Gunpowder." Possibly also traceable to the earlier figure are Bacon's four idols and ideas about scientific research; cf. especially E. Withington, "Roger Bacon and Medicine" (*Roger Bacon Essays*, ed. A. G. Little, 1914), pp. 337-58; and Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (1923), ii, 681-2.

20 Cf. ed., F. J. Furnival (E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser., lxxii, 1897), and A. H. Gilbert, *op. cit.*

21 P. xiv.

22 Caxton's *Dictes and Sayenges of the Philosoffres* (1477), also drawing heavily from the *Secretum*, includes a similar passage (cf. Oliver A. Beckerlegge, "A Source of the *Dictes . . . the Secretum*," *Comparative Literature Studies*, ix (1943), 11-5.

The corresponding passage from the 1572 *Secret* offers significant comparison with Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV*, in which this same prince hears a similar lecture on kingship from his father. The parallels appear, not in the emphasis on silence, but in the added warning lacking in Hoccleve, that a king also should be chary of his presence before his subjects. The passage occurs in the chapter "Of the countenance of a king" (C2):

Sweete sonne Alexander, it is a goodlye thing, precious and honourable, when the king speaketh but little, but if ouer great neede require it. It is better that the eares of the people be wyllyng to heare the wordes of a king, than to be weery of his too much speakyng. For whan the eares be glutted with the kings speache, their hartes be weery to see him.²³ And also the king ought not to shewe him selfe to often to his people, nor haunt to much the company of his subiectes, and specially of vilaynes. And therefore the Indians have a good custome in the ordinaūce of their realme. For their maner is, that their king sheweth him selfe but once in the yere. And than hee is clothed in vesture royall, & all the Barons and Knightes of his realme bee richly armed and arayed about him, and hee is set vpon a steede, the scepter in his hande, armed with rich armoures royals, and all his people a good way before the Barons and other noble men, and there they shewe the diuers peryls & aduentures that be passed. . . .

Lacking the explicit admonition not to talk too much, still the harangue of Shakespeare's *Henry IV* to the Prince offers a striking parallel (*1 Henry IV*, III, ii, 39-59):

Had I so lavish of my presence been
So common-hackney'd in the eyes of men,
So stale and cheap to vulgar company,
Opinion, that did help me to the crown,
Had still kept loyal to possession, . . .
By being seldom seen, I could not stir
But like a comet I was wonder'd at; . . .

23 Verard, 1497, reads: "Alexandre cher filz, cest belle chose precieuse et hōnorable quāt roy parle peu & iamaiz ne doit trop parler se grāde necessite ne len cōtraint, il est meilleur que les oreilles des gens soient ardās descouter la parolle du roy quel les feussent saoullies ēnuies descouter le roy par son trop parler cor quāt les oreilles sont saoullies descouter le roy les cueurs sont ennuies de le veoir."

Copland's text (C2¹-C2²): "Swete sone Alexander it a goodly thyng precyous and honourable whā y° kynge speketh but lytell. But yf ouer grete nede requyre it. It is better y° y° eeres of y° people be wyllyng to here y° wordes of a kynge thā to be wery of his to moche spekyng. For whā y° eeres be glutted w^t the kynges speche theyr hertes be wery to se hym. And also y° kynge ought not to shewe hymselfe to often to his people (nor haunt to moche y° cōpanye of his subiectes . . .)"

Thus did I keep my person fresh and new:
My presence, like a robe pontifical,
Ne'er seen but wonder'd at: and so my state,
Seldom but sumptuous, showed like a feast
And won by rareness such solemnity.
The skipping king, he ambled up and down
With shallow jesters and rash bavin wits, . . .
To laugh at gibing boys . . .
Grew a companion to the common streets, . . .
That, being daily swallow'd by men's eyes,
They surfeited with honey and began
To loathe the taste of sweetness, . . .
But rather drowsed and hung their eyelids down
Slept in his face and render'd such aspect
As cloudy men use to their adversaries
Being with his presence glutted, gorged, and full.

The details of these passages are identical: the king's "state, seldom but sumptuous" contrasted with his lavish presence in the common streets where men "drowsed and hung their eyelids down" with weariness. Finally it is noteworthy that Holinshed, from whom the historical outline of Shakespeare's play was drawn, merely notes that there was a conference between the king and his son. The New Variorum edition of the play includes a single comparable passage from North's *Plutarch*.²⁴ Accordingly, it is not improbable that Shakespeare had some acquaintance with the *Secret of Secrets*; if so, it was to the edition of 1572 that he turned.

Before turning to the *Sydrac*, the relation of the chapter on physiognomy to the popular *Kalendar and Compost of Shepherds* provides a final illustration of the importance of the *Secret of Secrets*. Recent editors of the *Kalendar* have drawn up significant accounts of sources²⁵

24 Cf. Craig's quotation from the *Life of Pericles* (ed. 1595, p. 170): "Pericles now to prevent that the people should not be glutted with seeing him too oft . . . neither came much abroad among them, but reserved himself . . . for matters of great importance" (New Var. ed., Samuel B. Hemingway, 1936, p. 363). The word *glutted*, appearing in all three passages under discussion, is used only this once by the poet.

25 H. O. Sommer (1892) and G. C. Heseltine (1931). Chief among sources are Anianus, *Magistri Aniani Compositus manualis metricus cum commento*; Jehan de Brie, *Le vrai régime et gouvernement des Bergers et Bergères—Le Bon Berger*; and *Medicina Stomachi*. This last was translated by Caxton and issued in 1491 with *The Gouvernaye of Helthe* (ed. Wm. Blades, 1858). Both pieces are drawn partly from the *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum*, the *Gouvernaye* reflecting also the *Secretum*.

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and editions,²⁶ but without noting Thomas Warton's observation that chapter 42, on physiognomy, comes mostly from the *Secretum*.²⁷

Although the chapter on physiognomy in the *Secret* is of complex origin,²⁸ the following analogues with the *Kalender* disclose an intimate relationship between the "iudgementes of mans body" and "Of the Phisiognomy of people," the concluding chapter (K1^r-K4^r) in the 1572 *Secret*.

Secret of Secrets

Beware of him as thine enimie, y^t is tokned in his face, & of him also that is mishapen.²⁹

If thou seest a man that smighteth [*sic*. Copland reads *smyleth*] lightly, and when thou beholdest him he wil looke shamefastely and will blush in his face, and sigh with teares in his

Shepardes Kalender

First we aduertise that one ought to beware of all persons that hath defeaute of members naturally, as of fote, hand, eye, or other member, and though he be but a creple, . . .

Shepardes saye that when a person beholdeth often as abashed, shamefaste, and fearefull, and that in beholdinge it seemeth that he sigheth, and he hath small droppes appearing

26 *The Kalendar & Compost of Shepherds*, from the original edition published by Guy Marchant, Paris, 1493, and translated into English in 1518 (1931). Especially interesting in connection with the present study is the fact that the 1493 edition was issued with the imprint of Anthoine Verard, entitled *Kalendrier des Bergiers*, and that the new translation of this, issued in 1518, was done probably by Robert Copland. This, according to Heseltine (p. 176) was reprinted in 1560, 1580(?), 1604, 1611, 1618, and 1658. Sommer (1892) reprints Verard's Paris edition of 1503, in Scottish dialect, and Pynson's 1506 edition. No collations have been attempted, but no major discrepancies appear.

27 *History of English Poetry* (1824), iii, 31. The Table clearly states the source: "Here foloweth the iudgementes of the mans face and body, as Aristotel wrote to kyng Alysandre the condicions of man, and the properties in the vysages of man, . . . Cap. xliii" (error for xliu, as in text)—*The Shepardes Kalender, newly augmented and corrected*, by Thomas Este, for John Wally (ca. 1570). This edition, which seems not to differ materially from others of the century, is that quoted subsequently.

28 Aldebrandin of Florence's *Régime du Corps* (1256) and his original of the tenth century, Rhazes' *ad Almansorem*, are named by Steele (*Bacon*, p. lxiii). Jofroi of Waterford incorporates not only Philip's text on physiognomy but a thirteenth-century treatise translated from Bartholomew of Messina (cf. G. L. Hamilton, "The Sources of the 'Secret of Secrets' of Jofroi de Waterford," *Romantic Review*, i (1910), 259-64). The *Phisionomia* of Michael Scot, written at the request of Frederick II, derives from the *Secretum* (cf. Thorndike, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-78).

29 Verard, 1497: "Garde toy comme de ton ennemy de celluy qui nest pas acompli de tous ses mēbres & qui est seigne ou marque en visaige & de celui qui est mal forme."

eies, if thou blame him for any thing, surely he feareth thee, & loueth thy person.³⁰

Bygge eyes betokeneth to be enuious, vnshamefast, slowe, and vnobedient. Eies meane betweene blacke and yelow, is of good vnderstanding, curteous, and trustie [*sic*], wyde retching eyes, and a long face, betokeneth a man malicious, and yll.

He that speaketh lightly, lyeth often, and is a deceyuer. And hee that speaketh without mouing of hys handes, is of great wisdom and honestie. . . . He that hath long armes retchyng to the knees, is of great boldnesse, sadnesse, and liberalitye. . . .

Long palmed handes with long fingers, is ordeyned to learne many sciences and arts, and specially handie craftes, and be of good gouernaunce.

Short thicke feete and fleshie, betoken to be foolyshe, and full of iniury. A litle light foote, is a mā of smal vnderstāding. . . . A man that goeth a great pace, is willing in all thinges, and to hasty.

in his eyen, then it is for certayn that such persons loueth and desirerth the welth of them that they beholde.

A person with great eyes is slothfull, vnshameful, inobedient, and weneth to know more then he doth, but when the eyen be meane, not to bygge nor to small, and that they be not to blacke nor to greene, such a man is of great vnderstanding, curteyse, faithfull & trusty. A person that is blere eyed, goggeled, and squint, signifieth malice, vengeance, cautel, and treason.

A softe voyce signifieth a person full of enuy, of suspicion, and leasinges. . . . A person that speaketh attemperately withoute mouinge is of perfyte vnderstandinge, of good condycion, and of good counsell. . . . When the armes byn so long that they may stretch to the ioynt of the knee, it is a token of prowesse, largesse, trueth, honoure, good wytte and vnderstandynge. . . . Longe handes and sclender fingers signifieth subtilitie, and a person that hath desyre to knowe dyuers thinges.

The fote thicke & full of flesh signifieth a person outragious, vygorious, and of lyttle wytte. Small feete and lyght, signifieth hardenesse of vnderstanding, and lyttle trouthe. . . . A person that goeth a great pace is greate of harte and dyspytefull.

30 Ed. 1460: "And thou se a man that is glad laughyng, and whan he lokith on the is dredy and ashamyd, and his visage waxith reed and sigheth, and the teares fallen in his eyene whan thou blamyst him, wite welle that he doutith and louith moche thi persone."

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Like the 1460 version, the 1572 text concludes with a long sentence summarizing the ideal physiognomy.³¹ The *Kalender*, on the contrary, follows at this point the conclusion of the 1460 chapter on Justice, "Of the forme and maner of rightwisnes," which corresponds with the Verard text in omitting the qualities of the ideal officer and substituting a detailed comparison of man with animals:³²

Secret of Secrets (1460)

God made man, dere sone, creature reasonable, and he made neuyr in beste oþir than is founden in man. ffor a man is hardy as a lyone, fferd as an hare, skars as an hound, harde and sharpe as Rauene or Crowe. Meek as a turtile, dispitous as lyon-esse, chaste as a dowue. Malicious and angry as a ffox, lowe as a lambe, light as a Goat, and lyk to a Got in many condicions, heuy and slowe as a bere, precious and dere as an Olyfaunt, ffool and rude as an asse. Rebelle as a litille kyng, obeyshaunt as a pecok, gret speker without profit. Profitable as a bee, vnbounden as a boore, strong as a bole. Smytyng bihynde as a mule. Reasonabile and chast as aungille, lecherous as swyne, fflowle as an Owle. ffayrist of alle creaturis, and shortly to say that ther is no condicioun in best, ne in planet of heuene, ne in erthe that it ne is founden in man, and therfore the

Shepardes Kalender

And they say that God ne formed creture for to inhabite the world, wyser then man, for there is no condition ne maner in a beaste, but that it is founde comprehended in man. Naturally a man is hardy as the Lyon, true and worthy as the Oxe, large and liberall as the Cock, auaricious as the Dog, hard and aspre as the Hart, debonayre & true as the Turtle, malycious as the Leopard, preuy and tame as the Doue, dolerous and guilefull as the Foxe, simple and debonayre as the lambe, shrewde as the ape, light as the horse, soft and piteable as the Beare, dere and precious as the Oliphant, good & holesome as the Vnicorne, vyle & slouthfull as the Asse, fayre and proude as the Peacocke, glotonous as the Wolfe, enuyous as the Bytch, debel & inobedient as the Nightingale, humble as the Pygeon, fel and folish as the Oystrich profytable as the

31 "Also deere sonne, thou ought to cherishe the officer that loueth, and mooueth thy subiects to loue thee, . . . and that hath these properties folowing: that is to witte, that he be perfite in his lummes for to trauallye in his office that hee is chosen to: that hee be courteous, lowly, and eloquent, . . . y^e he be not full of words, nor a great laughier, that none be refused cōming to his house and that he be dilligent to heare and enquire of newes and tydings, that hee comfort the subiects, and correcteth theyr workes, and helpe them in theyr aduersities" (I2^v-I3^r).

32 As the compost of the *Kalender* is that of Ptolemy, which comprises much physiognomy, editions of the earlier work include this comparison; cf., e.g., the *Compost of the Ptholomaeus* (n.d.), printed by Robert Wyer.

philosofre callith man the litlle world.

Pysmare, dyssolute and vagabunde as the Gote, spytefull as the Fesaunt. Soft and meke as the Chekin. Movable and varying as the Fish. Lecherous as the Bore. Stronge, and puisant as the Camell, Traytor as the Mule. Aduised as the Mouse. Reasonable as an aungell. And therefore he is called the litte world, for he participeth of all, or he is called all creatures, for as it is sayd he participeth and hath condicion of all creatures.

Obviously, therefore, this commonplace comparison of men with beasts, belonging, not to Physiognomy but to Justice, found its way into the *Kalender* via the version of the *Secretum* followed by Verard and the author of the 1460 text;³³ the later 1572 reprint, after Copland, omits it.

In conclusion, it should be remembered that the physiognomy of the *Kalender* exemplifies the composite nature of the entire treatise. But, as the *Secret* is cited as an authority in the *Kalender*, the foregoing parallels show something of the quality of the debt.

The history of the French *Roman de Sydrac* as well as examination of its origins and content establishes the work as a companion piece of the *Secretum Secretorum*, with which it is linked in the English edition under discussion.

The first edition of *Sydrac* was issued in 1486 by Verard, its alternative title *La fontaine de toutes sciences du philosophe Sydrack*;³⁴ and a comparison of the five excerpts in the 1572 *Secret* with the corresponding passages widely dispersed³⁵ in Verard discloses no marked disparities.

33 Variations in the passage appear in Roger Bacon's text; see Steele, p. 143, and translation, p. 239, where it appears in Discourse IV, "On Ministers," which follows "On the Form of Justice." In many MSS. Physiognomy appears before Justice (Steele, p. xxvi).

34 Examined in the Morgan Library, which possesses also Verard's *Gouvernement des Princes* (1497).

35 The 1572 text includes: (1) "How one ought to utter his speache," (2) "The maner of anger," (3) "To utter secrets," (4) "How thou oughtest to sport with thy friende," and (5) "The maner to doubt and trust thine enemye." These are Sydrac's replies to questions from King Boctus, and in every edition these are numbered. Including a modern edition by Adolfo Bartoli (*Il Libro di Sidrach*, Bologna, 1868), the English paragraphs correspond as follows: (1) Verard 557, Bartoli 351; (2) Verard 524, Bartoli 318; (3) Verard 361-2, Bartoli 246; (4) Verard 516, Bartoli 309; (5) Verard 516, Bartoli 308.

Some fifteen MSS. of Sydrac, which exist chiefly in French, are in the British Museum and elsewhere in England; in France there were four editions before 1528, and four in the Netherlands.³⁶ In England only one full translation antedates 1528, the year of Copland's *Secret*.³⁷ With his interest in Verard's Paris books, Copland probably used Verard's first edition. The question can be answered less positively because manuscripts and editions of this work differ chiefly in the number of questions and in the fullness of the answers, unlike the *Secretum*, where revision meant not only abridgment but accretions from various other sources.

Similarities with the *Secret of Secrets* emerge from the confused prologues. From the fictions contained in the first prologue of *Sydrac*, the following history is gathered.

Sydrac (a variant of the Biblical Shadrach), astronomer of King Tractobar, descendant of Japhet, lived 847 years after the death of Noah, whose book of astronomy he possessed. Having divine knowl-

36 Cf. H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (1883), 1, 903 ff.; Ernest Renan and Gaston Paris, "La Fontaine de Toutes Sciences du Philosophe Sydrach," *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, xxxi (1893), pp. 285-318; Karl D. Bulbring, "Sidrac in England," *Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie*, Festgabe für W. Forster (Halle, 1902), pp. 443-78; Wm. E. A. Axon, "On a Fourteenth Century French Fragment of the Book of Sidrach with a Note on the Bibliography of the Work," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2nd Ser., xxx, pt. 4 (1911), pp. 189-204; and Charles V. Langlois, *La connaissance de la nature et du monde (La vie en France en moyen âge)* (Paris, 1925-8), iii (1927), "Le Roman de Sidrac," pp. 198-275.

37 *The Historie of King Bocchus and Sydrack* (1510), in the minstrel metre by Hugh Campeden, who is said to have lived during the preceding century. The work, in four books, comprises a total of 22,250 lines (cf. Ward, *op. cit.*). Lengthy excerpts are reprinted by Thomas Corser, *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica* (1861), Pt. II, p. 289 ff. Three prose extracts of uncertain date and origin were issued ca. 1528-35: *Boke of Demaundes of the science of Philosophie, and Astronomie, Betweene Kynge Boctus, and the Philosopher Sydracke*, London, Robert Wyer, 8vo., n.d.; *Certaine Questyons of Kynge Boctus of the maners, tokyns and condicions of man, with the answeres made to the same by the Philosopher Sydrac*, London, Robert Wyer, 12mo., n.d.; and *A Booke of Medicines of king Bocchus*, London, Robert Redman, 4to, n.d. (cf. Bulbring, *op. cit.*, p. 473; Henry R. Plomer, *Robert Wyer, Printer and Bookseller* (1897); and Wm. E. A. Axon, *op. cit.*). Of these abridgments only the *Boke of Demaundes* has been accessible (Huntington photostat). Here the last of 24 questions and answers, mostly scientific, is drawn, not from Sydrac, but from the *Secret of Secrets*. Boctus's question "of the goodness and harme that cometh of wyne" is answered incongruously by Sydracke: "Noble kyng Alexandre, forget not to take tart syropes in the morning, fastynge whan flumatyke humours abounde to moch. . . ."

edge of all mysteries and all sciences, including knowledge of the Trinity, orders of angels, etc., Sydrac converted King Boctus, who ruled Bactria or Boctorie, a province between Persia and India (*ca.* 1200 B.C.).³⁸ To Sydrac this king addressed many questions; these, with their answers, comprise the book of Sydrac. After Boctus's death the book passed to various persons: a learned Chaldean, King Madyan, Naaman the Syrian, and thence after Christ to one Archbishop Grypho, whose priest, Demetrius, brought the book to Spain. In Toledo it was turned from Greek into Latin, thence into Arabic for a learned king of Tunis. Generations later, the book was procured by Frederick II, Emperor of Germany and famous crusader, and by Roger of Palermo again translated into Latin.

At this point authentic history commences, for undoubtedly the book of Sydrac was produced at the court of Frederick. At his order the work, whatever its origin, was translated from Arabic into Latin around the year 1243. Finally, according to the prologue, it was brought a second time to Toledo by "Todre, le philosophe," or Theodore, Arabic secretary and astrologer to Frederick, and his clerk "iohan pieres de lyons."³⁹

Unlike the *Secretum*, however, *Sydrac*, unknown in Latin dress, is a disorderly performance, a hodgepodge of questions and answers⁴⁰ about every conceivable subject: angels, demons, heaven, earth, day, night, body, soul, beasts, birds, fish, loyalty, treason, eating, drinking, deaf, dumb, fool, wise, disputes, judgments, war, peace. The author was peculiarly interested in sex, and discussed women grossly and cynically. Although the extracts represented in the English texts show discrimination on the part of Copland, the translator, all in all, as it has been re-

38 For the detailed story of the conversion, cf. Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 903-04. Ward observes the analogues between *Sydrac* and the *Prophecies of Merlin*, professedly compiled at Frederick's court.

39 For Theodore cf. further Haskins, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-7. Jean Pierre, according to Langlois (*op. cit.*, p. 209), is connected with the supposed author of the early Arabian version of the *Secretum*, this name "particulièrement en Espagne, considérée comme le traducteur par excellence." Professor G. L. Hamilton (review of Langlois, ed. 1911, *Romanic Review*, iii (1912), 317) believes: "The author may have once lived in one of the Latin kingdoms of the Orient, but there can be little doubt but that when he wrote his compilation he was living in France in a religious community where he was able to use a considerable collection of books, which at once suggested a forgery and furnished him with the material for it."

40 The number varies in different editions; that of Verard (1485) contains 1,073.

marked, "un manque absolu de talent et de goût fait de son livre un des plus mal composés d'une époque où l'art de bien faire un livre était assez peu connu."⁴¹

The tenor of question and answer is exemplified in the English abridgment already noted, the *Boke of Demaundes*. The question "why groweth the Moone, and at somtyme waxeth lesse and lesse" is answered by reference to the light of the sun and the revolution of the earth, for while the moon is "agaynst the sonne, she is covered, and appeareth unto us that she waxeth lesse." "Is there any other folkes underneth us that se the lyght of the Fyrmamente as we do? . . . How longe, how large, and how thicke is the world?"⁴² The question "maye any man go aboute the worlde" is answered in the negative, though a man lived a thousand years and though the world were all land. "And yf it were so that a fowle shuld flye, yet he myght not do it, for the great thurst and hunger that he shuld have, for he shulde fynde no fode, and also for the great wyldernes, and for other fowles that wolde slee and devour hym, and for many other reasons." Finally, "the moste delectable place in the worlde, is there as the herte of man loveth, and hath wyll to be."

Aside from acknowledged translations, various books of miscellaneous wisdom from the ancients frequently include quotations from Sydrac. One such is John Larke's *The boke of Wysdome*, translated through French from an Italian work.⁴³ Among classical, Biblical, and ecclesiastic writers appears Sydrac. Eight opinions quoted from Sydrac in Larke's book include pronouncements on health, marital happiness, and discretion in speaking. Another such miscellany less consciously learned but arranged after the manner of Sydrac is the translation from Alain Chartier, *Delectable demaundes, and pleasant Questions, with*

41 Ernest Renan and Gaston Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

42 Sydrac's opinion on the distance from heaven to earth is paraphrased in the English *Pricke of Conscience*, Bk. VII, ll. 7729-42 (A. Hahn, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu Richard Rolles Englischen Schriften* (Halle, 1900), pp. 36-7).

43 The original, *Fiore di Virtu* (ca. 1470), is attributed to Tommaso Leoni (Mary A. Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* (1916), no. 373). Larke's work (London, 1532, 1565, and 1575) follows "the auctoryties of aunycnt Phylosophers, Dyuydyng and spekyng of vyces and vertues, whereby a man maye be praysed or dyspraysed, with the maner to speke alwayes well and wysely to all folkes, of what estate soever they be."

their severall Aunswers, in matters of Love, Naturall causes, with Morall and politique devises (1566). The author propounds such questions as why blood is red, why man alone walks upright. And responses are often naïve. The southwest wind is "swete and plesaunt" because "it is temperate, neither to hote nor to colde." Little children can "neither go nor stand upright" "through the feblenes of the inferior and nether partes, and by reason of the greatnes and heavines of the upper partes." The ears are unmovable "because they have no Muscles." This childish repartee suggests the questions of the Fool in *King Lear* (I, v, 24, 34-5 and III, iv, 147). The seven stars are no more than seven—"because they are not eight." In fact, this and other questions from the play have been referred to the influence of Sydrac.⁴⁴ So it is possible that through Chartier the book of Sydrac reached Shakespeare.

These puerilities aside, it will be granted that the five excerpts from *Sydrac* which appear in the 1572 *Secret of Secrets* far surpass the general tenor of question and answer in the book. As a unique addendum to the *Secret*, these aphoristic reflections upon human relationships from *Sydrac*, now quoted, are not unworthy of the earlier passages from its more illustrious companion (K4^v-L2^v):

¶ How one ought to utter his speache.

If thou hast anye matter of grauitie or sadnesse of reason, to shewe and declare before noble and wise audience, tell it briefly, & wisely, with a good bolde courage and will, and than they will take it heartily, and will gyue credence to thy wordes, and alowe thy saying. For wisemen will gladly gyue eare to wise and short information. And therefore be not shamefast nor afrayde to tell the truth. For manye one have lost their right by shamefastnesse, and feare of theyr utteraunce of wordes, though theyr causes were good.⁴⁵

44 "Les questions de King Lear, 'Why the seven stars are no more than seven?' 'What is the cause of thunder?' 'How an oyster makes his shell?' on dirait détachées de celles du roy Boctus, dans le roman de *Sydrac*" (Langlois, *op. cit.*, p. xxix).

45 Verard (1486), no. 557: "Le roy demande cōment doit sen sa raison monstrier. Se tu as aucune raisō a couter deuant iustice ou en lautre part tu la doys monstrier saigement et de fort couraige et les iugeurs la retiendrōt en leur cueur et la sauront dire et monstrier pour toy et si ilz te entendrōt plus volentiers et la sauras mieulx dire, mais se tu as besoing si demāde conseil et quāt tu la diras dy la de fort couraige & tu ne peuz estre esperdu ne aussi vergōgneux, car moult ya de ceulx q̄ pdēt leur droit en vng plait pource quilz se esperdent et ont vergongne et se espouantent ia soit ce quilz ayent grant droit."

¶ The maner of anger.

Thou oughtest not to be angry though thy brother or friende shewe thee heauie cheere sometime, for paraduenture he hath some cause, wherefore he can shewe thee nor other no fayre semblance. And this thou maist cōsider in thy self, for if thou wer angry, thou couldst shew him nor no other good chere or cōtenance, & so it is with him. And if thou hast had any wordes with anye man, & he shew thee yll countenance therefore, yet thou ought not to bee angrie with him, for perchaunce he is so lewde or unwitty of himselfe, that he can doe no better, and yet he weeneth that hee doth well, for euer the lewdest sheweth most anger: for whan a wyse man is angry, he sheweth it not outwarde by hys reason. A man ought more to feare the anger of a wise man thā of a foole, for the wise man can better reuenge his anger than a foole, howbeit, that a fooles anger is often comberous.

¶ To vtter secrets.

In one maner onely thou oughst to shew thy secretes, that is to witte, to almighty God that knoweth all thing that is to be vnderstande, to his lifetenaunt in earth, and otherwise not. For if thou discouer it to thy friende, and if thy friende be but lewde, and hath another friende that hee loueth, to whome he telleth thy secrete, and his friend hath another friende that telleth him the same: & so from one to another, till a great many doe know it, and so thy secrete maye come out, to thy great shame and rebuke. For whiles thou keepest thy secrete within thee, it is sure: for thou mayst shew thy secrete to such one, that when hee knoweth it, will doe thee some wrong, and for feare that thou hast of him, thou dare not gainesay him least he bewraye thee. And if thou can none otherwise but that thou must vtter it by thy folly, and that thy stomacke will swell for to tell it, go out of company, and tell it to thy selfe, as if thou would tell it to another man, and thy heart will coole, and thy stomacke swage. And for any neede that thou hast to discouer it, take heede to whome, but if it be to such one that for any anger that thou dost to him will not rebuke thee with it. And neuer lette thy neyghbour know thy neede, for thereby thou mayst be the lesse set by in places where thou dwellest.

¶ Howe thou oughtest to sport with thy friende.

Loke wisely how thou playest or bourdest with thy friend (or other) with thy handes or with thy mouth, for if thou do him harme, harme maye come to thee: wyth sportyng with handes, commeth anger and murder, whether it be thy brother or friend, for if thou hurt him, or wring his hande, or cast him downe, or smite hym otherwise, it shal grieue him, and shame him in his mind, albeit that he be lyttle & weake, for eche in himselfe counteth hym strong, bolde, and fierce, and yet he will prayse himselfe though hee bee a

The Folger Secret of Secrets, 1572

cowarde and naught. And if thou mocke him, thou shalt spyte him to the heart, for he will thinke that thou despisest hym, and that thou reputest hym at naught. And if thou mocke hym before people, thou doest him yet more spite, and hee shall owe thee yll will, and hate thee deadely: for of mocking commeth anger and great hate, though it bee thy Brother or other friende. But thou oughtest to pastime with fayre wordes, and to shewe goodly auctorities and reasons to drawe theyr loue to thee, for by that pastaunce thou mayst come to the goodnesse, loue, and courtesye of people.

¶ The maner to doubt and trust thine enemye.

Whether thyne enemy be strong or weake, thou oughtest not to doubt hym to muche, nor trust to much to him, for hee that is ouercome today, may be victor to morrowe: and he that is victor to daye, maye bee ouerthrowne to-morrowe, and he that doubteth none, none will haue doubt of him. To muche doubt maketh to muche trust, and to muche trust, maketh to much damage, for he that beareth doubt alway with him, hath a great burden and payne. And he that hath trust in himselfe, beareth his owne damage, and hys death, for thou ought to doubt whan time is to doubt, and to trust, when tyme is to trust.⁴⁶

46 Verard (1486), no. 516: "Le roy demāde doit sē trop doubter son ennemy. Sy. respōd. Se ton ennemy est foible tu ne se doys pas fort doubter ne aussi trop te asseurer, car tel est huy vaincu q demain vaincra et qui ne doubte autrui ia aultre ne le doubtera et aussi trop fort doubter si fait trop aviller et trop asseurer si fait trop dômaigier et qui porte sa doubte avecques luy il porte trop grant paine et trop grante fais sus luy et aussi celui qui porte trop grāt seurete sur soy si porte son dômaige et sa mort sur soy et pource quāt il est tēps et saisō de doubter si doute et quant il est temps dete asseurer si te asseure."

JOHN HESTER, PARACELSAN (fl. 1576-93)

By PAUL H. KOCHER

John Hester is one of the humble names in Elizabethan science, yet for sheer utility and scope of influence he holds his own with many a man of gaudier reputation. He invented nothing. But during the first critical decades when Paracelsan medicine was struggling against bitter opposition to win a foothold in England, he was its chief publicist, and interpreter. His translations of Paracelsus, Fioravanti, Hermann, and Du Chesne were the only translations of the Paracelsan school in English before 1600. In his prefaces he defended their chemical and surgical doctrines at a time when few men cared to identify themselves with anything so radical. And for at least twenty years in his apothecary shop at Paul's Wharf he labored over the furnace to distill the new chemical preparations, advertised them by handbills, sold them to his customers, and offered personal instruction in their making and application. No other Englishman of his day did half so much to propagate the new chemical medicine. His story is a notable one, and deserves to be rescued from the oblivion which has befallen it.¹

Hester's origins lie hidden in the night of time. We may suggest, however, that he was connected with the family of Andrew Hester, bookseller, who died in 1557 leaving his widow Anne to carry on the business.² In 1564 Anne took as her apprentice one William Wright, himself later a prominent bookseller. It was Wright who published in 1579 *A Ioyfull Iewel*, the first translation from Fioravanti which Hester readied for the printer. Since the name Hester is relatively rare in sixteenth-century England, the guess seems reasonable that John selected for his first publisher the man who had served as apprentice with his family. Kinship with a bookseller might also help to explain where Hester got his ability to translate not only Latin but also Italian, Dutch,

¹ The science bibliographies of *Isis* and the Renaissance bibliographies of *S.P.* do not list a single article on Hester. He is not mentioned in most histories of medicine. The brief notice in *D.N.B.* simply enumerates his books and states erroneously that he began practicing distillation in 1579. There is a great deal of important work to be done in Hester scholarship, the present essay being only a preliminary survey.

² E. Gordon Duff, *A Century Of the English Book Trade* (1905), p. 71, and R. B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers . . . 1557-1640* (1910), p. 303.

and possibly German, an accomplishment decidedly unusual in those days.

An autobiographical passage in the Epistle to the Reader of *The Key of Philosophie*, written in 1580, gives a vivid account of his early hesitations in the search for a profession. After going through a period of youthful dissipation, he says,

. . . I then beganne to thinke it high time to set downe a surer compasse to direct the remnant of the course that I haue yet to runne. And although at that time I carried in my purse sufficient wealth to support my calling, in my bodie sufficient health to maintaine my life: and those both so reasonable as might haue satisfied a reasonable man (were not *Natura hominum nouitatis auida*) yet found I neither such content in the one, nor the other, as might longer content mee to continue in that state. But drawne on a while by this instinct or infection (I know not whether to call it) I was driuen at last by a greedy kinde of ielousie, to enuie the store that I saw in others, in respect of mine owne penurie: and therewithall I fell into consideration how I might become one of the small number of those, whom the greatest number wondered at.³

He considered attending Oxford or Cambridge, but the seven-year road to a Master's degree looked too long and its future utility too dubious. Thus revolving in his mind "a hundred other odde crochets, all as farre beyond the compasse of my reach, as they were short of my liking," he encountered two beautiful maidens. One was mistress of mines and minerals, the other of all pleasant things growing on the surface of the earth. Enraptured by their loveliness and by the "goodly and many golden mountaines they promised me," he has faithfully served them ever since, but they have "scantly performed any leaden mole-hilles" and have left him impoverished and broken in health, though rich in "a little knowledge that I haue got, aboue the capacite of the common sort, a thing sure that I value far aboue the price that it cost me." Hester's whole epistle gives an attractively warm and intimate view of the making of a Paracelsan—his restlessness, imagination, ambition and desire of singularity, scorn of the old ways, and impassioned allegiance to the new.

3 Sig. A6^v. The other quotations given below are from the immediately subsequent passages.

By 1576 Hester was well established in his apothecary shop at Paul's Wharf. In that year the surgeon George Baker, publishing his translation from Gesner, *The newe Iewell of Health*, the most advanced treatise on the chemical preparation of medicines yet printed in English, recommended to the reader three apothecaries skilful in these new medicines: Keymis, Geffray, and "another named Iohn Hester dwelling on Powles wharfe, the which is a paynfull traueyler in those matters."⁴ Inasmuch as Hester by 1582 was calling himself "old,"⁵ the probability is that he had been in the business for a considerable time before 1576.

There were easier ways of earning a living than vending such unorthodox compounds in a London whose medical profession was controlled by that tough-minded, clannish, and reactionary body, the Royal College of Physicians. Against the moribund Galenism which they represented only faint signs of revolt were beginning to show in the fields of anatomy, physiology, and pharmacology among the writings of some of the more progressive English surgeons comprising the Baker-Banister-Clowes circle.⁶ About 1570 Paracelsism was just reaching England as a corpus of surgical and chemical doctrine. Its high, cloudy metaphysic, never very appealing to the practical English temperament, was received in the decade of the 1570's with great hostility not only by the Galenist physician John Jones⁷ but even by the more amenable George Baker.⁸ The latter, however, was starting to feel interest in the Paracelsan simplification of surgical procedure and emphasis on inorganic chemistry.

This, then, was the situation when Hester published the first Fioravanti translation, *A Ioyfull Iewel*, in 1579. The original decision to translate the Bolognese doctor's *Regimento della Peste* (1565) was not

4 "George Baker to the Reader," Sig. A4^r.

5 See the concluding words of his Dedication of *A Compendium of rationall Secretes* (1582) to Richard Garth.

6 Besides George Baker's *The newe Iewell of Health* (1576) and *Antidotarie* (1579), read especially John Banister's anatomical work, *The Historie of Man* (1578) and William Clowes' *Morbus Gallicus* (1579).

7 *The Benefit of the auncient Bathes of Buckstones* (1572). To the Reader, fol. 2^v, contains what is probably one of the earliest English attacks on Paracelsism. Also Jones' *Galens Booke of Elementes* (1574), the title-page, and *Arte of Preseruing Bodie and Soule in al Health*, pp. 27, 31.

8 *Oleum Magistrale* (1574), Sig. Cr^v.

Hester's. As he remarks in the dedication to Sir James Blunt,⁹ he received the rough papers from Thomas Hill before the latter's death, who "committed them to my hands, requesting me to set them foorth in print, which I haue polished and filed as nye as I could, according to the right sence of the Author. . . ."¹⁰ Hester, at this time under the spell of the new fad of Euphuism, was a finicky translator. The book itself said nothing unique about the causes of plague, but it abandoned the Galenic pharmacopoeia in favor of some new distilled preparations devised by Fioravanti, remarkable chiefly for their grandiloquent titles. His electuary angelica, oleum philosophorum, and pillole aquilone, we are told, worked miracles on the sick; and, to prove it, Fioravanti narrated a number of case histories which sound more like essays in self-congratulation than like serious scientific records. Hester himself found occasion to slip into the description of these medicines a notice that any reader "may haue them redy made of one Iohn Hester practisioner in the art of distillation in London."¹¹ So by 1579 the Fioravanti drugs had become a feature of Hester's regular stock in trade, and he was using translation partly as a method of advertising them.

Hester grew so enthusiastic about the Italian that in his address to the reader prefacing *A Short Discours uppon Chirurgerie* (1580),¹² his next Fioravanti translation, he announced his intention of rendering into English "all the workes of this Authour: which are 24 bookes, comprehended in eight volumes."¹³ He then listed their titles as if all of them were in his possession at the time. *A Short Discours* was dedicated, perhaps somewhat optimistically, to Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, "the Right Honorable his singular good Lorde and Patrone." This was his sole dedication to Oxford. Inasmuch as its terms were purely conventional and later in the same year Hester described himself as "masterless,"¹⁴ he would seem to have lost Oxford's patronage very speedily, if indeed he ever really had it. The dedication invoked Oxford's protec-

9 The sixth Lord Mountjoy, father of Sir Christopher Blount and of Charles, Earl of Devonshire.

10 Sig. A2^r.

11 P. 26.

12 Apparently a translation of a selection of materials on surgery from several of Fioravanti's treatises, including *La Chirurgia*.

13 Conclusion of the address to the reader.

14 Dedication of *The Key of Philosophie* (1580), to Bishop Watson, Sig. A5^r.

tion against expected attacks on the book, and expressed scorn of "either ignoraunt or arrogant" surgeons who, by holding to antiquated methods of treating wounds, protracted the cure twice as long as necessary in order to get greater fees. Hester showed clearly that he himself was not a surgeon, by apologizing for errors in translating "diuers termes of the Art, the which I am not practised in."¹⁵

His bumptiousness toward the orthodox surgeons was but the reflex of a far more arrogant challenge to them voiced by Fioravanti himself in the body of the book. The Italian referred with repeated sarcasm to "the common Chyrurgians,"¹⁶ excoriated their methods, held himself up as a member of a far superior new school of surgery,¹⁷ and promised "newe medicines . . . of such vertue and strength, that the world wil wonder at them for their notable quicke working."¹⁸ All this was typical Paracelsan braggadocio and anti-Galenism. Fioravanti went on to cry down the function of reason in science and to assert that "experience is master of all things."¹⁹ Paying no heed at all to anatomy and little more to pathology, he concentrated almost wholly on methods of treatment. In this respect, his book was in utter contrast to orthodox surgical treatises like those of Lanfranc, Thomas Gale, or John Banister, which leaned heavily on discussions of theory. It was inevitable that almost every English medical man should consider the Fioravanti treatise a piece of raw empiricism and quackery, and should associate it with the charlatanry of the mountebanks who sold their worthless elixirs to the sick. In truth, however, Fioravanti did not quite fall in so abysmal a category. His principle, derived from Paracelsus, that the chief healer of all wounds is the natural balsam of the body, not the physician's unguents,²⁰ was a salutary warning against the overmuch tampering then prevalent, and his emphasis on the need for experience could not be anything but useful against the mere routine of reading Galen into which medical thought had largely degenerated. Thus Fioravanti illustrated in particularly naked form the worst vices and best virtues of the Paracelsan revolt against orthodoxy.

¹⁵ Sig. A3^r.

¹⁷ Fioravanti's Preface, Sig. ¶3^v.

¹⁹ Fol. 1^v ff.

²⁰ Fol. 7^r ff. The idea comes from Paracelsus' *Chirurgia Magna*.

¹⁶ E.g., fols. 8^v and 12.

¹⁸ Fol. 2^r.

Hester thought of himself as fighting the good fight for medical progress. But his translating and publishing of so extreme and unqualified an attack on their usual practices must have made him a marked man to even the more liberal surgeons of the day. Nothing remotely like it had yet been seen in England. Echoes of resentment, perhaps not against Hester personally but against the attitude he represents, seem to be audible in the early books of that excellent surgeon William Clowes, who was no blind reactionary. The story is too intricate to be told here. Sufficient to say that during most of the 1570's and 1580's Clowes was engaged in a running battle with a faction of extremists who used against him some of the jargon characteristic of the Fioravanti translations.²¹

Hester's next, and last, translation of Fioravanti was published in 1582 as *A Compendium of rationall Secretes*,²² dedicated to "Maister Richard Garth Esquire, one of the Clarkes of the Pettie Bagges in the Chauncerie."²³ This dedication Hester says he makes because "findyng my self, ended to your Worship, I finde no waie but this, to signifie the duetifull good will, that by your greate desert I owe you." It is signed "your old & poore I. Hester." Possibly Hester had acquired obligations to Garth in the course of some Chancery suit. He nowhere else mentioned Garth. In fact, he never dedicated twice to the same person but flitted rather desperately from one high name to another in the search for a permanent benefactor whom he never found. In 1582 he obviously felt overwhelmed by age and poverty.

²¹ Clowes, *Morbus Gallicus* (1585), fols. 9^r, 12^r ff., 24^r, 31^r, 59^r; *A prooued practise for all young Chirurgians* (1588), Epistle to the Reader, Sig. A1^v ff. Clowes keeps repeating that he is not an enemy of genuine Paracelsans, but he is infuriated by their term "common Chirurgions" for the Galenists, their analogy of nature's healing of wounds to a dog's licking its sores (cf. Fioravanti, *Discours*, fol. 7^r, and Clowes, *Prooued practise*, Sig. A1^r), and their empiricism. It may be worth mentioning that in the margins of the Huntington Library copy of the 1585 edition of *Morbus Gallicus* opposite Clowes' descriptions of his adversaries someone has written the name "Iohn Hester" in what seems to be an early seventeenth-century hand. See fols. 12^r and 22^r.

²² From Fioravanti's *Il compendio dei Secreti razionali*, Venice, 1561. Hester's translation was printed by John Kynngston for George Pen and Hester. Pen was a small bookseller in London between 1582 and 1584.

²³ These were Chancery clerks of secondary rank, three in number, who prepared the documents necessary for appointing high ecclesiastical officers and for summoning Parliaments. See H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, *The Great Seal* (1926), p. 273, and B. Wilkinson, *The Chancery under Edward III* (1929), p. 84. I have been unable to identify Garth further.

The Epistle to the Reader also complained that Hester's new preparations had been bought and used in ways that reflected no credit upon them:

If . . . some runnagate verlettes cariyng al their cunning in a Chirurgians boxe in their pockett, and their learnyng in a Capcase at their backe, abuse these or the like medicines, in quantitie or qualitie, as through ignorance regardyng neither of bothe: This is not the fault of the matter but of the men: whose extreme miserie for the most part thrusteth them into this mischief.²⁴

It is easy to see how the new medicines, simplified, uncomplex, shorn of theory, easier to obtain and to transport than the hundreds of herbs required by Galenic pharmacy, were peculiarly well fitted to be employed by traveling quacks. Hester anxiously cautioned his readers "to be aduised in the choyse of their drugges" lest they find death rather than health.

In other sections of his preface Hester wrote eloquently of the inevitability of change and advance in human knowledge. Admitting first that training in "method," or theory, was needed by all medical men, he pleaded for the right of the moderns to rely upon their own experience, "to stand uppon our owne feete, to feele with our owne handes, and to see with our own eyes."²⁵ He defended himself against those who would surely criticize any medical book printed in English as vulgar and dangerous. Knowledge, he said, must be given the widest possible dissemination. On these topics Hester spoke with the serenity of a man who knows he is in the right and the future is with him. This noble assurance rose above the sense of weakness and defeat which darkened other passages. And it achieved, at its best, a rich spontaneous prose worthy of remembrance.

The subject matter of *A Compendium* was much the same as that of the previous Fioravanti translations. It included a short segment translated from another of Fioravanti's works, *Il tesoro della vita humana* (1570).²⁶ Hester's promise to turn into English all the remaining books of this author was never redeemed, but he apparently made a beginning on the task, since fragments of *La fisica* and *La Chirurgia* were appended to Hester's *Pearle of Practise* issued posthumously in 1594. There was,

24 The Epistle, Sig. *4^v.

25 Sig. *2^v.

26 P. 43.

indeed, little reason why Hester should continue on through the entire laborious process. Fioravanti was a confirmed self-plagiarist, and the core of his message had already been opened to Englishmen.

Next come two of Hester's works hitherto believed to have been first published posthumously in 1596 by Valentine Simmes: *The Key of Philosophie*²⁷ and a treatise attributed to Paracelsus, *A hundred and foureteene Experiments and Cures*. One point which immediately arouses suspicion, however, is that *The Key* was dedicated to John Watson, Bishop of Winchester, who died in 1584, and *Experiments* to "the right Worshipfull, Walter Raleigh Esquier," a form of address appropriate only before Raleigh was knighted in 1584. A glance at Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English printed bookes* (1595) shows that in fact *The Key* was first published in 1580: "Pri. by Rich. Day. 1580. 8."²⁸ Since Watson was not consecrated Bishop of Winchester until September 18, 1580, the publication date can be fixed quite closely between then and the end of the year.

Likewise an edition of *Experiments* earlier than 1595, when Maunsell's *Catalogue* was printed, is proved by Maunsell's mention of an octavo copy then in existence, though he specifies no printer or date.²⁹ The 1596 edition is a quarto. Now *Experiments* is Hester's translation of *Centum quindecim curationes experimentaque*, first printed at Lyons in 1582. Remembering that the dedicatee, Raleigh, was knighted in 1584, we may safely set the publication date of Hester's translation between 1582 and 1584, probably closer to 1584.

The autobiographical importance of *The Key's* epistle has already been noticed.³⁰ Two parts make up the book itself, the first dealing with the extraction of oils from woods, gums, spices, and seeds, and the second with the chemical preparation of minerals. But neither part

27 This title resembles the *Clavis totius Philosophiae Chymisticae*, Lyons, 1566, by Gerard Dorn, the famous German apologist and editor of Paracelsus.

28 P. 15 of Part II. Thomas Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (1748) likewise mentions this early edition.

29 Pp. 19-20 of Part II.

30 It may be added that John Watson was a good choice for dedication. He had been a physician himself before he took holy orders, and was noted as a patron of medicine. He was very probably the "reuerend Bishoppe of this land, which was not unskilfull in Phisicke" with whom R. B., the Paracelsan, said he had dinner. See R. B.'s *The difference betwene the auncient Phisicke and the latter Phisicke* (1585), chap. 7, Sig. Dr^r.

is of Hester's own composing. Upon careful examination, the first part turns out to be compiled from Joseph Du Chesne's *De exquisita Mineralium, Animalium, & Vegetabilium medicamentorum Spagyrica praeparatione & usu, perspicua Tractatio*, Lyons, 1575, published in the same volume with his *Responsio* to Aubertus. Both these works were later translated by Hester as *A Breefe Aunswere Of Iosephus Quer-cetanus* and *Treatise concerning Spagericall preparations*, published together in 1591. We may notice, however, that the first part of *The Key* is a loose paraphrase, not a translation, of Du Chesne's *Treatise*. Hester here retained the same subject matter and the same general order of discussion of various vegetable oils, but with some clarifications, omissions, and additions. He seems to have drawn upon his own experience in distilling these oils in order to provide what his preface calls "more plainnesse to the readers, then perhaps they shal finde in the first writer."³¹ But he also added a fair proportion of new material not found in Du Chesne, this culled from divers sources like Gesner's *Euonymus*, Fioravanti, and Falloppio.

The second part of *The Key* is prefaced by an essay on the virtues of chemistry, which is praised as affording medicines capable of healing in a short time even those desperately sick, "for I haue seene myracles therein." Those "unlearned Physitions" who do not use the new drugs prepared by this science from minerals and metals are "little or nothing worth, although they take the patients money. For he goeth to worke blindly with a blinde leader, which is the Apoticarie."³² These strictures by Hester against physicians take their place beside his very similar accusations against surgeons in the Fioravanti *Discours* of the same year, 1580. Hester was doing nothing less than waging a single-handed war of publication against the conservatives of the whole medical profession in England. Let us remember that during his entire lifetime, and indeed until about the year 1600, the only other Englishmen venturing to publish general assaults on Galenic medicine were R. B., whose book, *The difference betwene the auncient Phisicke and the latter Phisicke*, appeared in 1585, and I. W., whose *Copie of a Letter* was printed in 1586. Add the observation that both these men felt con-

31 Sig. A4^v.

32 Sig. Fr^r.

strained to hide behind the anonymity of initials, and we understand something of the valor of Hester's enterprise.

According to its title-page, the second part of *The Key* was "First written in the Germane tongue by the most learned Theophrastus Paracelsus, and now published in the English tongue by Iohn Hester," but the probability is that Hester got his Paracelsus at second hand through some such compiler as Philip Hermanni, whose *Die Peerle der Chirurgen* was here frequently cited.³³ The material is a selection from various works of the Swiss master rather than an outright rendering of any one of them. Included is a short paraphrase from Paracelsus' *Chirurgia Magna*,³⁴ assuredly the first from that book in English medical literature.

In *A hundred and foureteene Experiments and Cures* Hester's dedication to Raleigh is an admirable but impersonal essay on the need for progress in science, betokening no intimacy in the relations of the two men. He speaks of man's quest for perfect knowledge, "which perfection is therefore infinite because the mind of man in the search thereof is insatiable." In all fields except theology, he declares, there is so magnificent a scope for new discovery that "to rest contented with the inuentions of other, is as odious to the learned, as it is for francke hearts to feede on other mens trenchers." Consequently for the benefit of his countrymen he has translated new writers like Paracelsus, "not for their methode, which I meddle not with, but for their medicines, which I usually make." This shying away from abstract theory was altogether characteristic of Hester. His was the practical mind which viewed progress in terms of specific medicines and utilitarian results. And, one may add not too cynically, in terms of an expanding sale over the counter of the shop at Paul's Wharf. So inextricable are the ideal and the material.

Nevertheless, for all his pragmatism, by translating from *Centum quindecim curationes* the anti-Galenic polemical prefaces of Bernardus Georgius Penotus, the French Paracelsan,³⁵ Hester gave to English

³³ E.g., pp. 74, 84. Hester also later translated Hermanni in *A Treatise of French Pockes* (1590).

³⁴ P. 91.

³⁵ John Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica* (1906), ii, 180, has a good brief biography of Penotus.

readers their first large dose of Paracelsan theory. One of these prefaces defended the proposition

that sicke bodies stuffed and filled with the seedes of diseases, can hardly be cured without metalline remedies: contrarie to the writings of some which deny that Mettals (after what sort of maner soeuer they be prepared) may profit or help the nature of man.³⁶

Another, by Johann Isaacus Hollandus,³⁷ expounded the Paracelsan doctrine of the *tria prima*, that all matter is composed of the three chemical elements, salt, sulphur, and mercury.³⁸ The main subject, however, that which gave the book its name, was a series of one hundred and fourteen short case histories of cures purportedly wrought by Paracelsus himself. Penotus declared that he obtained the manuscript in German from a servant of Paracelsus and translated it into Latin.³⁹ Modern scholarship has branded it as one of the spurious manuscripts which circulated in such quantity on the Continent under the name of Paracelsus.⁴⁰ But Hester had no way of knowing this. His translation was in good faith. And there is no question but that Penotus and Hollandus were retailing genuine Paracelsan ideas. Through them Hester became the first transmitter of such theory to England.

He made one great departure from the text of *Centum quindecim curationes*. Omitting a treatise called *Practica* by Philip à Rouillacso, he substituted instead a translation of Du Chesne's *Antidotarium spagyricum*, first published with his *Sclopetarius*, Lyons, 1576. Hester called it *The Spagerick Antidotarie against Gunneshot, taken out of the Chirurgie of Iosephus Quirsitanus* and later reprinted it without change in his own translation of the *Sclopetarius* published in 1590. Remembering this in connection with Hester's earlier paraphrase of Du Chesne's other *Treatise concerning Spagericall preparations* in the first part of *The Key of Philosophie*, we can comment that by the early 1580's Hester was well acquainted with Du Chesne's publications of 1575 and 1576, and in fact seems to have made most of the translations which he subsequently published at the start of the 1590's. Why he did not publish

³⁶ Sig. A3^r.

³⁷ Ferguson, *Bib. Chem.*, i, 414, discusses the problem of his identity and date.

³⁸ P. 28 ff.

³⁹ End of the Apologeticall Preface.

⁴⁰ John M. Stillman, *The Story of Early Chemistry* (1924), p. 369.

all of them until then remains a matter of speculation. Possibly his notoriety was making it increasingly difficult for him to find a printer who would undertake so explosive a task. An interesting essay might be written about the various printers who did dare to accept Hester's work. Many of them were the malcontents and scamps of the profession. During Hester's lifetime no printer seems to have contracted for more than one of his books. At any rate, the fact is that between about 1584 and 1590 Hester published nothing further.

There survives from this period, however, one of the single-sheet bills which he used in advertising his drugs. This is a remarkably interesting document. It was owned by Gabriel Harvey and bears Harvey's signature, together with the date 1588 in his autograph.⁴¹ At the top is the printed heading:

These Oiles, waters, Extractions, or Essences, Saltes, and other Compositions, are at Paules wharfe ready made to be solde, by Iohn Hester, practisioner in the arte of Distillation, who will also be ready for a reasonable stipend, to instruct any that are desirous to learne the secrets of the same in few dayes.

Thus Hester eked out his income by teaching to all corners the methods of chemistry in the slightly blandishing time of a "few dayes," and in so doing undoubtedly planted in many fruitful places a knowledge of the new medicine. Through such teaching, no less than through his translations and prefaces, he was clearly the chief salesman of Paracelsism in England.

Under the heading of the bill are listed in columns the medicines themselves. One column designates the oils of various seeds, woods, gums, and spices. The next, the waters of many of the same substances. A third, the salts. A fourth, the extracts or essences. Then comes a column of "Compositions of diuers Authors," among which stand out several recipes from Paracelsus, Du Chesne, Martin Ruland the Elder (a German Paracelsan), and Palmarius. A final column presents Hester's old favorites from Fioravanti so often prescribed in *A Ioyful Iewell* and the other translations. From the bill as a whole it is clear that Hester had

⁴¹ A photostat of the British Museum copy is available at the Huntington Library. Besides his signature and date, Harvey has written opposite Hester's name the words "Now Al Keymis the great Alchymi[st] of London," punning on the name of Keymis or Kemech, another contemporary spagyrist also mentioned by George Baker and Sir Hugh Platt.

eschewed compromise and made a complete break with Galenic pharmacology. The syrups, treacles, electuaries, unguents, and plasters of the old school found no place on his shelves. If he was to earn a living at all, he was committed to doing it with the new chemical medicines.

Another striking thing is the closeness with which this list borrows from Hester's translations. Probably the largest contribution came from Du Chesne's *Treatise concerning Spagericall preparations*. It provided most of Hester's oils and waters, and a number of his salts and extracts, besides furnishing the general scheme of classification of the whole. A further large proportion was contributed by Du Chesne's *Spagiric Antidotarie*. From *A hundred and foureteene Experiments* came the drugs which Hester's bill lists as explicitly Paracelsan, such as the famous laudanum anodinum and panchimagogon. It is worth noting that Hester did not go direct to the major works of Paracelsus for them but procured them at one remove. Then of course there were the Fioravanti formulae. Further investigation would undoubtedly disclose borrowings by Hester from other disciples of the Paracelsan school. He used his translations as sources to feed his stock of medicines, and at the same time as vehicles for advertising them.

At the start of the 1590's Hester published his last translations, a group of three works: Paracelsus' *Treatise of French Pockes* (1590),⁴² and Du Chesne's *Sclopotarie* (1590) and *Breefe Aunswere* (1591). Their prefaces and dedications were written in a more confident tone, as if things were beginning to look up for the apothecary business at Paul's Wharf. Even the advertising was dropped from the main text and restricted to a genteel notice or so in the introductions. The weather, indeed, was gradually becoming less stormy for Paracelsan ideas in England. Although their general system of theory was still, and would always remain, largely unacceptable, specific medicines and surgical techniques had been making considerable headway during the 1580's, notably in the books of the able surgeon, John Banister.⁴³ Clowes,

42 No printer's name appears on this book, but according to Maunsell, *op. cit.*, p. 21, it was from the press of John Charlwood.

43 Witness Banister's frequent admiring comments on Paracelsus in his annotations to the surgical works of Wecker, 1585, and the acceptance of Paracelsan medicines into Banister's *Antidotarie* (1589), e.g., pp. 97-107.

Peter Lowe, John Gerard, and other members of his progressive group of surgical writers likewise were warming towards them.⁴⁴

Symptomatic of this change is Hester's dedication of *Treatise of French Pockes*⁴⁵ to "the Maister Wardens, and generall Assistants of the fraternitie of Chirurgions in London" in extremely friendly terms. When he debated with himself, wrote Hester, who would receive matter "harshe to the hearing of many, as it is in the feeling of others odious, I founde none likelier to giue countenance thereunto, then you my Maisters of chirurgerie."⁴⁶ He agreed to follow the authority of the ancients in so far as they followed truth, but denounced the servility of some present writers who simply compiled their books out of the ancients "neyther waying theyr reasons, nor pondering their proofes," especially in diseases like French pox, which were unknown to Galen and Hippocrates. He concluded by signing himself "all yours, and freende to euery one of you," as if making an offer of pacification after hostilities. Nor was there anything offensive in the book itself. Methods of treating sexual disease with mercury and guaiacum were discussed in uncontroversial mood.

For his joint translation of Du Chesne's *Sclopotarie* and *Spagiric Antidotarie* in the same year, 1590, Hester chose the Earl of Essex as dedicatee, another of those high but unrecurrent names to which he inclined. This time, however, there may have been a real reason for the choice. Hester's language hints that he had some personal acquaintance with the events of the Earl's "late expedition into Portingall" in 1589, and there exists the possibility that he was connected with them, perhaps as a contributor of medical supplies, perhaps even as one of the apothecaries taken on the voyage. His Epistle to the Reader cements Hester's new friendship with the surgeons by praising the books of

44 Clowes, *A Booke of Obseruations* (1596), pp. 17, 26, 51, and *Cure of Struma* (1602), Epistle to the Reader; Peter Lowe, *Whole Course of Chirurgerie* (1597), Sig. R3^r; John Gerard, *Herball* (1597), the preface by Stephen Bredwell.

45 Hester's book is a translation from the Dutch of Philip Hermanni's *Een excellent Tracktaet leerende hoemen alle ghebreken der Pocken sal moghen ghenesen* (1553), which was in turn a free rendering of Paracelsus' *Von der frantzösischen Kranckheit* and *Vom Holtz Guaiaco*.

46 Fol. 2^r.

Thomas Gale and William Clowes.⁴⁷ As for the innovations of Du Chesne, he insists, those who condemn them forget that if science does not go forward it goes backward. With his usual pragmatism, he thinks it wise that Du Chesne, in discussing gunshot wounds, "lightly goeth ouer the causes, and settles himself wholly upon the cure." His own preparation of Du Chesne's medicines has been accomplished "not without great charge and painefull labour." But it may be significant that Hester no longer laments his poverty.

The body of the text is a straightforward exposition relying on the ideas both of Paracelsus in *Chirurgia Magna* and of other moderns like Paré, Vigo, and Iubertus. It embraces also the inevitable defense of metallic remedies as against the Galenic polypharmacy.⁴⁸ Appended is a reprinting of Hester's translation of Du Chesne's *Antidotarium spagyricum* previously included in *A hundred and foureteene Experiments*. Hester was seemingly anxious now to accumulate and publish together the Du Chesne pieces which he had been working with individually for a decade or more.

So in the next year he issued what was to be his final book, *A Breefe Aunswere Of Iosephus Quercetanus* (1591), translated from Du Chesne's *Responsio*, one of the abler continental expositions of the Paracelsan theory of metals. It was dedicated "To the Right worshipfull Ma. Robert Carey Esquire," youngest son of the first Lord Hunsdon. Since Carey was at this time a close friend of Essex, it looks as if Hester was trying hard to play the Essex game in the early 1590's. The contents of his dedication are remarkable chiefly for Hester's admission, most generous in so devout a chemist, that writers on this science have been far too obscure and have often purposely concealed their learning from the eyes of men. Such selfishness is conceded to be injurious to the cause of progress. Hester himself will freely divulge all that treasure of experience which he has garnered over many years, with

daily cares, nightly watchings, external woundes, internall woes, deforming of members, disquieting of minde, debilitie of senses, and losse of sight, with

47 Sig. A3^r. Clowes repaid the compliment by speaking favorably of Hester's translation of the *Scelopotarie* in his 1596 edition of *Morbus Gallicus*, p. 51.

48 E.g., pp. 72-3.

infinite other incombrances, which lie as Adders in his way that treads this walke.

Besides, he has endured "euerie enuie that malice could deuise." Yet he works for the good of his country because "my Redeemer . . . hath secretlie summoned my soule to discharge the fruites of her experience." Nowhere else in Hester, I think, do we get quite so close an insight into the hardships, the arduous chemical operations, the danger to health and limb, and the professional hatreds which everywhere beset his career. The cry to religion is a fitting close, since with it his writing comes to an end.

It must have been about 1593 that the last customer, Death, came through the door of the apothecary shop under the sign of the Furnaces and smiled to see the elixir vitae, the pillole aquilone, cerote magistrale, and balsamo artificiato which lined its shelves. In that year Gabriel Harvey, who knew Hester well and had often heard him "tell me of a magistral unguent for all sores," wrote in *Pierce's Supererogation* that "oulde Iohn Hester" was dead.⁴⁹ His stock of drugs was bought by his friend James Fourestier, formerly a clergyman and now an ardent Paracelsan, who thereafter sold them at his house in Blackfriars. Rum-maging through Hester's papers, Fourestier found an unfinished manuscript which he "reduced into methode," and to which he gave the title *The Pearle of Practise*,⁵⁰ doing for Hester what Hester at the beginning of his writing career had done for Thomas Hill. The wheel had come full circle. This book was published in 1594 with a dedication by Fourestier to his patron, Sir George Carey, elder brother of Robert.

Fourestier's address to the reader eulogizes, and claims a continental market for, the medicines of Hester,

49 J. P. Collier's reprint of the 1593 edition, *Miscellaneous Tracts*, iii, 39. In another passage on p. 193 of the same pamphlet Harvey classed Hester among the "expert artisans" of Elizabethan science: "He that remembreth Humfrey Cole a mathematical mechanician, Robert Baker a shipwright, John Shute an architect, Robert Norman a navigatour, William Bourne a gunner, John Hester a chimist, or any like cunning and subtile empirique (Cole, Baker, Shute, Norman, Bourne, Hester, will be remembered when greater Clarkes shalbe forgotten) is a prouwd man, if he contemne expert artisans, or any sensible industrious practitioner, howsoever unlectured in schooles or unlettered in bookes." This was excellent company for Hester, but by reason of his unique Paracelsan publications he merited even better.

50 See Fourestier's dedication and epistle to *The Pearle of Practise*.

John Hester, Paracelsan (fl. 1576-93)

now deceased, a man that spent much, & indangered his body, about such workes, wherof many excellent men haue enioyed the benefite. The effect of his labour, hath and doth commend him, in England and other countries, which haue these many yeares made prooffe, of these his preparations.

Enumerating the medicines which he has purchased from Hester's "Suruiuer," possibly his widow, Fourestier then gives a list very similar to the list of 1588 already analyzed. In fact this 1594 inventory shows only some expansions and contractions required by the changes of the times. Thus the Paracelsus formulae are featured more prominently and the Fioravanti less so. A new "Vulnerarie oyle" of Paracelsus heads a column of unguents, which adds also an "Oyle of Nicotian" in concession to the growing rage for tobacco.

Nevertheless, the chief business of *The Pearle of Practise* was a collection of scores of short case histories telling of marvelous cures achieved by English doctors using the Fioravanti compositions. In each case the initials, but not the full name, of the physician are given. The patient is usually not identified. The whole thing seems modeled on *A hundred and foureteene Experiments* and serves as a kind of testimonial of the efficacy of Hester's medicines. According to Fourestier, Hester gathered these statements "here and there" from people in different parts of England. Interspersed with them are fragments of more general medical principle translated out of Fioravanti's *Il compendio dei Secreti razionali*, *La Fisica*, and *La Chirurgia*. Everything suggests that Hester did most of this work during his Fioravanti period in the early 1580's and that it lay long in manuscript.

Hester's influence lived on after his death. Besides *The Pearle of Practise* in 1594, new editions of *The Key of Philosophie*, and *A hundred and foureteene Experiments* appeared in 1596, the latter going through two editions in the same year. This process of republication even gained momentum in the seventeenth century. Hester's translation of Fioravanti's *Short Discours uppon Chirurgerie* was reissued in 1626. His *Key of Philosophie* was reprinted again in 1633 under the new title, *The Secrets of Physick and Philosophy*. And in 1652 was produced *Three exact pieces of L. Phioravant*, a grand compilation of all his Fioravanti translations with a further reprint of *A hundred and foure-*

teene Experiments. Very few other English medical works commanded so long and so continuous an audience.

The question arises of the net utility of all these new medicines to which Hester dedicated his life. Were they really better than the Galenic herbal concoctions? Some of them were bizarre enough. One doubts somehow that his recipes for salt of a human skull and water of frogs' eggs ever raised anybody from his deathbed. But Hester's drugs included many useful vegetable extracts and a few genuinely revolutionary prescriptions like the Paracelsan laudanum and styptic plaster. In a larger sense, however, his place in the history of science depends on the ultimate value to be assigned to the Paracelsan ideas of which he was the chief proponent in England. The degree of this value is still hotly debated among historians. My own conviction is that Paracelsism helped very powerfully to break the barren curse of Galenism and to launch English medical thought on a new era of experiment in chemistry, leading on to the work of the iatro-chemists and of Robert Boyle in the seventeenth century.⁵¹

As a public champion of this new movement in its first difficult phases Hester stood virtually alone. During all those long and bitter years when he was issuing no fewer than nine translations and paraphrases from the Paracelsan school, only single, anonymous essays by R. B. and I. W. came to relieve the almost monumental solitude of his endeavor. By these writings he became the word of Paracelsism in England. By selling its medicines and instructing others in their preparation he became also its deed. He persisted with great courage through many hardships and emerged at last into serenity as the new medicine took hold in England and disciples grew up around him. The finest comment is that of Fourestier: "The effect of his labour hath and doth commend him." Few men would wish a better epitaph.

51 For details about the background of Paracelsan medicine in England during Hester's lifetime, see Kocher, "Paracelsan Medicine in England: The First Thirty Years (ca. 1570-1600)," *Journal of the History of Medicine*, ii (1947), 451-80. The opportunity to do this and other work in the field of Renaissance science and religion I owe to a fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

GEORGE GASCOIGNE, *THE NOBLE ARTE OF VENERIE*, AND QUEEN ELIZABETH AT KENILWORTH¹

By CHARLES AND RUTH PROUTY

The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting which Henry Bynneman printed for Christopher Barker in 1575 has been of interest to both historians of sport and students of Elizabethan literature. In spite of this interest there remain a number of unresolved problems. The translation, for example, is ascribed to both Turbervile and Gascoigne. The source is said to be unknown,² even though D. H. Madden and the Baillie-Grohman long ago showed that Jacques du Fouilloux's *La Venerie* was the original used by the English translator. The exact nature of the translation has never been examined, and there has been no attempt to isolate the original material from that which was translated. Hazlitt, for example, printed all the poems from *The Noble Arte* in *The Collected Poems of George Gascoigne*, not knowing that only six are completely original.³ A detailed comparison of the English with the French source answers a number of these questions and, as well, reveals an interesting original section which seems to be a masque designed for presentation before Queen Elizabeth, probably at Kenilworth.

I

The Source

The title-page of *The Noble Arte* gives no clue as to the identity of the translator and in characteristic Elizabethan fashion conveys the idea that the work is no mere translation but rather an erudite compilation.

1 Thanks are due the Research Council of the University of Missouri for funds used to purchase the microfilms necessary to this study.

2 John E. Hankins, *The Life and Works of George Turbervile*, University of Kansas Publications, Humanistic Studies, No. 25 (1940), p. 64.

3 London, 1870, ii, 303 ff. Hazlitt printed eleven poems: those within the text and Gascoigne's commendatory verses.

D. H. Madden in *The Diary of Master William Silence* (1907) says (p. 369), "the verses which it contains on various subjects connected with the chase were contributed by George Gascoigne." The implication seems to be that such verses were original contributions.

George Gascoigne, The Noble Arte of Venerie,

The Noble Arte of / Venerie or Hunting./ Wherein is handled and set out the Vertues, Nature, and Pro-/perties of fuetene sundrie Chaces together, with the order and maner/ how to Hunte and kill euery one of them./ Translated and collected for the pleasure of all Noblemen and Gen-/tlemen, out of the best approued Authors, which haue written any thing/ *concerning the same: And reduced into such order and proper termes/* as are vsed here, in this noble Realme of England./ [woodcut] The Contentes whereof shall more playnely appeare in the Page next followyng/⁴

Some misunderstanding exists as to the date of this edition. The Oxford Press reprint in the Tudor and Stuart Library carries a note naming the translator and giving a date, without citing any authority for either.

The present edition of George Turbervile's *Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* is reprinted page for page and line for line from the Bodleian copy of the black-letter edition of 1576. A very few obvious misprints have been corrected.⁵

The Bodleian copy,⁶ like every copy we have been able to locate, has no date other than that of June 16, 1575, which concludes the letter of "The Translator to the Reader." *The Register of the Company of Stationers* contains no book entries for the year 1575, and, since there is no entry of *The Noble Arte* in 1576, there seems little doubt that the book was published in the summer or early autumn of 1575.

The pretended accuracy of the Tudor and Stuart reprint has not only misled investigators as to the date of the edition,⁷ but has also contributed to the suppression of valuable bibliographical evidence. For some reason, the reprint not only follows its own sequence of signatures which bear no relation to those in the original; but, as well, makes no

4 We have used a microfilm of the Folger Shakespeare Library copy, and our thanks are due Dr. James G. McManaway and Dr. Giles E. Dawson for their many kindnesses.

5 *Turbervile's Booke of Hunting 1576* (1908), verso of title.

6 Our thanks are due Mr. C. J. Hindle, Assistant Librarian of the Bodleian, who checked the collation of the Folger copy with that of the Bodleian and found that the two were identical. Dr. H. Guppy, Librarian of the John Rylands Library, Mr. H. Sellers of the British Museum, and Mr. H. R. Mead of the Huntington Library were equally kind in checking the collation of their copies, which are in agreement with the Folger copy.

7 Dr. Hankins (*Turbervile*, pp. 64-5) has created a "ghost" edition of 1576 by assuming that since the reprint does not have the colophon, its original was printed by Barker and another edition was printed by Bynneman. Further, Dr. Hankins accepts without question the date of 1576 for the Bodleian copy and for a copy described in *Book-Prices Current*, 1907.

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mention of the cancellation of N6 and the insertion of two leaves, "a" and "aij", and, finally, omits the colophon: "Imprinted by Henry Bynneman, for/ Christopher Barker."

There is a similar lack of definite knowledge as to the relation between *The Noble Arte* and its source. Dr. Hankins believes that *The Noble Arte* "is chiefly a translation, largely from the work of a single French author, whose name is not given" and whom, he admits, he cannot identify.⁸ Actually the source is *La Vénerie* of Jacques du Fouilloux, as was pointed out some years ago by D. H. Madden.⁹ Indeed, the source is given in the work itself, where the closing lines of "The Preface pronounced by the Hart" read as follows:

*Let him give eare, to skilfull Trystram's lore,
To Phoebus, Fowylloux and many more.*¹⁰

Madden, however, had evidently not compared the French and English closely, for he remarks, "there are in *The Noble Arte* many extracts from other authors, and some original matter."¹¹ The identity of these "other authors" was clarified by Messrs. Baillie-Grohman who say that *The Noble Arte* is

almost entirely a literal translation of Jacques du Fouilloux's "La Venerie," and of those portions of Gaston de Foix's "La Chasse" that were incorporated in . . . all editions after the one of 1568.¹²

8 *Turbervile*, p. 64.

9 *Master W. Silence*, p. 369. The first edition of this work was printed in 1897.

10 P. 39. The reference to Phoebus will be made clear as we proceed. "Trystram" is mentioned several times in that section of *The Noble Arte* dealing with the "Termes of Venerie," and since this does not parallel the corresponding list in *La Vénerie*, it seems that the translator had recourse to another source. The legendary Tristan was a great hunter, and his authority is cited at the beginning of *The Boke of Saint Albans* in the familiar couplet

Wheresoevere ye fare by fryth or by fell,
My dere chyldre take hede how Tristram dooth you tell

which Mr. H. S. Bennett ("Science and Information in English Writings of the Fifteenth Century," *M.L.R.*, xxxix (1944), 1-2) has also found in Lambeth MS. 491, fol. 287. William Blades, in the introduction to his edition of *The Boke of Saint Albans* (1901, p. 12), mentions its appearance in a Bodleian MS. Perhaps the translator of *The Noble Arte* used a MS. similar to these, but we have been unable to locate any book or MS. which may be cited as the specific source.

11 *Master W. Silence*, p. 369.

12 Wm. A. and F. Baillie-Grohman, eds., *The Master of Game*, by Edward, Second Duke of York (1909), p. 263.

Although they did not specify which portions of *The Noble Arte* are from Du Fouilloux, which from De Foix, and which are original (they mentioned only some of the obvious prose passages), the Baillie-Grohmanns thus made it clear that only one book was used as a source. The first edition of *La Venerie* to contain the additional material from "La Chasse" and the only one to appear before the publication of *The Noble Arte* was that of 1573, whose title-page reads as follows:

La Venerie de Jaques du Fouilloux gentilhomme seigneur dudit lieu au pais de Gastines en Poitou avec plusieurs receptes et remedes pour guarir les chiens de diuerses maladies et interpretations des mots, vocables et diccions de venerie. Plus l'art de chasser aux bestes privées et sauuages extrait du liure du Roy Phoebus [Device of Galliot du Pré]. *A Paris*, pour Galliot du Pré, libraire juré, rue St-Jacques, à l'enseigne de la Galère d'Or, 1573.¹³

The source of the new material is here given as the "livre du Roy Phoebus," which is a variant title for that most important mediaeval work on hunting—*Le Livre de Chasse* by Count Gaston de Foix, who because of his manly beauty and golden hair was known as Gaston Phoebus or *le roi Phoebus*. In the early fifteenth century Edward, Second Duke of York, translated De Foix under the title, *The Master of Game*. It was not until Du Fouilloux that the writings of De Foix were superseded as the great source of information on hunting, and even

13 The first printers of *La Venerie* were De Marnefz et Bouchetz frères, who were granted a royal privilege to extend ten years from 1560. They printed four extant editions: 1561, 1562, 1568, and one undated. The privilege then passed to Galliot du Pré, who printed one edition, that of 1573. Du Pré preserved the text of De Marnefz et Bouchetz frères but added new material: the terms of venery and extracts from the "livre du Roy Phoebus." As well, Du Pré used a new set of illustrations which were copied from those in the earlier editions.

The next edition, that of 1585 printed by Félix le Mangnier, used the Du Pré cuts but introduced minor stylistic changes, principally in the dedicatory letter to Charles IX. This edition became the textual model for all successive editions.

Although we have been unable to consult a copy or a reproduction of the 1573 edition, we have been able to reconstruct its contents from the title-page (p. 37) and the full bibliographical description (pp. 34-40) of all editions given in the 1864 reprint, published at Niort by Robin and Favre. All references are to this reprint with the exception of that to the dedicatory letter, where the De Marnefz et Bouchetz frères text is quoted from the undated copy in the Yale Library. Elsewhere variations between the texts consist of alterations in spelling and punctuation which in no way affect our discussion.

In all quotations from *La Venerie* and *The Noble Arte*, except for the title-pages, we have modernized to the extent of substituting "s" for long "ss" and employing "i," "j," "u," "v," and "w" according to current usage. Contractions, except for "and," have been silently lengthened.

then we see that Du Fouilloux still used considerable material from the older work.

The 1573 edition of *La Vénerie* contains, then, the following material:

1. 63 chapters on the hunting of the various animals.
2. "Receptes pour guarir les Chiens de Plusieurs Maladies."
3. "L'Adolescence de Jacques du Fouilloux"—a long pastoral poem dealing with a love affair of the author's.
4. "Complainte du Cerf, A Monsieur du Fouilloux par Guillaume Bouchet."
5. "Les Chasses du Roy Phebus" by Gaston de Foix.
6. "Recueil des Mots, Dictions et Manieres de Parler en L'Art de Venerie."

Items 1, 2, and 5 are translated in *The Noble Arte*. Item 4 is paraphrased and expanded, while item 6 appears in an English form that bears no resemblance to the French other than that of general subject matter.

With the original thus established we may proceed to a comparison of the French and English texts. What appears to be a plain case of translation is actually a much more complex affair: illuminating in that it clarifies the working methods of the Elizabethan translator; interesting in that it reveals the personality, and thus indirectly, the identity of the translator; and finally, fascinating in that it brings to light a double-poem which may well be a fragment of a lost masque or "shewe" devised for the entertainment of Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth. Add to this the question of the illustrations in *The Noble Arte*—a point which the Baillie-Grohman only touch upon—and it will be seen that a close comparison of the two books is a fruitful venture.

It appears, at first glance, that, with the exception of the title-page, the table of contents, and the introductory poems, *The Noble Arte* is a straightforward translation of *La Vénerie*. Indeed, the first chapter of the one is a nearly perfect counterpart of the other, and throughout *The Noble Arte* this word-for-word rendition is, in general, fairly consistent. By and large, the differences can be put down to the exigencies of translation. Mistranslations are due either to faulty French¹⁴ or to sheer perversity.¹⁵ More interesting are the emendations and expansions which inadvertently reveal the translator's personality as well as his intimate knowledge of hunting. For example, having translated his French authority on the hunting of conies, he adds:

¹⁴ Cf. *The Noble Arte*, p. 26; *La Vénerie*, fol. 8^r.

¹⁵ Cf. *The Noble Arte*, p. 178; *La Vénerie*, fol. 74^r.

George Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*,

But he seemeth not to have seene our English Warreyns, nor our maner of taking of our Conies. . . . Of all these sortes of taking Conies . . . I will hold no longer discourse: for in deede it is somewhat besides my purpose, since I accompte ferrettyng one of the coldest and unpleasantest chaces that can be followed.¹⁶

At other times the translator's paraphrases and expansions range from simple, pious, or didactic¹⁷ ejaculations to extended whimsicalities.

For commonly a Foxe will lurke in such, to pray or espie his advantage upon dame Pertelot, & such other damsels that kepe in those Courts, and to see yong pigges well ringled when they are yong, for feare least they should learne to turne up Gentlemens pastures, & to marre their meadows w^t rowt-ing, for surely M. Raynerd is a very well disposed man, and would be loth to see youth fal into such follie in any common wealth where he may strike a stroke.¹⁸

(car ils [the foxes] y demeurent volontiers pour le pourchas qu'ils ont des gelines et des oyes, et des autres ordures qui sont és villes: . . .)¹⁹

It is further observed, in comparing the books, that the first forty-three chapters in *The Noble Arte* deal with the single subject of the hunting of the hart and are, with certain exceptions,²⁰ a close rendition of the first forty-five²¹ chapters of the French and follow the latter in sequence. Thus the poem interpolated between chapters 14 and 15 and entitled "The Preface pronounced by the Hart" is a translation of the French original which appears in exactly the same place. Alteration does appear in the last quatrain which reads in the French:

16 *The Noble Arte*, pp. 179-80.

17 The didacticisms are not always mere ejaculations. For instance, Du Fouilloux's reference (*La Vénerie*, fol. 40^v) to the vagaries of fortune, of which he says there are many examples but cites only that of a valiant Prince vanquished by a beast, is expanded in *The Noble Arte* (p. 125) as an example which "may serve as a mirrour to al Princes and Potestates" and is followed by a brief moralizing.

18 *The Noble Arte*, p. 191.

19 *La Vénerie*, fol. 77^r.

20 It would be impossible within the compass of this article to note all variations, paraphrases and minor expansions. We have tried to point out all important and indicative differences.

21 Du Fouilloux's chapters 41 and 42, dealing with the use of the voice and horn in hunting, are omitted. Instead, at the end of *The Noble Arte* there are four unnumbered pages giving the English musical notes for "The measures of blowing," which differ from French usage.

Similarly, the "Termes of Venerie" (pp. 236-45) differ from those in *La Vénerie* (fols. 91^r-93^v). *Vide supra*, n. 10.

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*Si du docte Phoebus avec commencement
De Venerie icy traduite grossement,
Je me suis voulu mettre en toute diligence,
Vous en pouvoir donner parfaite intelligence.*²²

The English is expanded so that the sonnet form of the original is lost.

*Wherefore who lyst, to learne the perfect trade,
Of Venerie: and therewithall would knowe,
What properties, and vertues nature made,
In me (poore Hart, oh harmelesse Hart) to growe,
Let him give eare, to skilfull Trystram's lore,
To Phoebus, Fowylloux and many more.*²³

The translator clearly finds the first two lines of the quatrain somewhat distasteful and therefore resorts to a paraphrase which, while preserving the sense, enables him to give his sources without starting up in his reader's mind any hare of "traduite grossement." It is puzzling that the Baillie-Grohman ignored this poem when they remarked, "The result of the compiler's diligent search consisted in bodily lifting nearly all of the text and most of the illustrations of one single book—to the author of which not even the scant honour is done of once mentioning his name."²⁴ But then, later investigators have also overlooked the names of Trystram, Phoebus, and Fouilloux.

From chapter 15 on through chapter 21 *The Noble Arte* is again a faithful copy of the French. Between chapters 21 and 22 there appears another poem, "The Blazon pronounced by the Huntsman" which is followed by a short prose piece, "Of the knowledge . . . to know an olde Harte." This poem and the accompanying material are a perfectly straightforward translation of the French.

This literal copying continues until chapter 35, which in *La Venerie* is entitled "*Du Lieu Ou Se Doit Faire L'Assemblée, et comme elle se doit faire*," and consists of a short prose passage telling where and how an elaborate picnic should be held. The Englishman translates the French chapter heading, expands and alters the prose into a long poem in poulter's measure, adds an original poem addressed to Queen Elizabeth and then returns to the French for the remainder of the section. The elaborations and original material of this "assembly" passage are

²² *La Venerie*, fol. 12^r.

²³ *The Noble Arte*, p. 39.

²⁴ *Master of Game*, p. 264.

closely connected with the identity of the translator, and discussion will therefore be postponed to the second section of this article.

Chapters 36-43 of *The Noble Arte* follow Du Fouilloux's chapters 36-45. With the French material on the hart thus concluded, the English translator rounds out his treatment of this subject by adding an original section, "of the Englishe manner, in breaking up of the Deare," and an extended paraphrase of Bouchet's "Complainte du Cerf" which appears in a quite different place in *La Vénerie* (*vide supra*, p. 643). In his translation of this poem, the Englishman omits all specific references to Du Fouilloux. More important is the heightened moral tone of the English: the hart's complaint against being hunted becomes a pin on which to hang "A looking Glasse of lessons lewde, wherein all Huntres may looke," and an excuse to dilate on man's cruelty in general. The most striking digression is to be found near the close, where the hart invokes the following curse:

Et plus justes encor, qu'ilz [the gods] t'envoyent souvant
La guerre, la famine, & la peste suyvant:
Affin que retenu en ce mal-heur contraire
Tu ne nous veüille plus, ou nous puisse meffaïre.²⁵

The translator singles out the reference to war and interjects a fairly long original elaboration, invoking the curse that "*Mars* may reygne with *Man*," that his weapons will supplant those of the hunter, that "*Embuskadoes* [will] stand for nettes,"²⁶ and that, in short, man may suffer all the torments of the hunted, such as the hart has felt. The last few lines of the poem adhere to the French source.

Following this poem is a short paragraph which does not appear in *La Vénerie*.

Thus have you an end of so much as I find meete to be translated out of mine Author for the Hunting of an Harte: Wherein I have dealt faithfully for so much as I translated, neyther takyng any thing from him, nor adding any thing but that whiche I have plainly expressed, together with the reasons that moved me thereunto. And that which I have left out is nothing else but certayne unseemely verses, which bycause they are more apt for lascivious

²⁵ Undated De Marnefz et Bouchetz frères edition (*vide supra*, n. 13), p. 294. Cf. *La Vénerie*, fol. 70^r.

²⁶ *The Noble Arte*, pp. 139-40.

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mindes, than to be enterlaced amongst the noble termes of Venerie, I thought meete to leave them at large, for such as will reade them in French.

*An ende of the Huntynge and Termes which are
used in hunting the Harte.*²⁷

In a sense, this is a summary, if somewhat untruthful, of what has gone before. With chapter 44 the translator turns to another matter, the hunting of the buck. "Although mine Aucthor were a Frenchman, & in Fraunce the hunting of the Bucke is nothing so common as the hunting of the Harte is, yet somewhat he hath written thereof, the which (together with some experience of mine owne) I have thought good here to place next unto the hunting of the Harte." The material on the buck is taken from "Les Chasses du Roy Phebus" and with this extract the Englishman begins to alter the order of material as found in his original. To suit his own concept of the proper sequence of subjects, he vacillates, taking now from Du Fouilloux and now from the "Phebus." It is to be noted that in this first instance of lifting material from De Foix the translator does not acknowledge that he is switching authors. However, later on we find such chapter headings as these: "Of the nature and properties of a Foxe, out of another Author," and "Of the nature of a Badger, out of the same Author." It is this arbitrary ordering of the material and the references to fictitious authors that have confused previous investigators.

Tabular comparisons are always to be abhorred as tedious and unwieldy,²⁸ but only thus is it possible to disentangle the original material and to see that the Englishman has translated or imitated all the material in *La Vénerie* with the exception of "L'Adolescence de Jacques du Fouilloux." He has not, however, followed the order of his original but has ranged at will.

The principal original material, *aside* from that found in the assembly section, consists of prose additions dealing with purely English customs

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 140. The pointing out of additional material to which the translator alludes is, as we have seen, not so "plainly expressed" as the author would lead us to believe. As for the omission of certain "unseemly verses," our translator must refer to "L'Adolescence." This same "delicatesse" is seen elsewhere, as for example in the omission of a few descriptive words regarding the mating habits of certain animals.

²⁸ Therefore, the following tabulation has been reduced to an absolute minimum. References to Du Fouilloux's work are by chapter and those to other sections of *La Vénerie* by folio. The exact scholar is warned that while the limiting folio numbers of the "Roy

George Gascoigne, The Noble Arte of Venerie,

such as the "Englishe manner, in breaking up of the Deare," "An advertisment of the Translator [original material on the wild cat and marten]," "A short observation . . . concerning coursing with Greyhoundes," and five poems, of which one is an expansion of the French. The pattern of these poems seems inspired by the "Complainte du Cerf" in the translation of which, as we have seen, the moralizings of the hunted animal were expanded. Whereas "The wofull wordes of the Harte" is based on the French, the poetical remarks of the hare, the fox, and the otter are all original compositions written in a didactic vein. The hare complains that man has no reason to hunt him since both his skin and flesh are of little value. He concludes:

. . . yet *Grevous is the glee*
Which endes in Bloud, that lesson learne of me.²⁹

Reynard adopts a more philosophical view,³⁰ maintaining that men

Phebus" section cover all the corresponding material in *The Noble Arte*, there is no way to show the sequence of order within each particular numbering.

<i>The Noble Arte</i>	<i>La Venerie</i>
Chaps. 44-48	Fols. 72 ^v -74 ^r
Chaps. 49-57	Chaps. 46-54
Of the hunting of an Hare	Fol. 47 ^v [Quatrain between Chaps. 54 and 55]
Chaps. 58-62	Chaps. 55-59
The Hare, to the Hunter	No counterpart
Chaps. 63-64	Fols. 74 ^r -74 ^v
Chaps. 65-66	Chaps. 60-61
Chap. 67 ["out of another Author"]	Fol. 76 ^r
Chaps. 68-70 ["out of the same Author"]	Fols. 76 ^r -78 ^r
Chaps. 71-72	Chaps. 62-63
Of the Foxe	No counterpart
The Foxe to the Huntzman	No counterpart
An advertisment of the Translator	No counterpart
Chaps. 73 ["75"]-74	Fols. 79 ^v -80 ^r
The Otters oration	No counterpart
Chaps. 75-78	Fols. 74 ^v -79 ^r
Chap. 79	Fols. 59 ^v -64 ^v
Of the Termes of Venerie	Fols. 91 ^r -93 ^v
A short observation . . . Greyhoundes	No counterpart
The measures of blowing	<i>Vide supra</i> , n. 21

²⁹ *The Noble Arte*, p. 178.

³⁰ The quatrain describing the fox (p. 197) appears just before "The Foxe to the Huntzman." The translator obviously inserted this in the interests of consistency, because such a quatrain is used in the French for the hare. There is none, however, in either French or English for the otter.

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are much more destructive than foxes who are hunted only because men must have change of venery "to feede their thoughts, with drags of vaine delight." He concludes with another moral lesson:

And all (when all is done) is nothing else but vayne,
So Salomon the wiseman sayd, and so sayes Raynerd playne.³¹

The otter also attacks mankind, chiefly on the score of gluttony, ending with a stanza that bears some resemblance to Gascoigne's *The Steele Glas*.³²

So to conclude, when men their faults can mend,
And shunne the shame, wherewith they beasts do blot,
When men their time and treasure not mispende,
But follow grace, which is with paines ygot,
When men can vice rebuke and use it not:
Then shall they shine, like men of worthy fame,
And else they be but *Beasts* well worthy blame.³³

Finally, the opening lines of the section dealing with greyhounds not only show that we have here further original material, but reveal as well the translator's purpose in making additions.

Bycause I finde nothing in myne Author particularly written of coursing with Greyhounds, it seemeth unto me, that they have not that kynd of Venerie so much in estimation in France, as we do hold it here in England. . . . So that I have thought it correspondent unto this myne enterpryse, to set downe some briefe rules which I my selfe have seene observed in coursing with Greyhounds.³⁴

The translator is clearly not interested in merely rendering his French original into English; rather he wishes to produce a definitive work on venery, using the French which covered all continental aspects of the sport, but adding those details and subjects peculiar to England. Thus

³¹ *The Noble Arte*, p. 199.

³² The conclusion of *The Steele Glas* consists of a long series of "when" clauses as an answer to the question of the priests, "When shal our prayers end?" The answer is, "When men abandon their evil ways," and the vices of everyone from tailors to sycophants are cited in exact detail.

³³ *The Noble Arte*, p. 363. This should be page 205, but see below, pp. 660-1. To those who are familiar with Mr. Albert Jay Nock's *Memoirs of a Superfluous Man*, this early illustration of "Cram's Law" is noteworthy.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

George Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*,

it may be seen that "translation" is a variable word in Elizabethan usage. There are, of course, instances of literal translation,³⁵ but many times an Elizabethan translation varied considerably from its original.³⁶ This is certainly true of *The Noble Arte*, where the translator expands ideas which he finds congenial, adds illustrative material and, finally, seeks to make his work complete by adding subjects not treated in his source.

II

The Translator and
the Entertainment for Queen Elizabeth

That George Gascoigne translated *The Noble Arte* there can be no doubt. As Miss Jean Robertson³⁷ recently pointed out, the work is included among Gascoigne's writings by the poet's good friend and biographer, George Whetstone. In *A Remembraunce of the wel imployed life, and godly end, of George Gascoigne* one of the four stanzas discussing the poet's works reads as follows:

The druncken soule, transformed to a beast,	Diet for
my diet helps, a man, again to make:	drunkers
But (that which should, be praisd abooove the rest)	
My Doomes day Drum, from sin dooth you awake	Drum of
For honest sport, which dooth refresh the wit:	doomsday
I have for you, a book of hunting writ. ³⁸	Hunting.

This is the only contemporary reference to the anonymous *Noble Arte* and there is no reason for doubting it; rather there is considerable evidence to support this definite statement.

First, however, it will be well to understand how Turbervile came to be regarded as the author. Christopher Barker, the publisher of *The Noble Arte*, also published in the same year

35 Frank S. Hook, *Fenton's Belleforest* (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Missouri, 1947), i, 14, n.; C. T. Prouty, *George Gascoigne* (1942), pp. 159-72.

36 F. O. Matthiessen, *Translation: An Elizabethan Art* (1931), p. 231.

37 Jean Robertson, "George Gascoigne and *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting*," *M.L.R.*, xxxvii (1942), 484-5.

38 Arber's reprint (1868), p. 20. Whetstone here echoes Gascoigne's own words. *Vide infra*, note 53.

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The Booke of Faulconrie or HAU-/KING, FOR THE ONELY DE-/light
and pleasure of all Noblemen and Gentlemen:/ Collected out of the best
aucthors, aswell Italians as Frenchmen,/ and some English practices withall
concernyng Faulconrie, the contentes/ whereof are to be seene in the next
page folowyng./ By George Turbervile Gentleman./ NOCET EMPTA
DOLORE VOLVPTAS./ [Woodcut] Imprinted at London for Christopher
Barker, at the signe of / the Grasshopper in Paules Churchyarde. Anno.
1575./³⁹

The Noble Arte and *The Booke of Faulconrie*, so evidently designed to be companion pieces, are sometimes found bound together and since the former contained no author's name, it is easy to understand how the assumption grew that both were by Turberville. The works themselves contain evidence against any such assumption, but this evidence has been neglected. The translator of *The Noble Arte* says, "For these causes I have always allowed and confirmed their opinions, which do more esteeme Hunting than Hawking." Beside this is a marginal notation, "The Falconer sayth no."⁴⁰ Certainly this jesting indicates that the translator of *The Noble Arte* is not the translator of *The Booke of Faulconrie*. It is also curious that the absence of Turberville's name and his posy from *The Noble Arte*, both of which appear in *The Booke of Faulconrie*, has not been seen as presumptive evidence of two different authors.⁴¹ Similar evidence is found in the fact that Turberville carefully acknowledges his sources for *The Booke of Faulconrie*, while the translator of *The Noble Arte* prefers to mystify his readers. Finally, one might wonder why *The Booke of Faulconrie* has an elaborate dedication to Turberville's patron, Ambrose Dudley, whereas *The Noble Arte* is dedicated to Lord Clinton, not by the translator but by the publisher. But since both deal with the subject of sport and both were published in the same year by Christopher Barker, inference attributed *The Noble Arte* to Turberville.

On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that Christopher Barker not only had published, in the late spring of this year, Gascoigne's *The Glasse of Government* but as well had been instrumental in seeing that

³⁹ The Folger copy.

⁴⁰ *The Noble Arte*, fol. πA3^r.

⁴¹ For Turberville's use of his posy and his frequent dedications to both the Earl and Countess of Warwick, see Hankins, *Turberville*, pp. 9, 10, 13, 35, 37, 61, 79-82.

the play was written.⁴² Evidently Barker again played the part of friend and literary adviser, as we see in the mutual expressions of friendship between the printer and translator in their prefatory letters to *The Noble Arte*. Barker refers to "my friend (the Translator)"⁴³ and the latter says that he undertook the work at the request of "my friend (the Printer) who hath so thoroughly deserved my paynes."⁴⁴ Gascoigne, the repentant sinner, had found a good friend in the religious Barker.

But whereas the poet could and would acknowledge the highly moral *Glasse of Government*, he evidently did not think it well to put his name to so light and trivial a work as *The Noble Arte*. Only a few months before, he had assured "the reverende Divines," who constituted the Court of High Commission and censored such objectionable books as *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, that he was a reformed man filled with "earnest zeale in Gods service."⁴⁵ When we think of his other writings from this time on, all highly moral or designed to please Queen Elizabeth, we may conclude that such a secular work as *The Noble Arte* should not have occupied as serious a reformer as George Gascoigne! The poet did not, however, make too great an effort to conceal his authorship, for, as we have seen, Whetstone knew of it and, as we shall see, the prefatory material gives the show away.

The translation itself offers other details which confirm Whetstone's attribution of the work. For example, in that section of *The Noble Arte* which deals with greyhounds and which we have noted as an original contribution occurs the following passage:

There is another kinde of coursing which I have more used than any of these: and that is at a Deare in the night: wherein there is more arte to be used than in any course els. But bicause I have promised my betters to be a friend to al Parkes, Forrests, and Chaces, therefore I will not here expresse the experience which hath bene dearer unto me, particularly, than it is meete to be published generally.⁴⁶

42 Prouty, *George Gascoigne*, pp. 239-40.

43 *The Noble Arte*, fol. πA2^r.

44 *Ibid.*, fol. πA1^r.

45 J. W. Cunliffe, ed., *The Complete Works of George Gascoigne* (1907-10), i, 8. At the same time (i, 6) he affirms that in this second edition his poems will come forth "gelded of all filthie phrases." It is worth noting that Gascoigne was meticulous in expurgating Du Fouilloux's "unseemely verses." *Vide supra*, n. 27.

46 *The Noble Arte*, p. 248.

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A similar account of hunting the deer by night is found in one of Gascoigne's autobiographical poems.

In hunting of the deare, my fansie tooke delight,
All forests knew, my folly still, the mooneshine was my light:
In frosts I felt no cold, a sunneburnt hew was best,
I sweate and was in temper still, my watching seemed rest:
What daungers deepe I past, it follie were to tell,
And since I sigh to think thereon, *Fansie* (quoth he) *farewell*.⁴⁷

The close correspondence of these two passages in their description of a somewhat unusual sport seems to us additional proof of Gascoigne's authorship.

A further parallel between the original material in *The Noble Arte* and Gascoigne's other literary work of the spring of 1575 is found in the sententious and didactic spirit common to all. It will be remembered that the elaboration of the "Complainte du Cerf" is of a moralizing nature based on the theme of "A Looking Glasse of lessons lewde," and the completely original complaints of the hare, fox, and otter all are castigations of mankind for particular vices. *The Glasse of Government* both in general tone and in details reflects a similar view.⁴⁸ Further it should be noted that metrical parallels for these original poems can also be found in *The Glasse*.

Even though he avowed himself a reformed sinner, Gascoigne could not conceal his twin faults which Gabriel Harvey described as "Sum vanity: & more levity." Such levity appears in the two poems which together with Barker's dedication and the letter of the translator constitute the prefatory matter. The first of these poems is headed "*George Gascoigne, in the commen-/dation of the noble Arte/ of Venerie*,"⁴⁹ and is signed "Tam Marti quàm Mercurio," the posy which Gascoigne used for all his work from 1575 on. The second poem, which follows on the next page, bears the somewhat cryptic heading "*T.M.Q. in prayse of this booke*" and is signed "*Latet, quod non patet*."⁵⁰ Its theme is straightforward advertising ending with the declaration:

⁴⁷ Cunliffe, *Wks. of Gascoigne*, i, 380.

⁴⁸ Prouty, *George Gascoigne* (pp. 187, 188, 240) presents evidence of the moralizings in *The Glasse of Government*. Specific details are to be found in the reflections of the chorus which complete each act of *The Glasse*.

⁴⁹ *The Noble Arte*, fol. πA3^v.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. πA4^r.

George Gascoigne, The Noble Arte of Venerie,

A Booke well bought, God graunt it so be solde
For sure such Bookes, are better worth than golde.

What a deal of levity and vanity are here! First, the anonymous translator can, under his own name, praise his work and secondly, while most openly pretending to be still another person, can urge the purchase of the book. "*T.M.Q.*" is certainly "Tam Marti Quàm" with "Mercurio" omitted, and the final posy is flippant, to say the least—"What is not obvious is concealed." Gascoigne had played this same game before in his novel, "The Adventures of Master F.J.," when, under the guise of an anonymous *G.T.*, he praised his own work and commented on it at will.

Further, the prefatory matter reveals Gascoigne playing another game with his readers. Du Fouilloux, in his introductory letter to Charles IX,⁵¹ justifies his subject matter by recalling that although "ce grand Sage Salomon" said that "toutes choses qui sont soubz le Soleil, ne sont que vanitez, d'autant qu'on ne veoyt science ni art qui puisse alonger la vie plus que le cours de nature," it was his belief that there was no better science to learn than that which "se tenir joyeux usant d'honestes exercices: entre lesquelz je n'en trouvé aucun plus louable que l'art de la Venerie." This argument and its reference to Solomon appear not only in the prefatory letter of the English translator⁵² but as well in Gascoigne's commendatory poem.⁵³ It is again apparent that we are dealing with but one man and that man had translated Du Fouilloux and had read the introductory letter to Charles IX.⁵⁴

Similarly, the "*T.M.Q.*" poem echoes "The Translator to the Reader." In the latter Gascoigne tells us that the printer has searched English, French, Latin, Italian and Dutch works on the subject. As "*T.M.Q.*" he emphasizes the same point as a reason for buying the book.

51 *La Vénerie*, fol. ij^r, undated edition by De Marnefz et Bouchetz frères (Yale University Library). *Vide supra*, n. 13.

52 "For if (as Salomon sayeth) all earthly things be vanities, then are those moste to be esteemed which may continew the life of Man in most comfort and godly quiet of mynd, with honest recreation."

53 And Salomon doth say, that all the rest is vaine,
Unlesse that myrth and merie cheere, may follow toile and paine . . .
Why leade not men such lives, in quiet comely wise,
As might with honest sport and game, their worldly minds suffice?

54 A recurrence of the idea is found in the text, in the original poem "The Foxe to the Huntessman. *Vide supra*, pp. 648-9.

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And to be short, as much as *Latine, Greeke,*
Italians, French, High Dutch, or English skill,
Can teach, *to Hunt, to Herbor, lodge, or seeke,*
To force, to take, to conquer, or to kill,
All games of chase: So much this booke describes,
In proper termes, as wit can (well) devise.

Finally, there is a parallel between Gascoigne's commendatory verse and the text. In praising the sport of hunting Gascoigne compares the setting of relays to the military device of ambushing. It will be remembered that the analogy between hunting and warfare appears as original material in "The wofull wordes of the Hart" where "*Embuskadoes*" are compared to nets.

It is with his account of the assembly, however, that Gascoigne makes his most interesting and important addition. At long last the shackles of translation are thrown off and the poetic imagination gambols freely in the open forest. Passing from translation to paraphrase, from an elaboration of his source to the conception of an original device, the author, for so he has become, not only enlarges and alters the account of the assembly but finally adds a poem which is completely original and is nowhere even remotely suggested in the French.

Du Fouilloux's account of an assembly describes the correct procedure for an *al fresco* refreshment "soubz des arbres aupres d'une fontaine ou ruisseau, là où les Veneurs se doivent tous rendre pour faire leur rapport." The *sommelier* should arrive accompanied by three good horses laden with the wines of Arbois, Beaune, Chaloe, and Grave which are to be cooled in the stream or fountain. The *cuisinier* will come provided with hams, smoked beef tongues, loins of pork, various sausages, veal tongues covered with white powder, and all other items necessary to feed the company.

The King or noble Lord leading the hunt will, with his companions, spread mantles on the grass where they will eat, drink and make merry. While attending the report of the huntsmen entertainment should be provided by "quelque femme de reputation en ce pays qui fasse plaisir aux compagnons."

The huntsmen arrive to report and present the fewmishings of the various deer they have located and the King or noble Lord will choose

the animal to be pursued. At this point Du Fouilloux, in an aside to the reader which is labelled an "Advertissement," says that although he has described the general manner of reporting to the King or Lord, he will now in a poem recite such a report as he should like to make to the King. Thus ends the chapter in *La Venerie*.⁵⁵

Turning to *The Noble Arte* we find, first of all, that the prose of the French is supplanted by a long poem in poulter's measure. Typical of Gascoigne's elaboration is his description of the proper setting for an assembly.

The place should first be pight, on pleasant gladsome greene,
Yet under shade of stately trees, where little sunne is seene:
And neare some fountaine spring, whose chrystall running streames,
May helpe to coole the parching heate, ycaught by *Phoebus* beames.⁵⁶

The additions made to the foregoing well illustrate the general method, which is to make the setting specific and real. Nor can Gascoigne resist the opportunity to moralize in a conventional vein: such a place is contrasted with the artificialities of the court. Here are no tapestries or "hote perfumes." The boughs and flowers grow in a state of nature; they have not been gathered to deck a hall. The music is that of the birds, while the air is fresh, not pent in a room.

In fine and to conclude, where pleasure dwels at large,
Which Princes seeke in Pallaces, with payne and costly charge.⁵⁷

The first actor to appear on such a scene is the Butler who, although he is, of course, the counterpart of the *sommelier*, is described as "formost doctor there."⁵⁸ Instead of the *sommelier's* few horses, the Butler has "some wagons, cartes, some Mules or jades yladen till they sweate." The drinking vessels also are given the quality of definite reality.

These little pinching pots, which Potheccaries use,
Are all too fine, fye fye on such, they make men but to muse.

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, fol. 28^r. In *The Noble Arte* (p. 96) this poem is translated; however, "Queene" is substituted for "Roy" and a reference to "Trystram" is added.

⁵⁶ *The Noble Arte*, p. 91.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Du Fouilloux says that the *sommelier's* horses are laden with "instrumens pour arrouser le gosier." Gascoigne projects a conceit in which the Butler is a "doctor" who seeks to cure the thirst of his "patients" with "drugs" which are, of course, the various wines.

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My Doctor brings his drugs, to counterpaise all quarrels,
In Kilderkins and Fyrkins full, in Bottles and in Barrels.⁵⁹

With the appearance of the Cook, Gascoigne passes from paraphrase to the conception of a device or wondrous "deepe invention," as he would have called it.⁶⁰ The Cook is a "captaine" in the fight against hunger, and the military figure is elaborated when his cohorts seek "some meanes, a quarrell with, my Doctor for to fynde." In the ensuing struggle the Cook's men bring up all the specific foods listed in the French source and many more. The Butler, to counter this "skyrnish," "clearly turnes the Tappe, and goeth beyond them quite." This stratagem succeeds and the Cook flees the field, "but Butlers still abyde, and sound their Drummes and make retreat." ⁶¹

In other words, Gascoigne has created a masque⁶² wherein the usual struggle between two opposing forces is acted by the Butler, the Cook, and their adherents. His vivid and dramatic imagination has thus gone far beyond the brief description found in the French.

But there is more entertainment to come, for no sooner has the Butler won the field than the huntsmen crave license of "King or Queene to see their battel plast."⁶³ This granted, the huntsmen set upon both Cook and Butler. Like the previous struggle this has no counterpart in the source and is the outcome of Gascoigne's imagination which saw the dramatic possibilities of an assembly.

From the context of this description, it does not appear that Gascoigne had a particular occasion in mind. He speaks of the leader or head of the hunt as "King or comely Queene."⁶⁴ The final couplets do, however, introduce a specific reference.

⁵⁹ *The Noble Arte*, pp. 91-2.

⁶⁰ Cf. *George Gascoigne's A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, ed. C. T. Prouty (University of Missouri Studies, xvii (1942), no. 2), p. 72.

⁶¹ *The Noble Arte*, p. 92.

⁶² The Butler's "drummes" may be considered as part of the military device, but they also suggest the drum carried in a masque, as in the Wedding Mask of Sir Henry Unton (E. K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, i, frontispiece).

⁶³ *The Noble Arte*, p. 92.

⁶⁴ *La Vénérerie* refers to "le Roy ou le Seigneur," so Gascoigne's "King or comely Queene" shows that he is thinking as an Englishman ruled by a Queen.

George Gascoigne, The Noble Arte of Venerie,

The field thus fought and done, the huntsmen come agayne,
Of whome some one upon his knee, shall tell the Prince full playne,
This little lesson here, which followeth next in place,
Forgive me (Queene) which am to bold, to speak unto yo^r grace.⁶⁵

The kneeling huntsman then proceeds to recite an original poem in rhyme royal which, in our judgment, definitely relates the whole affair to the Kenilworth festivities.

My Liege forgive the boldnesse of your man,
Which comes to speake before your grace him call:
My skylle is small, yet must I as I can,
Presume to preach, before these Barons all,
And tell a tale, which may such mynds appall
As passe their dayes in slouthfull idlenesse,
The fyrst foule nourse to worldly wickednesse.

Since golden time, (my liege) doth never stay,
But fleeth still about with restlesse wyngs,
Why doth your grace, let time then steale away,
Which is more worth, than all your worldly things?
Beleeve me (liege) beleeve me Queenes and Kyngs,
One only houre (once lost) yeldes more anoy,
Than twentie dayes can cure with myrth and joy.

And since your grace determinde by decree,
To hunt this day, and recreate your mynde,
Why syt you thus and lose the game and glee
Which you might heare? why ringeth not the winde,
With hornes and houndes, according to their kynde?
Why sit you thus (my liege) and never call,
Our houndes nor us, to make you sport withall?

Perchance the fight, which sodenly you saw,
Erewhyles betweene, these overbragging bluddes,
Amasde your mynde, and for a whyle did draw
Your noble eyes, to settle on such suddes.
But peerelesse Prince, the moysture of such muddes,
Is much too grosse and homely for your grace,
Behold them not, their pleasures be but base.

65 *The Noble Arte*, pp. 92-3.

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Behold us here, your true and trustie men,
Your huntres, your hyndes, your swaynes at all assayes,
Which overthrow them, (being three to tenne)
And now are prest, with bloudhounds and relayes,
With houndes of crye, and houndes well worthy prayse,
To rowze, to runne, to hunt and hale to death,
As great a Hart as ever yet bare breath.

This may be seene, (a Princes sport in deede)
And this your grace, shall see when pleaseth you:
So that voutsafe, (O noble Queene) with speede,
To mount on horse, that others may ensue,
Untill this Hart be rowzde and brought to view.
Then if you finde, that I have spoke amysse,
Correct me Queene: (till then) forgive me this.⁶⁶

Even more important than this sudden and specific address to the Queen is the strange shift in situation and point of view. We may well realize that the struggle of the Cook and Butler is envisioned in dramatic form, but now we are told by the huntsman that what had seemingly existed only in the poet's imagination has actually taken place, for he says:

Perchance the fight, which sodenly you saw,
Erewhyles betweene, these overbragging bluddes,
Amasde your mynde, and for a whyle did draw
Your noble eyes, to settle on such suddes.

Turning back we may find a clue to explain how we suddenly find ourselves in the forest listening to a huntsman reading Queen Elizabeth a "little lesson" on the very day on which she had determined by decree to hunt. At the conclusion of the assembly poem, the huntsmen return, "Of whome some one upon his knee, shall tell the Prince full playne, [etc.]." Now the Cook-Butler and Huntsmen episodes have been described in the present tense,⁶⁷ but of a sudden there is a shift to the

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-4.

⁶⁷ These shifts in tense are extremely interesting in their revelation of how completely the poet became absorbed in his work. As has been noted, Du Fouilloux gives *directions* for his assembly and his verbs are in accordance: "se doit faire," "les mettra refraischir," "seront arrivez," etc. Gascoigne follows this method in the beginning of his assembly poem where he is translating and paraphrasing: "the place should first be pight," the Butler "shall be formost doctor there," but with the description of what the Butler "brings" he settles down to the present tense.

future. Clearly Gascoigne is here giving a stage direction. He evidently has realized that his masque can be used to entertain the Queen and so he adds the original poem addressed to her.

Fully to understand the sequence of events, however, it will be well to examine certain aspects of the Kenilworth progress and Gascoigne's contribution to the festivities.

Although we do not know with certainty when the poets who shared in the preparation of the various masques and "shewes" were commissioned, they surely must have been given as much advance notice as the manufacturers of fireworks who were angling for commissions early in May.⁶⁸ Gascoigne dates his letter, "The Translator to the Reader," June 16, 1575, by which time he must have been at work on the Kenilworth compositions. On July 9 Elizabeth arrived at the Castle where Gascoigne had everything in readiness for the production of his masque, *Zabeta*. But the masque was never presented, probably, as has been suggested, because its final soliloquy urged the Queen to marry Leicester.⁶⁹

To judge from Laneham's account⁷⁰ of the Kenilworth progress, one of the Queen's favorite pastimes was hunting, and certainly Gascoigne was not the man to neglect the opportunity offered by his translation of *The Noble Arte*. While he was engaged in this latter task, he evidently realized that his account of the assembly could be utilized in the royal entertainment. Such seems to be a reasonable explanation of the assembly and the original poem.

At what point Gascoigne saw these possibilities cannot be accurately ascertained. At any rate he must have inserted his original poem before the manuscript went to the printer. This may be concluded from the bibliographical evidence of "The Otter's oration" which, with its attendant matter, is printed on signatures "a" and "aij", paginated 359, 358, 363, 362. This material reached the printer too late for proper inclusion, so signature N6 was cancelled and the material inserted with the

68 *Report on the Pepys Manuscripts* (Hist. MSS. Comm. (1911), pp. 178-9). Letter of "Henry Killigrew to the Earl of Leicester."

69 J. W. Cunliffe, "The Queenes Majesties Entertainment at Woodstocke," *P.M.L.A.*, xxvi (1911), 130.

70 Printed in John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (1823), i, 426-523. Elizabeth hunted on July 9, 11, 13, and 18.

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pagination as noted. N7 resumes the original pagination, being numbered 205. Some such insertion would have been necessary had the huntsman's poem not been included in the original manuscript sent to the printer.

It will be remembered that the characters of the Cook and Butler do have their counterparts in *La Venerie* but the huntsmen are only mentioned in connection with their report of various deer in the vicinity. The last two couplets of Gascoigne's description seem to us to show the transition. Up to this point Gascoigne has simply rendered in dramatic form an account of an assembly, but with his realization of its potential value at Kenilworth he abruptly passes to the actual scene in which he sees Queen Elizabeth as the chief spectator, listening to the huntsman's "little lesson."

The theme of this poem is one which Gascoigne had already dealt with during the spring of 1575. In both *The Glasse of Government* and the "greene Knight" sequence fleeting time is discussed at length, but it seems to us that in the huntsman's poem Gascoigne purposed more than a trite moral reflection on wasting time. In these lines which urge the Queen

To rowze, to runne, to hunt and hale to death,
As great a Harte as ever yet bare breath

we see a possible reference to Leicester as a desirable consort. If our belief be correct, it may explain why there is no reference to any such assembly masque in Laneham's letter. Even as *Zabeta* touched on a dangerous subject, so did this.

Perhaps an assembly was conducted according to Gascoigne's scenario, but it may have occupied such an incidental part in a day's sport that Laneham omitted reference or did not know of it. At any rate Gascoigne did not include it in *The Princely Pleasures*, but there is a variety of explanations for such omission. He may well have hoped to prepare the second edition of *The Noble Arte* of which he speaks at the conclusion of the "Termes of Venerie."⁷¹ A second edition would cer-

⁷¹ *The Noble Arte*, p. 243. "Wherein I desire all such as are skilfull, to beare with my boldnesse: promising that if any thing be amysse, it shall (God willing) be amended at the nexte impression, if I lyve so long." Gascoigne died in 1577. No further edition of the book appeared until 1611.

tainly have profited by the inclusion of references to the Kenilworth festivities. Then, too, Gascoigne could not have acknowledged the work in *The Princely Pleasures* without abandoning his anonymity. Whether it was presented or not, this charming portrayal of a *fête champêtre* with its attendant masque shows us a typical day's sport as enjoyed by the Queen and her courtiers. As well, study of it reveals once more Gascoigne's quick and dramatic imagination proceeding from translation to a pretty conceit and thence to the creation of a masque, too few of which have been preserved for us from this particular period.

III

The Illustrations

Gascoigne, in his letter, "The Translator to the Reader," says that the printer "*hath disbursed great summes for the Copies, translations, pictures and impressions*,"⁷² but this, like his statements regarding sources, needs qualification. The Baillie-Grohman say that five of the fifty-three woodcuts are original while "the others are either identical with those used by Du Fouilloux—probably some of the French blocks were imported—or are closely copied from the Frenchman's illustrations."⁷³ Madden is more accurate when he observes, "Most of the woodcuts . . . are reproductions of those in *La Vénérerie*, but some are original."⁷⁴

Actually, there are thirty-two different woodcuts in *The Noble Arte*. Twenty-seven are copies of the cuts which appeared in *La Vénérerie* and five are original. Those copied from the French are frequently used more than once. For example, the woodcut of the pursuit of the hart appears five times. Twelve cuts appear more than once, thus making a total of fifty-three illustrations for *The Noble Arte*.

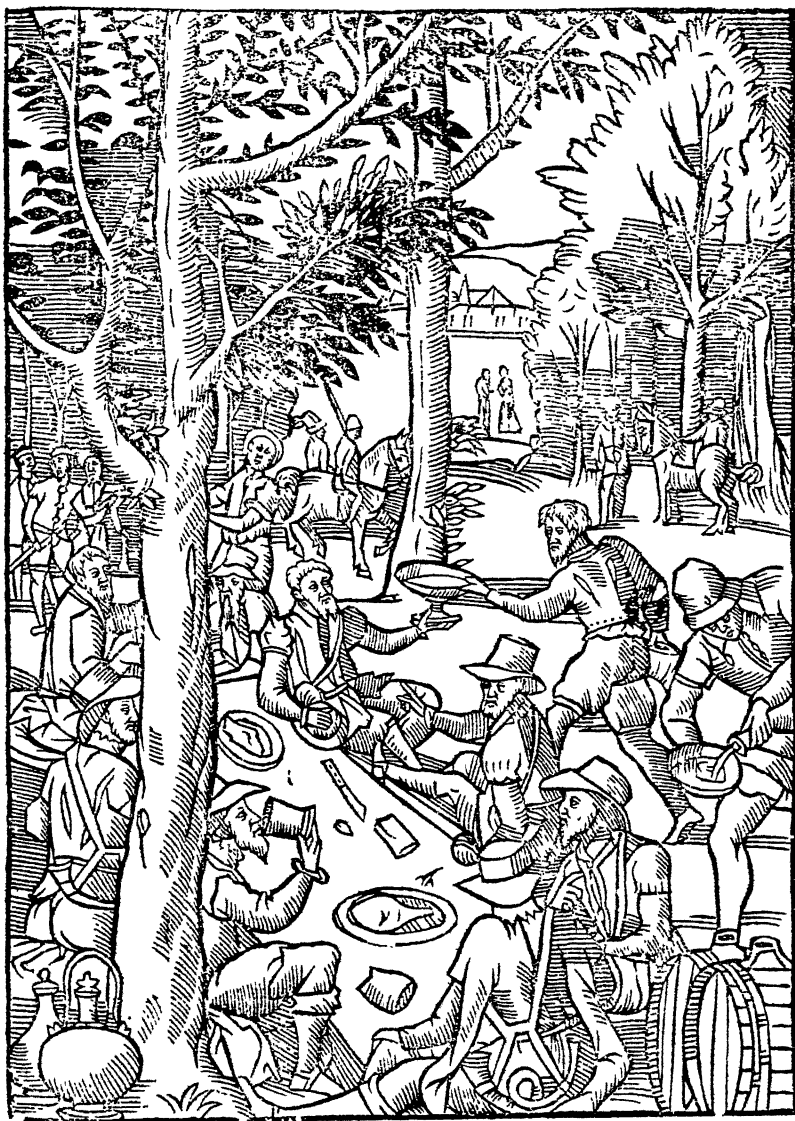
That two sets of woodcuts were used in the various editions of *La Vénérerie* has already been pointed out,⁷⁵ and it only remains to observe that there are in *The Noble Arte* five original illustrations while the

⁷² *Ibid.*, fol. πA2^{r-v}.

⁷³ *Master of Game*, p. 263.

⁷⁴ D. H. Madden, *A Chapter of Medieval History* (1924), pp. 22-3.

⁷⁵ *Vide supra*, note 13.



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PLATE V. L'Assemblée, from the 1585 edition of *La Vénérice*

remainder are copies of the cuts first used in Du Pré's edition of 1573.⁷⁶

Four of the five original illustrations⁷⁷ seem to have been executed by one engraver but whether he was, as well, the copier of the French cuts is uncertain. These four are the title-page illustration of huntsmen and hounds, the assembly with Queen Elizabeth as the central figure, the huntsman displaying the fewmishings to the Queen, and the Queen assisting at the "breaking up" of the deer. The fifth, a representation of an otter eating a fish, is unlike any other woodcut in the volume in its style and lacks the border and background detail found both in the copies and in the other four original cuts. Since the page on which this appears is an insert, probably the cut was one which had been used in some previous book and which was hastily chosen, as time did not allow the preparation of a new engraving.

The title-page and the three woodcuts which picture Queen Elizabeth are in a style definitely superior to that of the copies from the French and it is interesting to observe the definite individuality given the huntsman, since it would seem that the artist had a particular person in mind. Although it be pure speculation, we are inclined to wonder if Gascoigne himself had anything to do with the original woodcuts. It is known that Gascoigne did on one occasion draw an emblematic design in a letter to Sir Nicholas Bacon, and we fancy we see a certain resemblance between the huntsman and the portrait of Gascoigne on the reverse of the title-page of *The Steele Glas*.⁷⁸

Whoever the artist, he evidently consulted *La Venerie* since his illustrations bear some relationship to similar cuts in the French work. For example, comparison of the French and English versions of the assembly, which are here reproduced,⁷⁹ indicate that the English artist had

⁷⁶ Proof of this last point would involve us in a plenitude of minutiae, such as differences in cross-hatchings, shadings and other details, but there is no doubt that the English cuts are copies.

⁷⁷ These appear in respective order on pages 1, 90, 95, 133, and 359 (i.e. 203). These are all reproduced in the edition of 1611 with the exception of that showing the Queen receiving the report of the huntsman. The two other cuts showing the Queen are altered in this edition with those portions of the cut representing Elizabeth cut out of the block and a likeness of King James inserted.

⁷⁸ Hazlitt (*op. cit.*, ii, 303) observes, "In three of these [woodcuts], . . . Gascoigne (if I am not mistaken) is introduced presenting to the Queen some trophy of the chase."

⁷⁹ See Plates V and VI.

not only seen the French picture but was remembering and copying one bit of it. There is an amazing similarity of detail in the lower right corner of both woodcuts. In each the ends of two drum kegs appear and behind these a man steps forward on his right foot filling a mazor from a jug held in his left hand.

The portrayal of the huntsman displaying the fewmishings in *The Noble Arte* has similar likenesses to its counterpart in *La Vénerie*, although at first glance the two seem quite different. Where the French uses an indoor setting with the King or noble Lord seated behind a table and the huntsman kneeling in the center foreground, the English, in an outdoor scene, shows the Queen on a viewing stand, accompanied by her ladies and courtiers. A general resemblance is to be observed, however, in the relative positions of persons, animals and inanimate objects. Just as the poet, in the assembly section, passed from translation to creation, so the engraver, in these two instances at least, passed from a partial copy to an original depiction of a wholly English scene.

The third representation of Queen Elizabeth pictures her receiving a knife from the huntsman with which to make the first incision in the body of the deer in conformity with the English fashion of "breaking up" the deer, a custom not described in *La Vénerie*, where only the French method is given and illustrated. Thus there are no parallels to be seen between the two cuts.

Finally, the title-page woodcut, while in the same style as the three depicting Queen Elizabeth, has no counterpart in the French and portrays hunters and hounds setting out for a day's sport.

It is needless to emphasize the Elizabethan fondness for the chase which is witnessed time and again in the literature of the period, but it has seemed worth while to examine thus in detail the definitive contemporary study of the subject, so that scholars may know the source of the work and the original sections and may see the great Queen engaged in one of her favorite pastimes. Finally, it is well to reclaim for George Gascoigne a work which further testifies to the breadth of his interests. Not only was he courtier, soldier and poet; as well he was a true *amateur* of venery, "*A sport for Noble peeres, a sport for gentle bloods.*"

The booke of Hunting.

Of the place where and howe an assembly should be made,
in the presence of a Prince, or some honorable person.



PLATE VI. The Assembly, from *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, 1575

ROBERT PARSONS' ESSAY ON ATHEISM

By ERNEST A. STRATHMANN

In his well-known attack upon the "atheism" of his day, Thomas Nashe turns from his own arguments to praise a book which he recommends as the best cure for infidelity:

O why should I but squintingly glance at these matters, when they are so admirably expatiated by auncient Writers? In the *Resolution* most notably is thys tractate enlarged. He which peruseth that, and yet is *Diagoriz'd*, will neuer be Christianiz'd.¹

In other words, there is no hope for an atheist who can read the *Resolution* without being converted. The book which Nashe praises so highly under its popular title was, ironically, the work of an arch-enemy of English Protestantism, the Jesuit Robert Parsons. Yet it went through many editions in several versions; it won the praise of readers who hated the author; it was acknowledged by repentant sinners as the direct cause of their reformation. The history of this influential volume is imperfectly recorded in some of our standard reference works, and its contribution to the Elizabethan war on "atheism" has been sketchily appraised.² The two problems are closely related, because the greatest

1 *Christs Teares Ouer Ierusalem* (1593), in *Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (1904-10), ii, 121. Here, as commonly in the Renaissance, Diagoras is the prototype of the atheist; Nashe adds a marginal note: "Diagoras primus Deos negans." Nashe makes a passing reference (i, 327) to the quarrel which developed about the rival versions of the *Resolution*.

In my quotations from early printed books I have expanded conventional abbreviations, but otherwise I have retained the original spelling. I have preserved the spelling but not the typography of early titles.

2 The principal bibliographical error concerns the relationship to Parsons' work of the Protestant *Seconde parte of the Booke of Christian exercise* (1590), described below. I have consulted De Backer and Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*; Joseph Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*; the *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books*; and F. Madan, *The Early Oxford Press* (1895), p. 16. The *Short-Title Catalogue* differentiates the editions correctly, but the necessary brevity of the entries obscures some of the relationships of the editions in content. The bibliographical section of my article, based on an examination of the early editions in the Folger Shakespeare Library, is limited to explaining these relationships; I do not attempt a collation of all the editions of each version of the book.

The most satisfactory account of Parsons' *Resolution* known to me is by Herbert Thurston, "Catholic Writers and Elizabethan Readers. I. Father Parsons' *Christian Directory*," *The Month*, lxxxii (1894), 457-76; here the development of Parsons' book is

Robert Parsons' Essay on Atheism

single change in the development of the book is the inclusion—and later the exclusion—of chapters dealing specifically with atheism. In this article I shall review the bibliographical history of Parsons' book, describe the additions which constitute an independent treatise on atheism, and indicate something of its popularity and influence.

I

Robert Parsons began his work as an enlargement of the English translation of Gaspar Loarte's *The Exercise of a Christian Life* (1579?), but found that his new material did not fit the old.³ His judgment on this matter was sound, for Loarte's book is addressed to the Catholic reader who was settled in his faith rather than to the Catholic reader beset by the problems of living under repressive legislation. Parsons' aim was to strengthen those who might waver in their faith, and perhaps to win back apostates. Accordingly he published his new material as the first installment of a projected work in three books. This installment, in two parts, is entitled *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, appertayning to resolution* (1582). The simple meaning of "resolution" is indicated by the descriptive continuation of the title: "Wherein are layed downe the causes and reasons that should moue a man to resolue hym selfe to the seruice of God: And all the impedimentes remoued, which may lett the same." Since this is only the first book, on the verso of the title-page is printed "The Summarie of the Christian exercise, as it is intended," an outline which promises a second book treating "of the waye how to begynne well" and a third book

clearly presented. This article is followed closely by Maria Hagedorn, *Reformation und Spanische Andachtsliteratur: Luis de Granada in England* (Leipzig, 1934), pp. 110-20, who adds to Father Thurston's account some illustrations of Parsons' indebtedness to Luis de Granada. The *Resolution* is not mentioned by G. T. Buckley, *Atheism in the English Renaissance* (1932). Although the content of the *Resolution* is found in other Elizabethan treatises on atheism, few could match it in popularity or acknowledged effectiveness.

3 In the preface to *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise* (1582) Parsons explains that his purpose is to enlarge and reprint Loarte's book. He allows this preface to stand, and adds on the leaf following (A2^r) the title "An Advertisement to the Reader" explaining the change in his plans. The translation to which Parsons refers was made by Stephen Brinkley under the pseudonym "James Sancer"; it was reprinted in an enlarged edition in 1584, and in 1594 with a title that emphasized its connection with the *Resolution*, by that time a best-seller. For further information about Brinkley see Thurston, *op. cit.*, pp. 463-4.

Robert Parsons' *Essay on Atheism*

to "handle the meanes of perseuerance." Books II and III never appeared, although a quarter of a century later Parsons still hoped to complete the project. In 1584 appeared a second edition of *The Christian Exercise*, unauthorized but also Catholic, which Parsons dismissed briefly as "disorderly" and incorrect.⁴

His wrath was aroused many degrees beyond such casual reproof by the Protestant adaptation of his book, edited by Edmund Bunny: *A Booke of Christian exercise, appertaining to Resolution, . . . Perused, and accompanied now with A Treatise tending to Pacification* (1584).⁵ In this form alone the book went through twenty editions by 1640.⁶ Parsons responded immediately to this appropriation of his work: he already had under way a revised edition—still Book I only in two parts—which included new material and which was published under a new title: *A Christian Directorie Guiding Men To Their Salvation . . . with reprove of the corrupt and falsified edition of the same booke lately published by M. Edm. Buny* (1585).⁷ In a sharply worded preface he rejected the intended conciliation of Bunny's "Treatise of Pacification," rebuked him for his alterations of the text, jibed

4 This edition of the Catholic version is *S.T.C.* 19354. Because the printer miscalculated in setting the preliminary matter, the summary of the contents is at the end of the volume. In the preface to his own revised edition, *A Christian Directorie* (1585), Sig. a5^r, Parsons reproved this unauthorized publication "as a matter onely of indiscretion without malice," and then turned to a vigorous assault upon his Protestant adapter.

5 In addition the Folger Shakespeare Library has five variant copies of the editions of Bunny's work listed in the *S.T.C.*

6 Without actual collation of all the editions which followed, it is difficult to say how many editions of this particular enlargement of the book were printed. The edition of 1633 is labelled the seventh, but the publisher may be including in his count still another revision of the work by Parsons (in 1607) described below.

7 The "Treatise" simply provoked one more controversy which continued for many years as a minuscule battle in the warfare of English Catholics and Protestants. Edmund Bunny answered Parsons by taking up his objections one by one, through one hundred and sixty-six pages. The full title of his book is *A Briefe Answer, unto those idle and friuolous quarrels of R. P. against the late edition of the Resolution: . . . Whereunto are praefixed the booke of Resolution, and the treatise of Pacification, perused and noted in the margent, on all such places as are misliked of R. P. shewing in what Section of this Answer following, those places are handled* (1589). I have examined a photostat of *A Briefe Answer*, but I have not seen the edition of the *Resolution* which the title-page describes as keyed to the *Answer*. J. Radford entered the quarrel on Parsons' behalf in *A Directorie Teaching the Way to the Truth* (1605); the dedicatory epistle is dated March 27, 1599, and the epistle to the reader April 10, 1594. Appended to the work is "A Short Treatise Against Adiaphorists, Neuters, and such as . . . would make of

at the Protestants' inability to produce their own works of devotion, and, characteristically, labelled as "atheism" Bunny's attempts to minimize the differences between the Roman Catholic and Protestant religions. At the end of chapter v of part I Parsons noted that he had become aware of Bunny's publication, and thenceforward indicated in the margin the corruptions of the text by his Protestant editor. Included in the new material for this edition are a long, well-written, and carefully reasoned chapter on atheism and a related chapter on proofs of Christianity.

These additions in the new Catholic version left Bunny's Protestant adaptation incomplete, but the defect was supplied by an anonymous publication which combines both the titles used by Parsons: *The Seconde parte of the Booke of Christian exercise, appertayning to Resolution. Or a Christian directorie, guiding all men to their saluation* (1590). This edition has been the cause of a certain amount of bibliographical error—understandably so, since the anonymous editor is somewhat disingenuous in his choice of title and in his brief explanation of the relationship of this new installment to previous publications. The book in fact is made up of the first five chapters, including those on atheism, from *part I* of Parsons' enlarged edition of 1585, and a sixth and last chapter which corresponds to *part II*, chapter i, of Parsons' edition. This "second part," therefore, has no relation to Parsons' division of the first book in two parts, or to his plan for a complete treatise of three books; it is "second" only in the sense that it is an addition to the first Protestant version. It is not unusual to find joined in an early binding a copy of Bunny's adaptation and a copy of the Protestant *Seconde parte*.⁸ Just how far the Protestant editor distorted Parsons' explanation of the

many diuers sects one Church," in which Radford (in an extended passage beginning at p. 563) rejected Bunny's olive branch, affirmed that every point of Roman Catholic doctrine is essential, and ridiculed Bunny himself. Five years later, Bunny published *Of Divorce for Adulterie . . . With a Note in the End, that R. P. many yeeres since was answered* (1610). In his note, Bunny charged that Parsons in his 1607 revision of *The Christian Directory* "wrangleth afresh about some of those his stale matters again" without replying to *A Briefe Answer*. He rallied his adversary for his failure to supply the long-promised Books II and III, and alluded to Radford's entrance into the quarrel, "in certaine discourses of his of other matters, published in the yeere 1599."

8 E.g., the Folger Shakespeare Library has copies of *S.T.C.* 19357 bound with 19380; of *S.T.C.* 19367 bound with 19384a (dated 1599); and of *S.T.C.* 19374 bound with 19387. Both parts of the last volume were printed in 1615.

additions may be seen by brief comparison of the Catholic original with what is alleged to be a quotation. Some of the new material, Parsons writes, is added partly because of his own liking and partly to offset the grievous effects of schism and heresy which confuse men and lead them to think that all religions are equally probable. He continues:

These thinges (I saie) being so (which is alwaies the effect of diuision and heresie,) those vertuous and discrete men were of opinion that it should not be amisse in this second edition to adioyne two chapters of the certaintie of one God, and of our Christian faith and religion. Besides this, I was admonished by the writings of our *aduersaries* since the publishing of my first edition, how they misliked two principal pointes in that booke. First, that I speake so much of good workes and so litle of faith: secondly, that I talked so largely of Godes iustice and so breefly of his mercie. In both which pointes, albeit an indifferent man might haue bene satisfied before, and easilie perceaued that the aduersarie doth but picke quarels of calumniation: yet to giue more full contentement in this matter, euen vnto our enemies: I haue besides that which is spoken els where (and namely in the 2 and 4 chapters touching faith), adioyned also a special chapter of the two seueral partes of Christian profession, which are beleefe and life. And for the second, I haue framed a whole new chapter in the beginning of the second part, intituled against dispaire of Godes mercie. . . .

And yet was there besides al these, one cause more, which also I conceaued by information of others. . . . [This objection was that the reader might be troubled and afflicted in conscience by the book without being consoled.] For remedie of which inconueniencie (if it were an inconueniencie,) I haue inserted *diuers chapters and discourses* of matters more plausible, and of them selues more indifferent, wherwith the reader may solace his minde at such times, as he findeth the same not willing to feelee the spurre of more earnest motion to perfection.⁹

The Protestant editor deliberately condenses this explanation,¹⁰ both in paraphrase and direct quotation, to eliminate uncomplimentary ref-

9 *A Christian Directorie* (1598), pref., pp. 18^r–19^r. The italics here and in the parallel quotations from *The Second parte* are mine. I have checked the first edition of *A Christian Directorie* (1585) for bibliographical purposes, but henceforward I take my quotations in this article from the Huntington Library copy of the 1598 edition, which follows that of 1585 in contents but not in pagination.

10 The explanation is given in a preface of only two and a quarter pages, but the Protestant editor repeats a few clauses of his own version in order to bridge the gap between his own chapter v (Parsons, part I, chap. v) and his own chapter vi (Parsons, part II, chap. i). See *The Second parte* (1590), p. 376. The transition is written in the first person, as if Parsons approved the Protestant edition which *The Second parte* is designed to supplement.

erences to the Protestants and to accommodate it to his title, *The Seconde parte*. After stating the origin of *The Christian Exercise*, "written by a Iesuit beyonde the Seas, yet an English-man, named Ma. Robert Parsons," the editor turns to the new material which makes up his book. He omits entirely Parsons' reference to the ill effects of schism and heresy; where Parsons speaks of "the writings of our aduersaries" the editor emends the phrase to "the writinges of diuers"; he cuts entirely the charge that "the aduersarie doth but picke quarels of calumniation"; and he changes the last sentence to read: "For remedie of which inconueniencie, I haue framed this second part of that worke, and therein inserted diuers Chapters. . . ." With such insistence on a "second part" it is little wonder that the relationship of this edition to other versions of Parsons' book has been somewhat obscure.¹¹

As late as 1607, Parsons still hoped to complete the work according to his original plan for three books. Once more revising it, he reduced its size by omitting two of the chapters which had been added in 1585, i.e., chapters ii and iv, which bear most directly upon atheism. The first sentence of chapter iii (now chapter ii) is allowed to stand, although it refers to the missing chapter on proofs of God's existence; the introduction of chapter v (now chapter iii) is rewritten. The title-page of the 1607 *Christian Directory* repeats the description of the work as divided into three books, of which "In this volume is onely containyed the first Booke, consisting of two Parties." Parsons made some changes in the preface of 1585 and added a new "Epistle to the Reader" which contains a succinct account of the principal editions and the reasons for dropping certain chapters:

And now finally vnderstanding that another impression was in preparing, and that the other two Bookes of the *Directory* promised, *About beginning and perseuering in Gods seruice*, were desired and expected in like manner, I thought good to passe ouer this first Booke againe, and by displacing certaine Chapters which seemed to some not to be so necessary to the end heere proposed (but fitter to goe in some other worke of that argument a part) and by adding and altering diuers other thinges, to reduce the bulk of this Booke to

¹¹ Especially since Parsons published Book I in two parts and since his title-pages promised second and third books. *The Seconde parte* (1590) is described accurately by H. Thurston, *op. cit.*, pp. 465, 471; see note 2 above. The S.T.C. lists eleven editions of *The Seconde parte* in English.

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a very moderate bignesse, fit to ioyne with the other two promised, when leasure and health shall yeeld commodity to finish them, which hitherto hath not byn, but may hereafter, if it so please the goodnes of our mercifull Sauour, and that he see it be for his diuine seruice, wher vnto all is to be referred.

The first reason assigned bears directly upon the subject of this study, in that Parsons and his advisers recognize the independent unity of the two omitted chapters, both long and both concerned with atheism. The second reason, to make room for the long-promised second and third books, was not made effective. There is no reason to doubt Parsons' eagerness to complete the task; writing with accustomed vigor, he acknowledges a great desire to get on with the work, "for that the times are more like vnto those wherin first I began the same, to wit, more stormy and tempestuous, and full of persecution against Catholickes. . . ."

The *Resolution*, therefore, was available to Elizabethan readers in three versions authorized by Parsons, in two Protestant versions which together approximate Parsons' longest edition (1585)—and in one late edition in Welsh! A conservative count, with copies that may be only variant issues excluded, totals forty English editions of this work, of which about seventeen contain the chapters on atheism. The Protestant editions outnumber the Catholic by three to one. The popularity of the book continued into the eighteenth century: a new Protestant revision by George Stanhope was published in a "fifth edition" in 1727, and occasional editions appeared thereafter.¹²

For this study of Parsons' essay on atheism there would be little profit in attempting to trace all the changes which Bunny and the Protestant editor of *The Seconde parte* thought necessary to make a Roman Catholic book safe reading for communicants of the Church

¹² To summarize: the first editions of the versions authorized by Parsons appeared in 1582 (S.T.C. 19353), 1585 (S.T.C. 19362), and 1607 (S.T.C. 19371); the first editions of the Protestant versions appeared in 1584 (S.T.C. 19355) and in 1590 (S.T.C. 19380). The Welsh edition is S.T.C. 19390. De Backer and Sommervogel, *op. cit.*, list a number of English editions after 1640, one as late as 1862, and a number of translations. According to L. Hicks (ed.), *Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons, S.J.* (Vol. 1, to 1588), Publications of the Catholic Record Society, xxxix (1942), intro., pp. xlv-xlv, Catholic versions of the book "appeared in French, Scotch, German, Latin and Italian, and of this Italian version there were some nine editions." Because the Protestant editions were in a heavy majority, Father Thurston's opinion (*op. cit.*, pp. 461-3) that the popularity in England of the *Resolution* and similar works is evidence of continuing Catholic faith and respect for Catholic authors requires some qualification.

of England. Parsons' angry marginal notes and Bunny's "brief" reply mark the trail; more concisely, Parsons lists in an ironical summary, true to the spirit of the controversy if not the letter, those matters which Bunny holds no bar to "pacification" but which the Jesuit labels "atheisme."¹³ The editor of *The Seconde parte* limits his task to censorship of the additions to the Catholic text of 1585. He keeps without change a passing reference to heretics,¹⁴ probably because a good Anglican could apply the passage to dissenters. But when heresy is part of an extended discussion of church history in its bearing on the nature of ecclesiastical authority and of true Christian faith, the Protestant editor revises drastically by exalting the authority of canonical Scripture where Parsons had emphasized the authority of councils. A single sentence will illustrate the method. Parsons had written:

And so douneward from age to age vnto our daies, whatsoeuer heresie, or different opinion hath bene raised contrary to the general consent of this vniuersal bodie; it hath bene checked and controlled by the watchmen, pastours, and chief gouernours of this bodie; and finally, hath bene condemned and anathematized by their general assemblies, consent, and councelles, gathered, from time to time, as occasions serued in al partes of the world.¹⁵

This the Protestant editor changes to:

For discerning therefore of this kinde of most pernicious people, and theyr deuilish dealing, and least we shoulde be carried awaie wyth euery winde of doctrine by the wilnesse of men, God hath ordained in his Church Apostles, Doctors, Prophets, Pastors, and Interpreters, whom he hath so guided and gouerned from time to tyme with his holy spirit, that they haue beene able by the Scriptures to repress and beate downe whatsoeuer errorrs and heresies haue beene raysed vp by the enemies of Gods trueth, contrary to the analogie of fayth and rule of charitie: that is to say, beside the true sence and meaning of the Canonically scripture.¹⁶

13 *A Christian Directorie*, pref., p. 17. In his *Briefe Answer*, p. 111, Bunny reproaches Parsons for this extension of the meaning of "atheism," Helen C. White, *English Devotional Literature 1600-1640*, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, no. 29 (Madison, 1931), pp. 64-8 and 143-9, gives an account of the Catholic-Protestant dispute over the *Resolution*, especially of the Protestants' sensitivity to the charge that they had no books of devotion of their own. Her discussion includes explanations of their editorial methods from the prefaces of Parsons and Bunny. See also, by the same author, "Some Continuing Traditions in English Devotional Literature," *P.M.L.A.*, lvii (1942), 966-80.

14 *A Christian Directorie*, p. 121; *The Seconde parte* (1590), p. 176.

15 *A Christian Directorie*, p. 252.

16 *The Seconde parte* (1590), pp. 351-2.

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By a like process of excision and substitution, other principles of the Catholic faith and theology are radically changed in the Protestant editions. Many a major issue in the conflict of Anglican and Catholic is epitomized in the changing forms of the popular *Resolution*.

II

In explaining his additions to the 1585 edition, Parsons alleged heresy and schism as a principal cause of unbelief. Here Protestant and Catholic could agree on words if not on meanings, for the Church of England no less than the Roman priesthood found in the multiplying of sects a prime cause of "atheism."¹⁷ As he agreed with his contemporaries in diagnosing a major cause of the disease, Parsons likewise offers an Elizabethan cure: a rationalistic argument to convince the unbeliever who would not accept scriptural revelation. Of the two chapters which he names as bearing directly on the problem, chapter ii of part I, entitled "That There Is a God Which Rewardeth Good and Evyll, Against all Atheistes of old, and of our tyme, With the proofes alleadged for the same, both by Iewe and Gentile," falls into the pattern of contemporary treatises against atheism. Chapter iv, "That the Seruice Which God Requireth of Man in this present life, is religion," has as its running title "Proofes of Christianitie." This too was considered a necessary part of a complete treatise on the refutation of atheism; for example, the outstanding Protestant work on the subject is divided about equally between rational proofs of God's existence and proof that the Christian religion is the one true faith.¹⁸ Taken together, Parsons' two chapters are longer than many an independent essay against

¹⁷ See above the quotation from Parsons explaining the additions in 1585. Some well-known writers who blamed the sects for the spread of atheism are Thomas Nashe, in *Works*, ed. McKerrow, i, 171-2; Sir Francis Bacon, in his essay "Of Atheism"; Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, Bk. V, sec. ii. See G. T. Buckley, *Atheism in the English Renaissance* (1932), for a survey of the literature on the subject. In Elizabethan usage "atheism" had a variety of meanings ranging from the etymological to the indiscriminately abusive. I have prepared for publication elsewhere a study of what might be called the sober meanings of the term.

¹⁸ Philip Mornay, *A Woorke concerning the trewnesse of the Christian Religion* (London, 1587); first French edition, 1581. The book was far more influential than the four English editions before 1640 would indicate; references to it in Elizabethan literature are frequent. French editions were more numerous, and the book was available also in Latin and Italian.

atheism; he describes them correctly, in 1607, as a digression "fitter to goe in some other worke of that argument a part."¹⁹

Chapter ii begins disarmingly with the statement that all arts and sciences rest on principles already known or conceded to be self-evident, and the thesis is illustrated from chivalry, from handicrafts, and from the branches of philosophy. Likewise divinity has its principles: were it not for the extreme wickedness of the time, these principles would be accepted, and we could proceed forthwith to our main subject, "resolution." But iniquity being ascendant in the world, Parsons finds it necessary to demonstrate the first principle, "That there is a God," on which the second, "That the same God is iust to reward euerie man that seeketh hym according to his desertes," necessarily depends.

The first argument proceeds from the created to the creator: "The workes of the world doe declare the workman," just as the presence of a fine building in a strange land would persuade a traveller that men lived there, though he saw none. Heavens, earth, sea, and man himself declare the existence and the glory of God. All wise men in all ages have acknowledged God; of ancient "atheists," such as Diagoras, Protagoras, and Epicurus, some were "vtterly vnlearned" and others denied not God but pagan idols. Section 2 of the chapter tells "How the heathens proued there was a God," and summarizes the traditional arguments of natural philosophy, metaphysics, and moral philosophy. Mathematics, be it noted, does not apply, "for that it hath no consideration at all of the efficient or final cause of thinges (vnder which two respects and considerations onlie God may be knowen, and declared to men in this world); therefore this science hath no proper meane peculier to it self, for prouing this veritie. . . ." Natural philosophy has "infinite arguments to proue by the creatures" that there is a God, but Parsons reduces them to three heads, "arguments drawen from the Motions, from the Endes, and from the Cause efficient of creatures that we behold," which he defines and illustrates largely out of Aristotle. On the

¹⁹ Chap. ii (pp. 20-89 in the 1598 ed. of *A Christian Directorie*) and chap. iv (pp. 108-243) are the longest in the book; together they comprise slightly more than one-fourth of the volume. Several of the independent treatises on atheism are no longer, and a few are shorter, than these two chapters combined. In the summary which follows I have not cited page references for the brief quotations from Parsons, which are easily identified through his liberal use of marginal headings. I follow the order of his argument, with slight changes.

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third argument, from the efficient cause, only Aristotle of the "excellent philosophers" held for a time that the world was eternal, but even he recanted in his old age.

Metaphysics offers five proofs of God: (1) that the finite and limited things of this world must be referred to a higher cause, infinite and perfect, which is God; (2) that "euerie multitude or distinction of things proceedeth from some vnitie," as the complex structure and functions of the "little world" or microcosm, man, proceed from "one most simple vnitie and indiuisible substance called the soule"; (3) that no creature in the world lives for itself alone, but in "subordination" to some other good—a thesis expounded in terms of the doctrine of degree; (4) that the "merueilous providence" apparent in the form and function of the least creature must proceed from an omnipotent Creator, and not from chance as "foolishe Lucretius" supposed; and (5) that the soul, "a spirite and immaterial substance, whose nature dependeth not of the state of our mortal bodie," is by the "consent of all learned men" immortal. The fourth argument of metaphysics convinced even the anatomist Galen, "a prophane and verie irreligious Phisitian." The immortality of the soul, the fifth metaphysical argument, is further proved by the conclusions of moral philosophy on the "last end" and "supreme felicitie" of man, whose reason gives him "an appetite of som more high and excellent obiect" than the sensory satisfaction of the beast. Although Marcus Varro (as St. Augustine notes) collected two hundred and eighty-eight opinions²⁰ on the felicity of man, "Plato found that nothing which might be named or imagined in this life could be the felicitie or *summum bonum* of man, for that it could not satisfie the desire of our mynd." That desire must be satisfied by a "spiritual and immaterial obiect"; thus Plato and Plotinus conclude that the final end of man is union with God. Further, the inequity of rewards and punishments in this world argues a better justice in the world to come, and therefore immortality. On the fundamental ques-

20 *A Christian Directorie*, p. 46. Parsons' reference to *De Civitate Dei*, Bk. XIX, chap. i, is correct; but his statement that Varro "gathered" two hundred and eighty-eight opinions is misleading. St. Augustine tells how Varro, starting with three possibilities wherein to place the *summum bonum* (the body, or mind, or both), "most wittily and diligently observed 288. sects to have original, not in *esse* but in *posse*." (*St. Augustine, Of the Citie of God* [1610], trans. by J. Healey, p. 751.)

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tion of the existence of God, the principal argument (and first in Parsons' discussion) of moral philosophy rests on "the verie natural inclination of man . . . to confesse som God or Deitie." Even atheists, when they come to die, show fear of God. The next step of the ancient moral philosophers was to conclude that God is one, and therefore infinite. On this point there was general agreement; only the later academics by disputing about everything came to believe nothing. A marginal note, "So in this tyme of varietie of Sectes," points the moral for the sixteenth century.²¹

Turning from the gentile's philosophical demonstrations of God's existence to the additional proofs offered by the Jews, Parsons acknowledges at once that only by appeal to the Scriptures could a Jew say more than a gentile for the proof of God. But for an infidel not already moved by the appeal to philosophy and reason the Jewish Scriptures would be effective only in so far as their "truth and certaintie" could be made manifest. The section on the Jews, therefore, is devoted to arguments²² in support of the authenticity of the Scriptures: their antiquity, antedating not only heathen histories but the pagan gods themselves; the unique care displayed in the composition, authorization, and transcription of the Scriptures; the integrity and sincerity of the writers, especially the greatness of Moses, whose miracles are acknowledged by such hostile critics as Appio and Porphyry, though they mistakenly say that the miracles were performed by art magic; and the consent of the Scriptures, in which one writer's testimony supports another's. These four arguments, however, are merely "external"; even more persuasive are four "internal" considerations. Unlike heathen writings concerned with the deeds of men, the subject of the Scriptures "is nothing els but th'acts and gestes of one eternal God," to whom, and not to human

21 In a brief passage which occurs in all of his own editions (*A Christian Directorie*, part II, chap. viii, pp. 701-03), Parsons discusses as an impediment to resolution "a secret kinde of Atheisme, or denying God; which is, to denie him, not in wordes, but in life and behaiour." The two principal causes of such atheism are schism and heresy which "wearieth out a mans wit, and in end bringeth him to care for no parte, but rather to contemne al," and inordinate love of the world. Parsons notes that Bunny omits the reference to schism and heresy.

22 For a similar but not identical list of arguments see John Dove, *A Confutation of Atheisme* (1605), chap. vii, "That the Bookes of the Bible are the word of God." This is likely to be an important topic in any extended treatise on atheism.

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leadership, is credited victory in battle. Their style—simple but profound, majestic and moving—is unique; note but the contrast between a story in the Scriptures and the same story told with much adornment by Josephus. In content too they are set apart from other writings, first in

high and hidden doctrines, which are above the reach and capacite of humane reason, and consequentlie, could neuer fall into mans braine to inuent them. As for example; that all this wonderful frame of the world, was created of nothing, where as philosophie saith, *that of Nothing, nothing can be made.*²³

The other remarkable part of their content is the prophecies, not made by observation of natural causes, not contingent as are the prophecies of soothsayers, astrologers, or oracles, but genuine foretellings of detailed events many years before their occurrence. Finally, although the Scriptures do not take their proof from man, "God hath so prouided" that the principal contents of the Scriptures are confirmed by heathen writers; e.g., the creation, Noah's flood, the long life of the first fathers, the career of Moses. With many details to support the major heads of the arguments for the divine origin of the Scriptures, Parsons closes his long chapter with a brief section to point the moral: if the ancient philosophers were blameworthy, as St. Paul says, because knowing God they did not glorify Him, how much more to blame are we who have not only the light of nature but God's own word to guide us?

The special duty of a Christian, even more than of a gentile, to lead a good life is the theme of chapter iii, which expounds the thesis that man was created to serve God. The service required, according to chapter iv, is religion, specifically the Christian religion; the running title of the chapter is "Proofes of Christianitie." Again confirming evidence is sought in unfriendly quarters, and Hebrew and gentile writers are cited in support of elements in Christian faith. Porphyry, an enemy of Jesus, testifies to his piety and sanctity, although, he writes, "these Christians are deceyued in calling him God."²⁴ Jewish writers and

²³ *A Christian Directorie*, p. 65.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 183. Chap. iv is more in harmony with the main purpose of the book, to spur the flagging Catholic to renewed faith, than is chap. ii. Since it applies to a more limited field some of the methods of the earlier chapter, I have not extended my summary to include it.

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Mohammed himself concede his miracles, and Jewish and gentile prophets had written that the Messiah would be a worker of miracles.

III

If we may judge from the nature and frequency of allusions to the book, the *Resolution* was popular with many kinds of readers. Robert Greene, in his day considered an atheist, credits it with first arousing him to a despairing sense of his spiritual peril and then bringing him comfort, in his fear and torment, by its account of God's mercy.²⁵ Nashe's enthusiastic praise is quoted at the beginning of this article. Richard Baxter as a boy read the book in an old, torn copy lent to his father by a poor laborer and was moved as profoundly as the reprobate Greene.²⁶ Sir Edwin Sandys acknowledges the merit of such works as Parsons' "bookes of Christian Resolution & exercise," but wishes that they "had bin the fruits of conscience, rather than of the wits of those that made them"; he finds the actions of Father Parsons not in harmony with his teachings.²⁷ William Vaughan refers to the book parenthetically, as if he expected everyone to see the point of a comparison he is making. In a discourse on the excellency of poetry, Vaughan rejects an argument that would debase poetry because the gentiles were its first founders, and asks "whether the bookes of Resolution bee blameworthy, for that R. P. a fugitive papist wrote them? O monstrous absurdity!"²⁸ Not only did the book go through many editions, but the printing rights to "the most vendible copy that happened in our Company these many years" were contested as a valuable property. Books appeared with imitative titles, and the work by Loarte which Parsons had originally intended to revise and upon which he founded his own design was reprinted with a title-page proclaiming its relationship to the popular *Resolution*.²⁹

²⁵ *The Repentance of Robert Greene*, in *Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart (1881-6), xii, 165-70. This reference, of course, is well known.

²⁶ Helen C. White, *English Devotional Literature*, p. 143.

²⁷ *A Relation of the State of Religion* (1605), Sig. H2^r; quoted in full by Helen C. White, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-5.

²⁸ *The Golden-groue* (1600), Sig. Y2^r.

²⁹ Herbert Thurston, *op. cit.*, pp. 467-9, quotes from the *State Papers, Dom., Eliz.* (vol. 185, no. 73), a document protesting Joseph Barnes' printing the book contrary to

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It would be difficult to assess apart from the effect of the whole book the specific contribution of the chapters on atheism to the popularity of the *Resolution*.³⁰ The most frequently printed edition, that "perused" by Bunny, did not contain the new chapters ii and iv, but they were easily accessible in the Protestant *Seconde parte*, which matches Bunny's version in the number of editions printed after 1590.³¹ The allusion by Nashe is so worded that it seems to include Parsons' essay on atheism. The number of extant copies in which the two "parts" are bound together suggests that many an Elizabethan reader knew the work in its entirety, in the combined Protestant versions if not in a copy of Parsons' own 1585 edition or one of its Catholic successors. The strength of the *Resolution* in its enlarged form derives, I believe, from the double appeal it makes to reason and emotion. Certainly chapter ii contains little that is strikingly original, for the arguments of natural theology were used in other Elizabethan treatises on atheism and were well known, directly or indirectly, from the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas and other schoolmen.³² Likewise books of devotion exhorting the sinner to repentance and a "resolution" to serve God were commonplace, although their exhortations were seldom reprinted as often as Bunny's edition of the *Resolution* without the chapters on atheism. In its enlarged form, Parsons' book unites the rationalistic proofs of God's existence and a spiritual appeal to the latent religious sense of the reader. That the latter is the dominant element in the work is clear from the history of its publication, from the proportions and emphasis of the book itself, and from Parsons' willingness to drop the two long chapters to make room for Books II and III.

agreement. Father Thurston notes several imitative titles and the republication of Loarte's book, the title of which I give from a photostat of the British Museum copy: *The Exercise of a christian life, written by G. L. Being the first ground and foundation, whence the two Treatises appertaining to resolution, were made and framed, by R. P.* (1594).

30 Herbert Thurston (*op. cit.*, pp. 471-6) is of the opinion that the chapters on atheism contributed greatly to the popular success of the *Resolution*. The value of his opinion is somewhat impaired by his uncritical acceptance of statements on the prevalence of "atheism" without much attention to the meaning of the term.

31 Of the twenty editions of Bunny's work listed by the S.T.C., nine appeared before 1590 and eleven after that date. Beginning in 1590, there are eleven editions of *A Seconde parte*, but there is no regular correspondence in dates of publication of the two Protestant versions.

32 See Clement C. J. Webb, *Studies in the History of Natural Theology* (1915).

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A second explanation of the popularity of the *Resolution* lies in the skill of the author. In the same context in which he recommends the book as the best cure for atheism, Nashe returns inferentially to praise of the *Resolution* by scolding his countrymen for their ineffectual and lukewarm attacks upon the spreading evil. Indeed, he considers the ignorance of the clergy a cause of atheism:

I am at my wits end, when I view how coldly, in comparison of other Countrimen, our *Englishmen* write. How, in theyr Bookes of confutation, they shew no wit or courage, as well as learning. In all other things *English* men are the stoutest of al others, but beeing Schollers, and lyuing in their owne natue soyle, theyr braines are so pesterd with full platters, that they haue no roome to bestirre them. . . . [Following a passage on the inadequate schooling of the clergy:] It is onely ridiculous dul Preachers (who leape out of a Library of Catchismes, into the loftiest Pulpits) that haue reuiued thys scornefull Secte of Atheists.³³

Just such criticisms were made, with even greater zest, by the Jesuits and by Parsons himself in their comments on the Protestant adaptations of the *Resolution* and other Catholic devotional books. Some Englishmen praised the style of Parsons even more directly than did Nashe. Edmund Bolton notes that "many have commended the Style and Phrase of Father Rob. Pearsons highly";³⁴ and in the following century Swift found the Jesuit's style more to his taste than the mannered writing of other Elizabethans.

The writings of Hooker, who was a country clergyman, and of Parsons the jesuit, both in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, are in a style that, with very few allowances, would not offend any present reader: much more clear and intelligible, than those of Sir H. Wotton, Sir Rob. Naunton, Osborn, Daniel the historian and several others who writ later; but being men of the court, and affecting the phrases then in fashion, they are often either not to be understood, or appear perfectly ridiculous.³⁵

33 *Works*, ed. McKerrow, ii, 122-3. The passage begins in the paragraph following that in which Nashe praises the *Resolution*. To what extent he had a contrast in mind when he proceeded with this criticism it is impossible to say, but Parsons was not one of those "lyuing in their owne natue soyle." For an account of the Catholic accusations that the Protestants had to borrow their books of devotion, and for the Protestant replies, see Helen C. White, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-8 and *passim*.

34 *Hypercritica* (1722), p. 233. The work was written in the early seventeenth century.

35 *The Tailor*, no. 230; as quoted by J. H. Crehan, "The Prose of Robert Parsons," *The Month*, clxxv (1940), 366-76, quotation p. 373. Crehan's article contains some apt examples from Parsons' works.

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These general praises of Parsons' style have a broader foundation than the *Resolution* alone. If Parsons' contemporaries like Sandys and Vaughan could yield grudging admiration to his devotional work, his immediate adversaries, even his co-religionists, feared his skill in controversy. It was a Catholic opponent in the conflict between the Jesuits and the secular priests, not a Protestant, who found occasion to make an index of approbrious epithets used by Parsons.³⁶ As he achieved persuasiveness in his religious writing and a stinging invective in his controversial writing, so could he be lucid in exposition, as in *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crowne of England* (1594).

The prejudices of religious conflict, sometimes projected into later generations, have partially obscured Parsons' claim to distinction as a writer of clear and forceful prose. The best tribute to his skill and learning is the success of the *Resolution*, to which Protestant and Catholic, the pamphleteer of the Bankside and the Catholic lady of northern England, could turn for instruction, admonishment, and comfortable words.

³⁶ W. C., *A Replie vnto a certaine Libell* (1603), appendix. I have discussed Parsons' ability in controversy in "Raleigh and the Catholic Polemists," *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, viii (1945), 337-58.

THE CORNWALLIS-LYSONS MANUSCRIPT AND THE POEMS OF JOHN BENTLEY

By WILLIAM H. BOND

The Cornwallis-Lysons manuscript, now Folger MS. 1.112, is one of the most interesting Elizabethan poetical manuscripts to come down to us; but for one reason or another, neither its provenance nor its contents has received adequate attention.¹ This paper is intended to supply these wants, at least partially, by presenting a somewhat fuller account of the manuscript and its history than has hitherto appeared, and by printing for the first time seven poems signed by one John Bentley of which it is the only known text.

The manuscript takes its name from an early seventeenth-century owner, Anne Cornwallis (Cornwaleys), whose name appears on the verso of its first leaf, and from Samuel Lysons the antiquarian, who acquired it near the end of the eighteenth century. Anne Cornwallis is believed to have been the Anne who was daughter of Sir William Cornwallis and his wife Lucy; and if this identification is correct, she must have put her signature in the book before 1610, when she changed her name by marrying the seventh Earl of Argyll.² There exists no proof that she was the first owner, but no earlier owner has left his mark.

The only indication of provenance between Anne Cornwallis and Samuel Lysons is the name "E^d Philips" and the date 1740, scrawled upside down on the verso of the last leaf. Philips seems to have been merely a casual owner, and nothing more is known of him. Lysons, then, was the first collector in the modern sense to have owned the book, and it was in his library by 1790.³ No doubt he was responsible for the inter-

1 My thanks are due to Dr. Giles E. Dawson, who first pointed out the MS. to me, and to the late Dr. Joseph Quincy Adams, who granted me permission to use and publish the material in it.

2 See the note by Dr. Dawson in Hyder E. Rollins's variorum edition of *Shakespeare's Poems* (1938), p. 312. I am indebted to this edition for a number of the references that follow.

3 The first scholarly reference to the MS. is in Malone's *Shakespeare* (1790), x, 337, n. 6, where it is spoken of as belonging to Lysons. Dr. William Ringler has pointed out to me another early reference in Horace Walpole's *Works* (1798), i, 551-2. There in the *Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors* the two poems ascribed to Oxford are printed

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leaving of the manuscript and its binding in diced russia, which survives to the present day. Notations in his autograph appear on the interleaving, together with three brief pencil notes by George Steevens; and Steevens also made a complete transcript of it.⁴

When Lysons's books were dispersed in 1820 the manuscript passed into the hands of Benjamin Heywood Bright. At Bright's sale in 1844 it was bought by the bookseller Thorpe, who disposed of it to Dr. John Russell. Russell's son, Rev. John Fuller Russell, sold it to James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps, from whom it passed to the Warwick Castle collection. Years later, the sale of that entire library of Shakespeariana to H. C. Folger brought its travels to an end.⁵

The manuscript itself is a small oblong quarto of nineteen leaves. Leaves 3 through 19, which contain the literary text, are uniformly 14 x 19.5 cm., but the two preliminary leaves differ from each other in size and are considerably smaller than the rest of the book. The first of these leaves bears Anne Cornwallis's name on its verso, and the second contains on its recto a pedigree of the Cornwallis family in the autograph of Samuel Lysons. The interleaving makes it impossible to determine their relation to the later leaves, and indeed we must rely on the *bona fides* of Samuel Lysons and his binder to believe that they belong with the manuscript at all.

The text falls into two sections. Leaves 3 through 5 contain on five pages (5^v is blank) seven poems written in a small cramped hand, signed by various abbreviations of the name John Bentley. To these we shall revert presently. Leaves 6 through 19 are written in a uniform and clear book-hand quite different from that of the Bentley poems, and they contain on 27 pages (26^v is blank save for the scribble of E^d Philips) 26 poems by various authors, nearly half of them unascribed and several still unpublished. One of these is the Shakespearian "When that thine

as having been "communicated to me from an ancient MS. Miscellany." No earlier edition of the *Catalogue* contains them; and Thomas Park's edition of the *Catalogue* (1806), ii, 126, first identified Lysons as the owner of the MS. which was their source.

4 This transcript is bound at the end of Steevens's copy of Thomas Watson's *Hecatompathia* (1582), S.T.C. 25118a, now in the Harvard College Library.

5 Halliwell-Phillipps, *Some Account of the Antiquities . . . Illustrative of the Life and Works of Shakespeare* (1852), pp. 126-30; Seymour de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance MSS.* (1935), i, 272. Neither account is complete even up to its own date, and most of De Ricci's information derives from Halliwell-Phillipps.

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eye hath chose the dame," which appeared in 1599 in *The Passionate Pilgrim*; and this single poem may account for the twin phenomena of the manuscript's celebrity and the relative obscurity of the rest of its contents. Probably the earliest manuscript copy of any work ascribed to Shakespeare, it has attracted the attention of scholars for one hundred and fifty years to the comparative neglect of its companion pieces by Sidney, Raleigh, Oxford, Dyer, and others.

There appears to be no very satisfactory way of dating the manuscript. The paper yields no positive clue, and calligraphic evidence as usual can give no precise help. The two hands in the manuscript would appear perfectly normal for a twenty- or thirty-year span covering the end of the sixteenth century. Halliwell-Phillipps at first placed it between 1585 and 1590, and later about 1595.⁶ A recent opinion dates it around 1600,⁷ and internal evidence tends to prove that at least the second portion of the manuscript may safely be assigned to the last decade of the sixteenth century.

A glance at the contents of leaves 6 to 19 will make this clear.⁸ Of the eleven poems which may be attributed to definite authors, the one dubiously assigned to Shakespeare is the only possible (but not necessary) exception to the rule that all may be dated before 1590. Dyer's poetry belongs chiefly to the 'sixties and 'seventies, with very little after 1580; Oxford and Raleigh composed mainly during the 'seventies and 'eighties; Sidney died in 1586, his poetic output undoubtedly dating some years earlier. Oxford and Sidney quarrelled in 1579, so that if they really wrote the *jeu d'esprit* "Were I a king," it was probably struck off at some earlier time. "The sailing ship" is a fragment of a longer poem by Francis Edwards which was first printed in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* in 1576.

Three other poems point toward the 1580's. The two which are signed "Vavaser," "Sitting alone upon my thought," and "Though I seem strange," refer to the notorious affair between Oxford and Anne Vavasour, which became public scandal in 1581, the echoes reverberating

6 *Some Account* (cited above), pp. 126, 128; and in his edition of Shakespeare (1853-65), xvi, plate facing p. 467.

7 Dr. Dawson, cited above, n. 2.

8 See the index of first lines appended to this paper.

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some four or five years longer.⁹ The last poem in the manuscript, "The state of France," is shown by Curt F. Bühler elsewhere in this volume¹⁰ to refer almost certainly to the events of 1588.

In the absence of other evidence, it seems reasonable to suppose that the compiler of such a commonplace-book would naturally tend to include new rather than old material. This argument from novelty loses some force in the case of poetry by courtly writers, it is true. For many years their works circulated mainly in manuscript and thereby retained a freshness for the average reader which was virtually unrelated to date of composition. But such considerations do not hold in the case of the three topical poems—in particular, "The state of France." The "Vava-ser" poems have a certain literary quality which might well preserve them even after the scandal had died down. But the French poem has no such saving grace, and within a few years after 1588 most of the figures in it had died and the whole political situation had changed radically. It is hard to believe that the poem can have interested the casual reader much after 1595.

On the basis of its identifiable texts, then, the manuscript presents a collection of poetry none of which is demonstrably later than 1590, together with three topical poems definitely belonging to the 'eighties. Almost inevitably it must be assigned to the period 1590-1600, and probably to the earlier rather than the later part of that decade.

It is now time to examine the first portion of the manuscript in more detail. The seven poems on leaves 3 to 5 are by a single author, John Bentley, whose name (in various abbreviations) is appended to each in the hand of the text. They are written in small, cramped characters strikingly different from the copybook secretary of leaves 6 to 19. At the end of the seven Bentley poems there is a blank page (5^v) before the manuscript continues. It is very much as if the book had been used for two different purposes at different times and by different people. The labors and faults of the copyist are everywhere apparent in the latter part;¹¹ the lapses and corrections in the poems of John Bentley are of

⁹ The story is told and the poems printed by Sir E. K. Chambers, *Sir Henry Lee* (1936), pp. 152 ff.

¹⁰ "Four Elizabethan Poems," p. 704. My thanks are due Dr. Bühler, who very kindly put his paper at my disposal long in advance of publication.

¹¹ Thus the pun on Dyer's name in Sidney's sonnet ("A satyr once did run away for

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a different order.¹² It is hardly too much to suggest that they are author's corrections, while the varied signatures appended to the poems have the somewhat naïve appearance of a man's experiments with his own name. The inevitable and tempting hypothesis (although hypothesis it must remain) is that the poems are in the hand of their author.

Who, then, was John Bentley? At present the answer must be completely and disappointingly negative. His poems yield no very tangible clue. Their images are conventional and indicate no great or specialized learning; they might be derived quite casually from the popular literature of the day. They reveal no probable date of composition. If their author had much feeling for trends and styles in poetry, we would be safe in calling them the products of the 'seventies or 'eighties—perhaps even of the 'sixties. In the absence of knowledge of the poet and his background we can only return to such evidences of date as the rest of the manuscript has furnished us.

The efforts of earlier students of the manuscript are of no assistance. The poems were first noticed by Joseph Ritson in his *Bibliographica Poetica* (1802) with the laconic entry, "BENTLEY JOHN is the authour of a few short poems in a manuscript collection belonging to Samuel Lysons esquire."¹³ In the account of the Elizabethan stage in his *History of English Poetry*, Thomas Warton had mentioned among others the actor John Bentley, who died in 1585; in the "new edition" of Warton in 1824, Thomas Park unluckily and unjustifiably linked him with the John Bentley of the poems.¹⁴ Since that time the same tentative identification has frequently been made. Fortunately the will of Bentley the actor has been preserved in Somerset House (39 Bru-denell), and it has been possible to secure a photostat of the document.¹⁵

dread") is completely lost (fol. 14^r); several blanks occur in the text of "Ye heavenly gods partakers be with me," which at last trails away into nonsense (fols. 14^v-15^r); and so on.

¹² See textual notes to the poems below.

¹³ P. 129.

¹⁴ Thomas Warton, *The History of English Poetry* (1824), iv, 263, note. Park's acquaintance with the Lysons MS. was of long standing; see above, note 3. For an admirable summary of the available information concerning Bentley the actor, see Edwin Nungezer, *A Dictionary of Actors . . . before 1642* (1929), pp. 44-5.

¹⁵ I am indebted to Miss Nellie O'Farrell for searching out the will and having it photostated. I plan to print elsewhere the substance of the will, which has never been published.

The will contains no reference which would lead one to suspect Bentley of literary activity, while a careful comparison reveals no point of similarity between its signature and those appended to the poems.¹⁶ If we are justified in believing the poems to be holograph, then they can no longer be ascribed to the actor. In any event, further doubt is added to an already dubious ascription. Other John Bentleys may be found in indices of wills, inquests, and the like, but none lends himself to convincing identification. Positive evidence is needed before we can add to Ritson's brief note. Lacking that, speculation is valueless.

Bentley's poems are of interest and importance chiefly as further evidence of Elizabethan taste and literary endeavor. His is surely not great talent; his occasional felicities are generally overshadowed by his ineptness in running on the letter and in hammering his phrases into the mold of fourteeners and poulterers' measure. Yet his poems everywhere reveal careful, if unskilled, workmanship. His one sonnet is painstakingly constructed, adhering closely to the classic form. Although he strikes no truly distinctive note, he is not an unwelcome addition to the gallery of minor Elizabethan versifiers. Should future discoveries identify him more precisely, his poetry will be of still more value to the student.

THE POEMS

[1]

[f. 3^r] ascinde yt is to swans o happy birdes say I .
to bee forwarnde by fond desyer . to singe before they dey .
but I whose mournefull moode maks show of inward minde .
haue tokens now of *present* death . as are to swans assind .
whearfore my cares inforce . myne eyes to weepe their fill .
blowing vpp sighs into the skie, wth showts & shriking shrill /
J. bentley :

[2]

If I might change my forme . and god anewe mee make .
the shape of simple flie I wold . no other body take .
not for he lives in place . whear mighty princes bee
and putts his feete in bed & dish wth men of best degree

¹⁶ The body of the will is in the hand of a clerk, but the signature is evidently autograph.

the Poems of John Bentley

but for because hee can . kisse when his list a queene
and lay the fayrest dame on lipps . that earst was eve^r scene
yet when the winter comes . his danger drawes apace
well may hee die by good consent . that found such happy grace .
but I alas ame lyke . the Aunte or blinded moulde
that in the winter keeps their cave . whear they no sune behold
whose lives but lingered owt . in darcknes half the year .
and I such duringe sorrowes tast . as tyme can never wear .

J bentley

[3]

[f. 3^v] <.....> deepe . that surgions can not search,
<.....> vile . if salve can yeeld no cure
no gowte or payne . so sharply lymys possesse
but phisicke may . our bodies ease assure

Ech fishe and fowle . and every lyvinge beaste
for maladies . a remedie doo finde,
but man wth all his witt . can not comprise .
how to appease the smalest greefe of minde ,

ffond sighs nor tears . nay mend that is amisst .
ne cure the cares . whearwth I live opprest
nothinge but death the hatefull coles can quentch
that breede by love . and kindle myne vnrest,

ffor though I weale . and of my woes complayne
wth sobbes throwne owte . that seeme to peirce the skie,
yet finde no hope my sorrowes to asswage
theirfore Ile sacke . my happ vpp silently .

J bentley

[4]

[f. 4^r] When first my deere . I thee beheld
wth these vnلucky eyes,
mee thought thy beawty much exceld
the starrs that sticke in skies,
ffrom eyes to hart . love straight fell downe .
thimpression their doth stay
my case is lyke the rewined towne
that Sinon did betray
beguilde wth slumbers in my bedd

The Cornwallis-Lysons Manuscript and

throw fancies sweet of minde
but wakinge fond those shadowes fledd
& nothinge lefte behinde .
whearfore if sleeping yeeld delight
& wakinge cause such woe .
wold I could sleepe both day & night
to ease my torment soe

J bentley

[5]

[f. 4^v] The pellycan . of nature nothinge kinde .
hir tender birds . wthin the neest doth kill,
and for three dayes . to mourning is ascinde
wealinge the deed . shee lives vnquyet still,
ffonde of the deade . to win them breath agayne
strikes wth hir beake . hir brest in sundry place .
vntill hir blud . come droppinge downe amayne
vppon hir younge . wich geives them former grace ,
But loe the fates , one me o wofull wight
haue cast their doome . that I shall live alone
lyke to the owle . that flies but in the night
dyinge in darcke . & comfort finds of none
such is my happ . such is hir pleasure prest
to wounde to death . or worke my lyfe vnrest

Jo^a Bentley

[6]

[f. 5^r] Pitty is dead and gon . that shulde haue easde my case .
or els become a roge & fledd . and dare not show hir face
in vayne theirfore my cares . whearof I doo complayne
because dame Pitty doth afforde . no hope to ease my payne ,
And yet my hope & helpe . doth rest in hir alone
whose love first causde my greefe . my plainte & endles mone

Jo Bentley

[7]

yf I shuld weepe & weale my woes till death .
my m's wold not once behould my payne ,
no meanes I finde . by god & by my fâythe
to win hir love . those thoughts wear fond & vayne ,
wich makes mee fear dame venus is not bent
to appease his woes . that lives a mall content

the Poems of John Bentley

And yet mee thincks . the brackish tears that still,
in fludds faste downe . the chanells of myne eyes
might well forshow . the want of hir good will .
who makes my breath (throw sighs) lyke smoke arise .
that orpheus found . more ease in dreedfull hell
then I whose greeves . do plutoes paynes excell
Io? Bentley

TEXTUAL NOTES

- Poem 1, line 1. *ascinde* . . . *swans* caret above deletion of *onlyke the simple swan*
line 2. *they* written over *yow* (conjectural reading)
line 3. *but* caret above deletion of *for*
Poem 3, lines 1-2. Manuscript defective at this point
line 3. *or* caret above deletion of *nor*
line 9. *nay* alternative reading, *may*
amisst alternative reading, *amisse*

INDEX OF FIRST LINES OF POEMS IN
FOLGER MS. 1.112

NOTE: The numerals refer to the originally unfoliated leaves of the manuscript. The orthography has been modernized throughout. Unbracketed names represent ascriptions in hands contemporary with the manuscript; they have been silently expanded from a variety of abbreviations. Bracketed names represent attributions derived from other sources. One of Bentley's poems whose first line is defective is listed at the end of the index. Modern editions of all published poems are indicated in the footnotes.

A satyr once did run away for dread ¹	<i>Sir Philip Sidney</i>	14 ^r
A thief was hanged of late you heard		11 ^v
As rare to hear as seldom to be seen ²	[<i>Sir Edward Dyer</i>]	11 ^r
Assigned it is to swans, o happy birds say I ³	<i>John Bentley</i>	3 ^r
By due deserts deem all my deeds which sheweth every fruit		12 ^v

1 *The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Albert Feuillerat, iii (1922), 308.

2 Ralph M. Sargent, *At the Court of Queen Elizabeth: The Life and Lyrics of Sir Edward Dyer* (1935), p. 191.

3 Printed above.

The Cornwallis-Lysons Manuscript and

Calling to mind mine eye went long about ⁴	[<i>Sir Walter Raleigh</i>]	12 ^r
Come sweet delight and comfort care- ful mind		10 ^v
Content above from God is sent		13 ^r
Farewell false love thou oracle of lies ⁵	[<i>Sir Walter Raleigh</i>]	7 ^v
Hard is his hap who leads his life by loss		16 ^v
I often wish it were not done		17 ^v
I said and swore that I would never love		18 ^r
I would it were not as it is ⁶	<i>Sir Edward Dyer</i>	7 ^r
If I might change my form and God anew me make ³	<i>John Bentley</i>	3 ^r
If I should weep and wail my woes till death ³	<i>John Bentley</i>	5 ^r
My care to keep my word by promise due	<i>G. M.</i>	9 ^v
Pass gentle thoughts to her whom I love best		16 ^v
Pity is dead and gone that should have eased my case ³	<i>John Bentley</i>	5 ^r
Prometheus when first from heaven high ⁷	<i>Sir Edward Dyer</i>	13 ^r
Sitting alone upon my thought in melancholy mood ⁸	<i>Anne Vavasour</i> [?]	9 ^r
Small rule in reason's want		18 ^v
The pelican of nature nothing kind ³	<i>John Bentley</i>	4 ^v
The sailing ship with joy at length doth touch their long desired port ⁹	[<i>Francis Edwards</i>]	6 ^r
The state of France as now it stands ¹⁰		18 ^v
Though I seem strange sweet friend be thou not so ¹¹	<i>Anne Vavasour</i> [?]	6 ^v

4 *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh*, ed. Agnes M. C. Latham (1929), p. 37.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

6 Sargent, p. 180.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 176.

8 Sir Edmund Chambers, *Sir Henry Lee*, p. 152.

9 *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins (1927), p. 27.

10 Chambers, p. 153.

11 Printed elsewhere in this volume by Curt F. Bühler.

the Poems of John Bentley

Were I a king I might command content ¹²	<i>Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford</i> [and <i>Sir Philip Sidney</i>]	6 ^r
What meanest thou hope to breed me such mishap		16 ^r
When first my dear I thee beheld ³	<i>John Bentley</i>	4 ^r
When I was fair and young then fa- vor graced me ¹³	<i>Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford</i>	8 ^v
When that thine eye hath chose the dame ¹⁴	[<i>William Shakespeare?</i>]	15 ^r
Where one would be there not to be ¹⁵	<i>Sir Edward Dyer</i>	13 ^v
Ye heavenly gods partakers be with me		14 ^v
.....deep that surgeons cannot search ³	<i>John Bentley</i>	3 ^v

12 J. William Hebel and Hoyt H. Hudson, *Poetry of the English Renaissance* (1938), pp. 195-6; Sidney, ed. Feuillerat, iii, 341.

13 Sometimes ascribed to Queen Elizabeth, and so printed by Hebel and Hudson, p. 54.

14 William Shakespeare, *Poems*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins, p. 308.

15 Sargent, p. 190.

FOUR ELIZABETHAN POEMS

By CURT F. BÜHLER

In the series of historical documents known as the "Rulers of England" which form part of the manuscript collections of the Pierpont Morgan Library, items of literary interest are occasionally encountered. Such a literary document is the subject of the present study.¹ It is preserved in volume I of the documents pertaining to the reign of Queen Elizabeth² and consists of a single folio sheet of paper, written on both sides. It was apparently extracted many years ago from some commonplace book but the earlier history of the leaf, before it entered the Morgan Library in 1905, is unknown. The watermark of the paper is quite similar to Briquet 12801 (*Pot à une anse*);³ this mark occurs frequently on paper used in the neighborhood of Rouen, Amiens, and Paris from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards. The handwriting is certainly that of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, and probably belongs to the first decade of that century, as we shall see later. At the top of one side of the sheet is found a draft for a power of attorney, of no literary interest whatsoever; unfortunately it supplies no further clue for the dating of the document.

I

Underneath the draft referred to above is found a version of a poem which has been rightly called "one of the most popular Elizabethan lyrics"—Christopher Marlowe's *The Passionate Shepherd to his Love*.⁴

1 For their kind assistance in the preparation of this paper, I am much obliged to William H. Bond, James G. McManaway, and Edwin Wolf, 2nd.

2 Seymour de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (1935-40), ii, 1622, enters this under the title: "Raleigh (Sir Walter). Contemporary copy of verses by him, 2 pp."

3 Charles M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (Paris, 1907), iv, 624, adds the note: "Cette marque est essentiellement française; elle abonde à Paris dans les manuscrits et dans les imprimés."

4 Compare J. W. Hebel and H. H. Hudson, *Poetry of the English Renaissance 1509-1660* (1936), pp. 137-8 (notes pp. 938-41) and p. 168 (notes pp. 945-6). For the enormous bibliography, see Samuel A. Tannenbaum, *Christopher Marlowe: A Concise Bibliography* (1937), with Supplement, especially pp. 22-4 and 26-7. A useful study of the sources and influence of this poem is by R. S. Forsythe, "The Passionate Shepherd and English Poetry," *P.M.L.A.*, xl (1925), 692-742.

Four Elizabethan Poems

This is followed, as usual, by the "Reply" generally attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh.⁵

Poemes written in the Reigne of Queen Elizabeth
A sonnet Madrigal by Sr Philipp Sydney⁶

Come live with me and be my love,
and we will all the pastimes prove,
That valleis, mountaines, woods or felde,
or groves, or pleasant pastures yeildes.

5 Wher we will sitt vpon the rockes
and see the Shepherds feede their flockes.
By shallowe rivers to whose falles
Melodious birdes singe Madrigalls.

10 Wher we will make the bedes of roses
and a thowsand fragrant poses.
a cappe of fflower & a kirtle:
Imbroydred all with Leaves of mertle.

Her beltes of strawe with Ivy budes⁷
Corrall claspes & amber Studes.
15 All this Ile giue thie mynde to move
to liue with me and be my Love;

Response

But if the world & love were sound
and truth in euery Shepherd found.
Then thes delightes might me much move.
to Live with the & be thie love.

5 Thie beltes of Strawe, thie bedes of roses
thie caps, thie kirtles & thie poses.
Sone breakes, sone withers, sone forgotten
with follie ripe, with reason rotten.

Could youth long⁸ last, & love but feede
10 Had tyme no death, nor age no neede

5 See Thomas Birch, *The Works of Sir Walter Raleigh* (1751), ii, 394; Sir Egerton Brydges, *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh* (Lee Priory, 1813), pp. 24-7; Agnes Latham, *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh* (1929), pp. 39-40. Hyder Rollins, *England's Helicon* (1935), ii, 186-9, is hesitant about assigning it to Raleigh.

6 The titles are written by another (and probably later) hand. Capitals and punctuation are those of the MS.; contractions have been expanded and are printed in italics.

7 This stanza is written crosswise in the margin at the right by the same hand.

Four Elizabethan Poems

Then thes delightes might my mind move
to live with thee & be thie love:>

The Morgan versions of these poems differ from all the other known texts in the number of stanzas, in the rhyme-words, and in an extensive list of variant readings. The thirteen early texts that have come down to us differ so widely from each other that the list of variant readings obtained from a preliminary survey produced nothing more than a bewildering and fruitless result;⁸ this list has consequently been discarded. The dubious reader may be convinced of the wisdom of this by casting a glance at the *variae lectiones* listed by Samuel A. Tannenbaum¹⁰ from just a few of the early texts; these clearly reveal the futility of attempting to arrive at any valuable conclusion from the multitudinous variety of the textual variants of all the early versions. On the other hand, it seems likely that an understanding of the relationship between the various texts can be more readily achieved by listing the order in which the stanzas occur in the several versions.

Hitherto only five manuscripts¹¹ of the two poems have been known to scholars and there are at least seven important printed versions which appeared before the year 1800. In their fullest form, as they were printed in Izaak Walton's second edition of *The Compleat Angler* (London: T. M[axey] for Rich. Marriot, 1655),¹² the poems by Marlowe and Raleigh consisted of seven stanzas each. Below there are listed the first lines of each stanza (with the rhyme-words in brackets) as they are found in Walton's full text; this is followed by a tabular arrangement which indicates the presence and order of the stanzas in their various other appearances.

8 By correction *currente calamo* from "but."

9 Even Walton's text shows variant readings. For example, the last line of stanza 2 of Raleigh's *Reply* reads in the first edition: "The rest complains of cares to come." In the 1676 edition of *The Compleat Angler* this line reads: "And age complains of care to come."

10 "Unfamiliar Versions of Some Elizabethan Poems," *P.M.L.A.*, xlv (1930), 815-7.

11 Ashmole 1486, ii, fol. 6^v; Rawlinson Poet. 148, fol. 96^v; Folger 621.1, fol. 2; Folger 297.3, fol. 100; and Dr. Rosenbach's MS. (Cf. John Bakeless, *The Tragical History of Christopher Marlowe* (1942), ii, 150, and Rollins, *op. cit.*, ii, 188.) L. C. Martin, *Marlowe's Poems* (1931), pp. 299-300, refers to only "five different early versions."

12 For a bibliographical description, see the Carl H. Pforzheimer catalogue (*English Literature, 1475-1700* (1940), iii, 1084-5). The first edition (1653) is described, *ibid.*, no. 1048, and the fifth edition (1676) under no. 1052.

Four Elizabethan Poems

The Milk maids Song

1. Come live with me and be my Love [: prove / field : yield]
2. Where we will sit upon the Rocks [: flocks / falls : madrigals]
3. And I will make thee beds of Roses [: posies / kirtle : mirtle]
4. A Gown made of the finest wool [: pull / cold : gold]
5. A belt of straw, and ivie buds [: studs / move : love]
6. Thy silver dishes for thy meat [: eat / be : me]
7. The Shepherds Swains shal dance & sing [: morning / move : love]

The Milk maids Mothers Answer

1. If all the world and Love were young [: tounge / move : love]
2. But time drives flocks from field to fold [: cold / dumb : come]
3. The flowers do fade, and wanton fields [: yields / gall : fall]
4. Thy gowns, thy shooes, thy beds of roses [: posies / forgotten : rotten]
5. Thy belt of straw and ivie buds [: studs / move : love]
6. What should we talk of dainties then [: men / good : food]
7. But could youth last, and love stil breed [: need / move : love]

<i>As above</i>	<i>Walton, pp. 108-11</i>	<i>Passionate Pilgrim</i> ¹³	<i>Morgan MS.</i>	<i>Rosenbach MS.</i>	<i>Ashmole MS.</i> ¹⁴	<i>Raulinson MS.</i>	<i>Raleigh</i> ¹⁵ <i>London, 1751</i>	<i>Folger 621.1</i>	<i>England's Helicon</i> ¹⁶	<i>Angler, 1653</i> ¹⁷	<i>Percy's</i> ¹⁸ <i>Reliques, 1765</i>	<i>Roxburghe Ballads</i> ¹⁹	<i>Folger 297.3</i> ²⁰
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	4	4	4	4	5
5	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	-	4
6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	6
7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6	6	6	6	7
REPLY													
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	-	-	3	3	3	-	2	2	2	2	2	3	3
3	-	-	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	2	2
4	-	2	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	5	5	5	5	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5
7	-	3	5	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	6	6	6

Four Elizabethan Poems

It will be noted that the new Morgan text is, next to the version in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, the shortest of all; those in Dr. Rosenbach's volume and in the two Oxford manuscripts supply two additional stanzas for Raleigh's *Reply*.²¹ But the fact that these versions are quite distinct and present different traditions is amply demonstrated by the third and fourth lines of Marlowe's poem. For these lines, Dr. Tannen-

13 See Charles Edmonds's reprint, "The Isham Reprints" (1870), Sig. D5, and Joseph Q. Adams, *The Passionate Pilgrim by William Shakespeare, Reproduced in Facsimile from the Unique Copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library* (1939), Sig. D5.

14 Through the courtesy of Mr. R. W. Hunt, I learn that the Ashmole MS. can be dated ca. 1600, which is also the date of the Rawlinson MS. (cf. *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (1895-1937), iii, 421). Although Dr. Rosenbach's MS. and the two at Oxford have the same stanzas, they do not agree *verbatim*.

15 Birch, *loc. cit.*; the same text occurs in the edition by Brydges.

16 Rollins, *op. cit.*, i, 184-6.

17 Though the versions in *England's Helicon*, Walton, and Percy agree in the number and order of the stanzas, the texts differ widely from each other.

18 Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), i, 199-202.

19 A facsimile of this appears in Charles Norman, *The Muses' Darling* (1946), opposite p. 106. The sheet bears the note: "Printed by the Assignes of Thomas symcock" and may be dated ca. 1620. For Thomas Symcock, who flourished between 1619 and 1629, see McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England . . . 1557-1640* (1910), pp. 261-2.

20 Cf. de Ricci, *op. cit.*, i, 294. This, the Thornborough MS. version, was printed by John H. Ingram, *Christopher Marlowe and His Associates* (1904), pp. 222-6, and was called by the editor the "oldest and contemporaneous" copy. It is, however, considerably later.

21 The gradual growth in the number of stanzas may, perhaps, be best noted in the case of line 5 of Raleigh's "Reply" as printed above; practically the identical line occurs in the Rosenbach and Oxford MSS. The stanza, of which this is the first line, is clearly enough an answer to lines 9-14 of Marlowe's poem in the Morgan MS.

When an additional stanza appeared in Marlowe (as represented in the state found in Raleigh's *Works*, 1751), Raleigh's second stanza of the Morgan MS. became two stanzas. "Thy belt(es) of strawe" was deleted in favor of a reference to the gowns and slippers corresponding to the new stanza 4 of Marlowe, but the other words and original rhymes were retained. Around "Thy belt of straw," a new stanza was supplied for the "Reply" with the same rhyme-words of what had then become the fifth stanza in Marlowe (ll. 13-6 above).

It may, of course, be argued that the two stanzas of the "Reply" (the fourth and fifth of the final version) were originally present and were only combined as the result of an eyeslip by an early scribe. But the numerous differences between the Rosenbach and Oxford MSS. argue against a common prototype for these three; furthermore, the Morgan MS., both in the number of the stanzas and in the text, represents a different origin and tradition. It seems highly improbable that two or three scribes could have made the identical slip, and it is thus easier to believe that one stanza became two rather than that the reverse procedure took place.

Four Elizabethan Poems

baum has given us five different versions in all and yet the Morgan manuscript offers still other readings.²² The new manuscript, then, is interesting as apparently representing one of the earliest versions, as may be judged both from the dating of the manuscript and from the number of stanzas there present, and is a valuable addition to the body of Marlovian literature.

II

At the top of the reverse side of the leaf is a poem entitled (by a hand other—and probably later—than that of the original scribe) “On the State of France under y^e Administration of y^e Guises by S^r Walter Rawleigh.” Two other manuscripts of this poem have come to the writer’s attention, British Museum (Harley MS. 3787, fol. 212)²³ and Folger (MS. 1.112, fol. 16’);²⁴ the variant readings in these manuscripts are given below under the sigla H and F.

The state of ffraunce as nowe it standes
is like primero at flower handes.
wher some doe vie and some doe holde
and best assurid maye prove to bolde.

- 5 The kinge was rashe without regarde
and being flush would not discarde.
but first he passed it to the guise,
and he of nought straight waie it vies

- Navarre was next and would not oute,
10 for of his Cardes he had no doubt.
The Cardynall faintlier held the vie
and watched advantage for to spie;

²² Still another reading may be found in Joseph Ritson, *A Select Collection of English Songs* (1813), i, 263–6, where he prints:

That vallies, groves, or hills and fields,
And all the steepy mountain yields.

²³ The text of the poem is printed in *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (1808–12), iii, 78, following an item with the curious title: “A copy of a Lettre sent by the great Lord to the King of Navarre, translated out of Greek into Frenche & soe into Englishe.”

²⁴ See de Ricci, *op. cit.*, i, 272, where the MS. is dated *ca.* 1590, and Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. liv–lvi.

Four Elizabethan Poems

ffor to goe out his frendes him bides
but Cardynalles hattes makes busie heades
15 all rest were vp and all were in
and Phillip wrought that guise might wyne.

Quene mother stode behind his backe,
and taught him howe to make his packe,
The king that all their wordes did knowe
20 said what, goe lesse before we showe,

He profers dalyaunce for to make,
to saue himself & Guises stake
and we that sawe him at this staie
Did leave him there & rune our waie:>

4 and] the F prove] be FH 6 flush] shyhe H not] nedes FH 7 but] yet F
Guyse F, Gwyse H 8 of . . . waie] straightwayes of naughte F 9 Navar F
next] in F 11 faintlier] fayndye FH held] holdes F 12 and watched] wait-
inge F 13 out] on F bides] leades F 14 but] for F makes] make H 15
When restes F, All rests H all] vyes F 16 and] then F, Till H sought H 17
By correction from Quene mother taught him how to packe standethe at his backe F
18 his] a F 19-22 omitted H 19 their wordes] the cardes F 20 we] yow F
21 profered F 22 himself] his owne F 23 sawe . . . staie] did see all this playe F,
sawe them and ther playe H 24 him] them FH rune] wente F, dance H our
waie] awaye F

The poem describes a game of cards, popular in its own day under the name of *Primero*²⁵ and apparently a progenitor of *Poker* as it is played today. The four players are, of course, the King of France, the Duke of Guise, the King of Navarre and a Cardinal; the bystanders are Catherine de' Medici and King Philip II of Spain. While the rules under which *Primero* was played are today not clearly understood and appear to have varied widely from place to place and from time to time, the meaning of the allegory in this poem is tolerably certain. The stake in this case apparently represents the control of France, since the King holds a "flush" which, as today, means a whole hand in suit and was

25 For details concerning this game, see Samuel W. Singer, *Researches into the History of Playing Cards* (1816), pp. 244-58; Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (1876), pp. 433-4; the articles on "Card-playing" by Daines Barrington, John Bowle, and Richard Gough in *Archaeologia*, VIII, 133-58; *Shakespeare's England* (1916), ii, 472-4; and especially J. S. McTear's notes on *Primero* in *Notes and Queries*, 11th ser., vii, 1-3, 23-4, and 41-3.

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the highest hand in Primero—naturally the King would not discard. The opportunity to discard and draw then passes to Guise, who “stands pat” and immediately bids his hand. Navarre, confident of his cards, “stays in” as also does the Cardinal, with less certainty but with more devious plans. Lines 15–8, it may be interpreted, mean that a break has occurred in the dealing, that all are in the pool and that Queen-Mother Catherine and King Philip are attempting to “influence” the game to their own advantage. The final outcome is left to the reader’s imagination.

The approximate date of the poem can be determined fairly closely from the content.²⁶ The *terminus a quo* must be 10 July 1559, when, upon the death of Henry II from wounds received in a joust, Catherine de’ Medici became the Queen-Mother; at the other extreme, the *terminus ad quem* may be fixed as 2 August 1589,²⁷ for on that day Henry III died from a fatal stabbing, and with the accession of Henry IV the Kingdom of Navarre was merged with that of France. Between these two terminal dates only two periods can supply satisfactory historical backgrounds for the plot of our poem; the earlier is from 10 July 1559 to 17 November 1562 and the later from 9 June 1572 to 23 December 1588. On 17 November 1562, Anthony of Bourbon, King of Navarre, died at the battle of Rouen and was succeeded by his wife (Jeanne d’Albret) who was Queen in her own right. The future Henry IV only became King of Navarre upon the death of his mother (9 June 1572);²⁸ thus, in this interval of nearly ten years there was no King but only a Queen of Navarre. Again, with the murder of Henry, Duke of Guise (also known, as his father was before him, as “Le Balafre”), on 23

26 The historical notes are based, in the main, on *The Cambridge Modern History* (1907–10), vol. ii, chap. 9, and vol. iii, chap. 1; Martha W. Freer, *Henry III, King of France and Poland* (1858); Bernard de Montfaucon, *Les monumens de la monarchie Française* (Paris, 1729–33), v, 65–434; Pierre de Lanux, *La vie de Henri IV* (Paris, 1928); and Walther Tritsch, *Heinrich IV, König von Frankreich und Navarra* (Frauenfeld, 1938). Interesting and more popular accounts may be found in Milton Waldman, *Biography of a Family; Catherine de Medici and Her Children* (1936), and Quentin Hurst, *Henry of Navarre* (1938). See also Paul F. Willert, *Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots in France* (London, 1929).

27 This date might have been set at 5 January 1589, the date of the Queen-Mother’s death, but since it is not necessary to suppose that she was there in the flesh, it seems better to adopt the date of Henry III’s death.

28 Concerning her death, possibly by poison, see Freer, *op. cit.*, i, 92–3.

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December 1588, the second period may be considered closed. His successor, the young Prince of Joinville, was immature and in any event promptly imprisoned; the new Duke of Guise thus represented no immediate threat in the political struggles of the day.

It seems rather unlikely that the earlier of these two periods could supply the proper setting for the poem. The two French Kings who reigned during this period were both young boys. Francis II (who died at the age of sixteen in 1560) was entirely in the power of the Guises, and Charles IX (who was only ten years old at his succession) was under the complete control of the Queen-Mother. They, in short, held no cards at all. Again Anthony, King of Navarre, was not the great political leader that his son was to be at a later date. Indeed the struggle for power in 1559-62 did not rest so much between Navarre and Francis, 2nd Duke of Guise,²⁹ as between the latter on one side and Condé (Louis I of Bourbon and brother of Navarre) and Admiral Gaspard de Coligny on the other. It is significant to note that neither of these historically prominent opponents of "Le grand Guise" is even mentioned.

Thus it seems probable that the poem refers to the second period and can, perhaps, be still further limited as to date. When Henry ascended the throne of Navarre, he was not yet nineteen years old and was of little political significance; his bitter rival, Henry, 3rd Duke of Guise, was only three years older. At that time, also, Coligny and Henry, 2nd Prince of Condé, were still the leaders of the Huguenot party; the former, of course, perished not long after in the massacre of St. Bartholomew (24 August 1572), while Condé continued his active life until 1588.³⁰ If our poem belongs to the earlier years of this period, one might expect some reference at least to Condé. Finally, in February 1576, the young Navarre escaped from court and abjured Catholicism; thereafter he absented himself from the French court for many years. These historical facts seem to preclude the earlier years of this epoch, as they do not provide a suitable setting.

29 "Le grand Guise" was shot 19 February 1563 by the Huguenot Jean Poltrot de Méré and died five days later.

30 He died, probably by poison, on March 5th. The unsavory scandal centering around Condé's wife, Charlotte de la Tremouille, is told by Freer, *op. cit.*, iii, 74-7. Pierre Matthieu, *Histoire des Derniers Troubles de France* (Lyon, 1597), fol. 81^r (i.e., 71^r), says that Condé died on May 5th.

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Not until 1584, after the death of Francis, Duke of Anjou³¹ and (as brother of Henry III) the heir apparent, did the King of Navarre become the logical successor to the crown of France. This, of course, caused the Catholic party considerable anxiety and on 2 January 1585, at the Treaty of Joinville, King Philip of Spain undertook to support the party of the Guises (now headed by Henry) with contributions of money; at the same time Charles, Cardinal of Bourbon, was chosen successor to Henry III by this alliance.³² Lines 11-16 of our poem seem to refer to the provisions of this treaty. It is, thus, likely that the poem was composed during the "War of the Three Henrys" and one may see in lines 21-2 a reference to the summer of 1588, when Guise was in Paris and Henry III was trying to placate him while attempting to improve his own position.

We can, then, with some confidence date the poem as having been written about 1588. As political poems of this sort rapidly lose their interest, once the events which they depict are no longer familiar to the eventual reader, such poems are rarely found carefully written out in manuscripts of much later date. The problem posed in the poem was solved by the murder of Henry "Le Balafre" on 23 December 1588 and by the similar death of Henry III, at the hands of Jacques Clément, eight months later. By 13 September 1598³³ all the characters noted in these lines were dead except Navarre himself, who survived only to be assassinated by François Ravaillac on 14 May 1610. It seems logical,³⁴ therefore, to assume that the poem as here written was set down not later than 1610.

III

The lower half of the same page contains a copy of Thomas Campton's well-known poem "What if a day," here with the title by the later hand "On the Brevity of Humane Happyness." Two other manuscripts

31 If the poem was written before his death, one might expect that it would have included some mention of him either as Anjou or as Alençon.

32 According to Martha W. Freer, *History of the Reign of Henry IV* (1860), he was proclaimed King Charles X on 7 August 1589 (i, 38) and died nine months later, 31 May 1590 (i, 171).

33 This is the date of the death of Philip II.

34 Raleigh, of course, ascended the scaffold on 29 October 1618 (*D.N.B.*, xlvii, 200). The attribution of the poem to Raleigh is by the later hand and is of no critical importance.

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of this poem are in America, Folger (MS. 452.5, fol. 137)³⁵ and Rosenbach Company (*olim* Philipps MS. 9549, p. 198);³⁶ the variant readings (with the abbreviations F and R) are noted below.³⁷

- What if a daie, or an night, or an hower,
Crowne thie delight with a thousand wisht Contentinges
Cannot the Chaunce of a night, or an hower
Crosse thie delightes with a thowsand sad tormentinges
5 ffortune, honour, beawtie, youth,
 are but blossomes dying
 Wanton pleasures, doting love,
 are but shadwes flying.
 All our ioyes are but toyes,
10 idle thoughtes Deceaving.
 None hath power of an hower,
 in their lives bereaving.

- Earth is but a point to the world, & a man
is but a point to the worldes compared center
15 shall then a point of a point be so vaine:
 as to triumphe in a sillie pointes adventure.
 All is hazard that we haue,
 ther is nothing byding
 Daies of pleasure are like streames
20 through faier medwes glyding
 weale or woe, tyme doth goe
 in tyme no returning.
 Secret fates, guide our states
 both in mirth & mourning.

1 or . . . hower] or a month or a year FR 2 delight] delights R, desires F wisht]
sweet FR 3 Cannot] May not FR 4 thie] those F delightes] desires R a
thowsand] as many FR 7 pleasure FR 12 his lifes breathing F 13 The earth F,
Earth's R to] of R 16 in] on R 18 ther] heer F abiding F 21 weale or
woe] wel we or F or] & R 22 in tyme] time is R no returning] theres no
turning F, neuer turninge R

35 De Ricci, *op. cit.*, i, 319, dates the MS. as *ca.* 1630.

36 My thanks are due to Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach for his generosity in permitting me to quote the variant readings and to Edwin Wolf, 2nd for supplying me with a transcript of this version. The MS. is described in the Rosenbach Company's catalogue, *English Poetry to 1700* (1941), p. 47, no. 187, and is dated 1630.

37 In the manuscript itself, lines 5-12 and 17-24 are doubled up, these sections amounting to only 4 lines each in the original. They have been rearranged to conform to the manner in which they are usually printed.

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In A. E. H. Swaen's thorough study of the poem,³⁸ twenty-nine versions were listed (to which these three may now be added) and twelve of these were printed by him in full. As the result of misdating a manuscript, however, Swaen denied the authorship of Thomas Campion.³⁹ The poem is now generally regarded as the work of this poet, and it is attributed to him in anthologies⁴⁰ and is printed amongst his poems in the standard critical editions.⁴¹ The Morgan manuscript is perhaps the earliest text of this poem now known save for that found in Lansdowne MS. 241 of the British Museum. According to Swaen's findings,⁴² the Morgan text is also that of the earliest state of the poem, for it contains but two stanzas and preserves the "oldest form of the first line."

The leaf under discussion, then, can be confidently dated as belonging to the first decade of the seventeenth century⁴³ and contains new copies of several poems already well known to students of Elizabethan verse. Unfortunately nothing more is known of the earlier history of this leaf; it would indeed be interesting to know what else was written in the commonplace book to which it once quite obviously belonged.

38 "The Authorship of 'What if a day' and Its Various Versions," *M.P.*, iv (1907), 397-422 and v (1908), 383-5.

39 Percival Vivian, *Campion's Works* (1909), p. 378, points out that Swaen believed MS. Addit. 33933 could not be later than 1578, and adds "but he is misinformed as to this. Whatever the date of the MS. Scottish Metrical Psalter, the jottings in the subsequent leaves" are later. The *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum* (1894), p. 132, dates Addit. 33933 as "in an early 17th-century hand." The Lute MS. (Dd. iv. 23) is dated about 1610 in the *Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (1856-67), i, 228, and is thus also not as early as Swaen thought. The copy in MS. Lansdowne 241 (the diary of John Sanderson, 1560-1610) appears on f. 49 and can thus be dated *ca.* 1592; see *A Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum* (1819), p. 86.

40 Hebel and Hudson, *op. cit.*, pp. 446 and 984-5.

41 So in A. H. Bullen, *The Works of Dr. Thomas Campion* (1889), p. 398 ff., and in Vivian (*vide supra*).

42 "We may safely say that the poem originally counted two stanzas only," *loc. cit.*

43 This date is assumed on palaeographical grounds. The literary content, however, gives good reasons for believing either that these texts were written down before 1600 or that the present MS. was copied *ca.* 1610 from another commonplace book of 1588-1600.

THE HUMANISM OF GABRIEL HARVEY

By HAROLD S. WILSON

When we speak of the humanist movement in Renaissance England, we naturally think first of such men as Erasmus, Colet, and More. The activities of these men mark the beginnings of a greatly quickened interest in the study of the humanities in sixteenth-century England, and their influence upon English education made itself felt as a continuous tradition extending into the seventeenth century. More and Colet were men of deep Christian piety; and though Erasmus's interest in piety is perhaps less evident than his enthusiasm for the ancients, he shared with Colet and More the desire to make the study of the classics serve Christian ends.¹ These men were great representatives of that union of classical learning with Christian aims which has been called "Christian humanism" and which has been regarded as the most influential strain in sixteenth-century English culture.²

It is obvious, however, that the study of the classics in sixteenth-century England was not always associated with distinctively Christian aims. All formal education in England during this time was humanistic in the sense that it was, in the first place and fundamentally, a training in the humanities. Among those so trained, we may distinguish a line of poets and scholars, teachers, divines, and statesmen—men like Sir Thomas Elyot, Roger Ascham, Sidney, Spenser, and Hooker—who belong in the tradition of Erasmus, Colet, and More. There were a very few, perhaps, who were experimentally and tentatively critical of Christianity, like Christopher Marlowe and various reputed members of the "School of Night." But there were a great many who regarded themselves as perfectly orthodox Christians but who were essentially secular-minded—divines and statesmen from Wolsey to Sir Robert Cecil; scholars of scientific interests from Thomas Linacre³ to Francis Bacon; and

¹ For Erasmus's view, see a recent study by Fritz Caspari, "Erasmus and the Social Functions of Christian Humanism," *J.H.I.*, viii (1947), 78-106. Colet's position is illustrated in the curriculum he provided for St. Paul's School, and More's in his defense of classical studies against the Lutherans.

² See Douglas Bush, *The Renaissance and English Humanism* (Toronto, 1939).

³ R. W. Chambers, *Thomas More* (1935), p. 84, notes the amusing story recorded by

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"professors of general learning" like Gabriel Harvey. These two latter groups seem to give support to the older Burckhardian conception of the "humanist" as one who values the human at the expense of the divine.

The difficulty in distinguishing the various strains in sixteenth-century humanism is that all three of these groups were called "humanists" in their own time by virtue of their training in or concern with the humanities. According to the citations in the *NED*, the "humanities," in sixteenth-century English usage, included "grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and esp. the study of the ancient Latin and Greek classics";⁴ and the "humanist" or "humanitian" meant one who was versed in these studies⁵—as every schoolboy was. The author of the article on "humanity" in the *New English Dictionary* notes that the sixteenth-century conception of training in the humanities implied the ancient idea of *humanitas*: "the liberal education befitting a man";⁶ but the note is perhaps a little misleading in its emphasis when it adds: "but it was very often, in scholastic and academic use, opposed to *divinity* as if = secular learning." The intention, in such enumerations of studies as those cited from Caxton to Francis Bacon,⁷ was not to *oppose* the secular study of the humanities to divinity—or any other field of studies—but rather to distinguish or contrast their different subject-matter.⁸ This usage, however, is significant of the attitude of the third group of humanists mentioned above. For them, the study of the humanities was a branch of secular learning directed to purely secular ends. But it was not their intention to exalt the human above the divine. For the most part, they

Sir John Cheke of Linacre's brief investigation of the New Testament, from which he concluded that it was not a book he could profit by reading.

4 *S.v.* "Humanity" (II, 4).

5 *Ibid.*, *s.v.* "Humanist" (2); "Humanitian."

6 Cf. Aulus Gellius, xiii. 17; Cicero, *De Or.*, ii. 17. 72; etc.

7 *E.g.*, *Adv. of Learning*, II. v: "There doe arise three knowledges, Divine Philosophy, Natural Philosophy, and Humane Philosophy, or Humanitie."

8 This usage is paralleled in the writings of Gabriel Harvey: *Works*, ed. Grosart, ii, 12, 252, 257; *Marginalia*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith, pp. 226, 232. It is in this sense that Harvey noted, concerning the proficiency of Chaucer and Lydgate in "Astronomie, philosophie, & other parts of profound or cunning art": "It is not sufficient for poets, to be superficial humanists: but they must be exquisite artists, & curious vniuersal schollers" (*Marg.*, p. 161).

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never questioned that their purposes were as acceptable in God's sight as they were in their own.

Gabriel Harvey is a good example of the secular-minded humanist in sixteenth-century England because so much information about his career and his opinions has come down to us. In his own published writings, which are remarkably self-revealing; in his private letters and notes published by E. J. L. Scott as the *Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey*,⁹ and in his voluminous marginalia accumulated over many years of Harvey's long life,¹⁰ we have a detailed record not merely of Harvey's acts and publicly expressed opinions but also of his private aims and motives and of the way in which he proposed to himself to accomplish them. My purpose in what follows is to show how the secular motive which existed side by side with the motive of Christian piety in the age of Queen Elizabeth manifested itself in the career and writings of a man who described himself, without any conscious irony, as a "humanitarian of the old world."¹¹

Gabriel Harvey (1550-1631) received a thorough training in the humanities at the grammar school of Saffron Walden and as an undergraduate at Cambridge University.¹² The English grammar schools in the age of Queen Elizabeth were most concerned to train pupils to speak, write, and dispute in classical Latin. Religious instruction was not neglected; and the study of the ancient classics included the main departments of Latin literature in its broadest sense, and often some Greek as well. But the emphasis throughout was upon the use to be made of this learning. The study of the ancient language and literature issued as soon as possible in the practice of rhetoric and dialectic, the disciplines of speaking and thinking prescribed in the tradition of the trivium. The major emphasis upon these disciplines continued throughout the undergraduate's course at the university. Latin served as the

9 Camden Society, 1884.

10 *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith (1913). The citations of some unpublished marginal notes of Harvey in this study are drawn from MS. 1764. 1 in the Folger Shakespeare Library, with the courteous permission of the officers of the Library.

11 *The Works of Gabriel Harvey*, ed. A. B. Grosart (1884-5), ii, 227.

12 The best study of Harvey's life is the introduction to G. C. Moore Smith's edition of Harvey's marginalia. For the Harvey-Nashe quarrel, see R. B. McKerrow's edition of the *Works of Thomas Nashe* (1910), v, 65-110.

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medium of this instruction because it was still regarded as the universal language of true eloquence in which one found the best models for imitation, above all Cicero. The power of ancient eloquence could be transferred to one's native tongue—and this was a patriotic motive among the Elizabethans—but the technique had to be learned in Latin.

The emphasis upon dialectic and rhetoric in Renaissance education derives ultimately from the ancient view, most fully set forth by Cicero, that the study and practice of eloquence provide the best and most comprehensive training for a life of action. It had been Cicero's aim, as he explains in *De Oratore*, to heal the unnatural division between philosophy and rhetoric that he traced from the time of Socrates to his own day and to restore a proper harmony between speaking and thinking.¹³ In Cicero's view, eloquence ideally embraces philosophy and indeed all useful knowledge¹⁴ and finds its scope in every field of human activity: "Nihil enim est eloquentia nisi copiose loquens sapientia."¹⁵ This "speaking wisdom" was thought of primarily as the effect a speaker produces upon an audience. By means of his eloquence, the orator persuades people to act in a certain way, or, at the least, influences their attitudes and prepares them for action. Eloquence is "Queen among the Arts"¹⁶ because it comprehends all human knowledge and guides all human action. The orator thus exercises a great moral responsibility: he must be a "good man skilled in speaking."¹⁷ It was a usual assumption in antiquity, made particularly explicit in Cicero, that the "studia humanitatis ac litterarum"—the fundamental basis of the orator's training—serve best to cultivate the distinctive faculty of man, his reason, and that such education of the reason will issue in virtuous conduct.¹⁸

This theory of education may be regarded as implicit in the medieval tradition of the trivium;¹⁹ but it was peculiarly the function of the

13 *De Or.*, iii. 16. 60 ff.

14 *Ibid.*, iii. 20. 76.

15 *Part. Or.*, xxiii. 79; cf. *Or.*, xxi. 70.

16 Tacitus, *Dialogus de Orat.*, c. 32; cf. Cicero, *De Or.*, ii. 44. 187.

17 Quintilian, xii. 1. 1 ff.

18 See R. Pfeiffer, *Humanitas Erasmi* (Leipzig, 1931); W. Jaeger, *Humanism and Theology* (1943).

19 See P. O. Kristeller, "Humanism and Scholasticism in the Italian Renaissance," *Byzantion*, xvii (1944-5), 346-74.

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Renaissance humanists to relate it more closely to its ancient sources, especially in Cicero, and to make it central in Renaissance education. It is the conception that Harvey derived from his training in the humanities and that he exemplified as a teacher at Cambridge and in all his utterances concerning the aims and methods of learning—with the significant omission of any stress upon its ethical implications.

In his controversy with Thomas Nashe, Harvey indignantly repudiates the charge that he is “ouer-much addicted to Theory, without respect of action . . .”

I neuer made account of any study, meditation, conference, or Exercise, that importeth not effectual vse, & that aymeth not altogether at action: as the singular marke, whereat euery Arte, & euery vertue is to leuell. I loue Method: but honour Practise. . . . Either Arte is obscure, or the quickest capacity dull: and needeth Methode, as it were the bright Moone, to illuminate the darksome night: but Practise is the bright Sun, that shineth in the day, & the soueraigne Planet that gouerneth the world: as else-where I haue copiously declared.²⁰

This doctrine that the value of all learning is simply as it ministers to action is constantly emphasized in Harvey's marginalia:

Alia quæuis Institutio, certa Vanitas, et Miseria, præterquam Vna Haec: A Tabula ad Meditationem; à meditatione, ad praxim; à perfecta et exæcta meditatione, ad perfectam, et exactam praxim.²¹

Nashe himself did not have more contempt for the merely bookish man than Harvey expresses in his private notes,²² and Nashe's taunt of pedantry was deeply rankling to the unsuccessful scholar, as Nashe well understood.

The education Harvey constantly associates with his ideal of action is the training in eloquence:

He that would be thowght A Man, or seeme anything worth; must be A great Dooer, or A great Speaker: He is A Cipher, & but a peakegoose, that is nether of both: He is y^e Right man, that is Both: He that cannot be Both,

²⁰ *Works*, ed. Grosart, i, 228; cf. iii, p. xxvi. The place to which Harvey refers in his published writings is his *Rhetor*, two orations dealing with the functions of nature, art, and practice in the preparation of the orator. “Practice” receives lengthiest treatment and is represented as much the most important. See the present writer's analysis of this oration in *ELH.*, xii (1945), 167–82.

²¹ *Marg.*, p. 145.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 151, 152, etc.

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lett him be On at least, if he meane to be accounted any boddy: or farwell all hope of valu.²³

Among the dramatized embodiments of qualities and courses of action that Harvey was fond of projecting in his marginal notes,²⁴ it is "Angelus Furius" that represents most characteristically Harvey's ideal of the union of eloquence and action: "Angelus furius: Angelus jn sermonibus, et consilijs: furius jn actionibus, et negotijs."²⁵ He took Cicero and Caesar as his favorite exemplars of this ideal, and Caesar, as the greater man of action, most completely embodies it for him:²⁶ "Mihi solus Cæsar plusquam Omnes Libri."²⁷

For Harvey, then, the study of the humanities meant above all a training in eloquence, according to the best precedents of antiquity, designed for present use. The use to which Harvey hoped to put his own training in eloquence, as we may see clearly reflected in his marginalia, was a career as a statesman. But he was prepared to undergo the most careful preparation to this end. He devoted himself mainly to eloquence at Cambridge, as student and teacher, for more than ten years (1566-76), during which time he strove to popularize the reforms in dialectic and rhetoric of Ramus and his collaborator Talaëus, and at the end of this period published his orations upon rhetoric and examples of his Latin verse,²⁸ works which marked the climax of Harvey's preparation in the humanities, as he understood the term.²⁹

The rhetorical tradition deriving from Cicero required encyclopaedic learning in the orator; and it is clear, from his voluminous reading, that early in his career Harvey took all knowledge for his province; but he aimed to become his own "Angelus Furius" in the sphere of politics. He chose the field of civil law for his professional studies at Cambridge—the training, linked with his preparation as an orator, best calculated to

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

²⁴ See G. C. Moore Smith's notes on *Marg.*, 88. 31, 90. 27, 231. 11.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 134. In an unpublished note, Harvey characteristically remarks: "Manie can Ciceronise: none Cæsarise" (Folger MS. 1764. 1, fol. 203v).

²⁷ *Marg.*, p. 151.

²⁸ *Ciceronianus* (1577); *Rhetor* (1577); *Smithus* (1578); *Gratulationes Valdinenses* (1578).

²⁹ See above, note 8.

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advance his ambition for a career in public affairs—with the advice and encouragement of his patron, Sir Thomas Smith.³⁰

Harvey's relation to Smith links him with the preceding generation of English humanist-statesmen who, in an age of great reversals of national policy, had to know how to trim their sails to the rapidly shifting winds of doctrine. Smith achieved great success both in academic and in public life. Early in his career at Cambridge, he distinguished himself as a teacher and a Latinist, and he became Public Orator of the University in 1538. Following his legal studies, he was appointed Regius Professor of Civil Law; and then, turning to public life, he held successively the posts of privy councillor, secretary of state, and ambassador, under Edward VI and Elizabeth. Smith remained loyal to protestantism during the reign of Mary, but his skill in conciliating both parties is illustrated by the fact that he shared in the extraordinary papal indulgence described by Strype as absolving him from all the penalties normally invoked against stubborn protestants.³¹ He enjoyed the goodwill of Bishop Gardiner in Mary's reign as well, and this probably stood him in strongest stead. Upon the accession of Elizabeth, however, he was restored to the deanery of Carlisle—from which he had resigned in 1554 in consideration of a pension of £100—though it does not appear that he ever visited the church of which he was nominally the dean.³² Clearly, he was a man of no small political adroitness.

Smith's influence is apparent in Harvey's plans for his own career and in all his intellectual activity. Smith mentions Peter Ramus and Louis Le Roy as among his familiar friends ("convictores") in a letter written to Walter Haddon while Smith was English ambassador at Paris in 1562;³³ and it seems likely that Harvey's Ramist sympathies and his interest in such modern political authorities as he mentions in his *Letter-Book*,³⁴ developed with Smith's approval and encourage-

30 *Letter-Book*, pp. 162-5, 168-9.

31 John Strype, *The Life of the learned Sir Thomas Smith* (1820), pp. 47-8.

32 J. G. Nichols, "Some Additions to the Biographies of Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith," *Archaeologia*, xxxviii (1859), 108.

33 The letter is dated "xxix. Decemb. 1562"; see Walter Haddon, *Lucubrationes* (1567).

34 These include Guicciardini, Machiavelli, Bodin, and Le Roy's exposition of Aristotle's *Politics*; see *Letter-Book*, pp. 78-9.

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ment. We may trace the influence of Smith's *De Republica Anglorum*³⁵ in the political pamphlet which Harvey included in *Pierces Supererogation* under the title of "An Aduertisement for Papp-Hatchett, and Martin Marprelate."³⁶ Smith's treatise is an attempt to apply a comparative method to the study of English government. He compares the common and civil law to show the reasonableness and suitability of English institutions for the English people, and his guiding principle is that each nation should get the sort of constitution that suits it best.³⁷ This view is fundamental in Harvey's reflections upon the Marprelate controversy:

The difference of Commonwealthes, or regiments, requireth a difference of lawes, and orders: and those lawes, and orders are most souerain, that are most agreeable to the regiment, and best proportioned to the Commonwealth.³⁸

Harvey argues, with great moderation and judiciousness, that the primitive example of church organization and discipline—urged by the would-be reformers—should be adapted to the needs of their own time, in the interest of preserving the established order in the state.³⁹

It was the political issue that concerned Harvey throughout his treatment of the Marprelate controversy. A group within the Church of England, of strong independent leanings, had convinced themselves that certain Biblical texts supported them in their sense of injustice and oppression at the hands of a proud and unprincipled higher clergy who had no sufficient warrant for their authority—who were, in fact, a survival of popish errors. What they could not see, as Harvey pointed out, was that in attacking the ecclesiastical hierarchy they were attacking constituted authority in England itself, where Church and State were indissolubly linked. It was not the authority of Biblical texts that seemed important to Harvey but the authority of the Queen and her ministers, not the establishing of greater freedom and equality among the clergy but the consolidating of a unified order and power in the state.

35 This work was written while Smith was on one of his French embassies (1565) but was not published until 1583; see the edition of L. Alston (1906).

36 *Works*, ed. Grosart, ii, 124-221.

37 See the preface by F. W. Maitland to the edition of L. Alston (1906).

38 *Works*, ed. Grosart, ii, 136-7.

39 *Ibid.*, ii, 141 ff.

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Harvey dreamed of following such a career as Smith had; but despite Smith's success in public life, Harvey privately regarded him as more the man of letters who was outshone by Burghley, the practical politician.⁴⁰ Throughout his marginalia, Harvey projects this type as his chief ideal:

But fower right politiques of late memory: Wulsey: Crumwell: Gardiner: & Cicill. All the rest, children in comparison. But nouices, & pupills jn pollicy.⁴¹

The omission of Sir Thomas More's name from this list is significant, for Harvey elsewhere links More's name with these as illustrating the wisdom and eloquence proper to the statesman.⁴² But More was not "politique" in Harvey's sense. More's humanism appears most clearly when he argues, against Hythloday in the *Utopia*, that it is the duty of the good man schooled in the teachings of Plato to serve his prince: even though he cannot hope always to make the good prevail, nevertheless he should do what he can, More says, "and that which yowe can not turne to good, so to order it that it be not very badde."⁴³ And More put this doctrine into practice when he allowed himself, strongly against his inclination, to be drawn into the service of Henry VIII. Harvey drew up a set of rules for the statesman in which he stressed the need for physical discipline, ready eloquence, and practical wisdom. He says nothing about the burdens and responsibilities of statesmanship. The crowning quality that Harvey desires in his statesman is—not Christian scruples or a sense of duty—but "supreme audacity."⁴⁴

The story of Harvey's failure to win a prominent place in the academic world of Cambridge, or—what he would have liked best—some employment in public affairs,⁴⁵ is too familiar to need reviewing. The irony of his failure lies in the evidences of a carefully planned campaign of preparation for a great career preserved in his marginalia. Unremitting

40 *Marg.*, p. 149: "Smithæis Literulis, præluxit Cæcilianus πολιτισμος."

41 *Ibid.*, p. 192.

42 *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 202.

43 *Utopia*, ed. J. H. Lupton (1895), p. 79 ff.; cf. R. W. Chambers, *Thomas More*, p. 125 ff.

44 *Marg.*, p. 202.

45 An unpublished note of Harvey's neatly expresses this preference: "Non curo esse regius professor: Malo esse regius Procurator" (MS. 1764. 1, fol. 118r).

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industry and a Spartan simplicity and discipline in daily life; constant study of the example of great men of action; cheerful urbanity; a versatile and ready eloquence, coupled with suppleness to flatter and to insinuate oneself with those in power; boldness to exploit any advantage and to act with initiative: these are the precepts for success that Harvey never wearies of recording in his private notes.⁴⁶ We owe the very fullness and explicitness of this program to Harvey's failure to carry out successfully, patiently though he tried; for he would hardly have found the leisure to record it all amid the busy life of action he aspired to lead.

In his later years, as the failure of his own prospects became increasingly plain, we might expect to find Harvey lapsing into some bitterness. The note of disappointment and mild self-reproach, indeed, recurs in his marginalia, as he compares his own failure with the practical successes of the "megalandri" he admired: "At nihil tale feci."⁴⁷ But he is little given to self-examination in his marginalia. For the most part, he is a buoyant Elizabethan, full of admiration for his great contemporaries, of dreams and projects. Harvey's program was more than a recipe for personal success—though it was this first of all.

In the controversy with Nashe, Harvey repeatedly recurs to the theme of the great age in which they live:

England, since it was Inglād, neuer bred more honorable mindes, more aduenturous hartes, more valorous handes, or more excellent wittes, then of late . . . There is another Sparta in hande, that indeede requireth Spartan Temperance, Spartan Frugality, Spartan exercise, Spartan valiancy, Spartan perseuerance, Spartan inuincibility . . .⁴⁸

and he cites the current military and naval exploits of Essex, Drake, Norris, and Grenville; the voyages of discovery undertaken by Frobisher and Raleigh; and contributions to the knowledge of navigation, as examples of actions that are serving to advance England's greatness.⁴⁹ They are living, he says, in "an Age of Pollicy and . . . a world of Industry (wherein the greatest matters of Gouvernement, and Valour, seeme small to aspiring capacities)";⁵⁰ and he declares his willingness to employ himself to advance the national interest:

46 *Marg.*, *passim*.

47 *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 151, 156.

48 *Works*, ed. Grosart, ii, 95.

49 *Ibid.*, ii, 96-7.

50 *Ibid.*, i, 222; cf. ii, 95.

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I could yet take pleasure, and profite, in canuassing some Problems of naturall Philosophy, of the Mathematiques, of Geography, and Hydrography, of other commodious experimentes, fit to aduauance many valorous actions; and I would vppon mine owne charges, trauaile into any parte of Europe, to heare some pregnant Paradoxes, and certaine singular questions in the highest professions of Learning, in Physick, in Law, in Diuinity, effectually and thoroughly disputed, *pro & contra*: and would thinke my trauaile as aduantageously bestowed to some purposes of importance, as they that haue adventurously discovered new-found Landes, or brauely surprized Indies.⁵¹

This comparison of the role of learning to that of the explorers of the New World finds an interesting parallel in Samuel Daniel's *Musophilus*. If learned men were properly encouraged, says Daniel:

Then would they onely labour to extend
Their now vnsearching spirits beyond these bounds
Of others powres, wherein they must be pend
As if there were besides no other grounds:
And set their bold *Plus ultra* far without
The pillers of those *Axioms* age propounds
Discou'ring dayly more, and more about
In that immense and boundless Ocean
Of Natures riches, neuer yet found out
Nor fore-clos'd, with the wit of any man;
So far beyond the ordinarie course
That other vnindustrious ages ran,
That these more curious times they might deuorce
From the opinion they are linckt vnto
Of our disable and vnactiue force,
To shew true knowledge can both speak and do.⁵²

One notices also the correspondence between Daniel's "speak and do" and Harvey's ideal of the union of true eloquence with action. They have further a common conception of the proper function of writers. They are to praise and immortalize heroic deeds; to honor virtue and valor; to enhance the excellence of the English tongue and strive to excel the greatest writers of Europe.⁵³

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, ii, 36.

⁵² *Musophilus: Containing a Generall Defence of Learning*, lines 821-36, in Samuel Daniel, *Poems and A Defence of Ryme*, ed. A. C. Sprague (1930).

⁵³ Harvey, *Works*, ed. Grosart, i, 217, 265; ii, 93 ff.; cf. *Musophilus*, line 957 ff.

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Why, then, did not Harvey in his later years try to follow the sort of literary career that he and Daniel extol and that Daniel practised with, on the whole, comfortable success to the end of his life? Harvey's extant efforts in poetry do not suggest, to be sure, that English literature would be much the richer for the "sundrie royall Cantos, (nigh as much in quantitie, as Ariosto) in celebration of her Maiesties most prosperous, and in truth glorious gouvernement,"⁵⁴ and other lost poetical works which Harvey was fond of seeing referred to in print;⁵⁵ but he told Sir Robert Cecil, in the fruitless appeal he made for the mastership of Trinity Hall in 1598, that in addition to his long poem on Elizabeth's reign, he could publish

manie other Traicts and Discourses, sum in Latin, sum in English, sum in verse according to the occasion, but much more in prose; sum in Humanitie, Historie, Pollicy, Lawe, and the sowle of the whole boddie of Law, Reason, sum in the Mathematiques, in Cosmographie, in the Art of Nauigation, in the Art of warr, in the tru Chymique without imposture (which I learned of your most learned predecessour, Sir Thomas Smith, not to contemne) and other effectual practicable knowlage, in part hetherto unreuealed, in part unskilfully handeled for the matter, or obscurely for the forme . . . For I can in one year publish more, then anie Englishman hath hetherto dun . . .⁵⁶

And from the range of Harvey's reading and the elaborateness of his marginal annotations, we may well believe him.

The reason for Harvey's reluctance to publish in his later years is plain in his marginalia, where he repeatedly enjoins himself: "Auoyde all writing, but necessary."⁵⁷ One should practise to speak and act rather than to write, he thinks.⁵⁸ "All writing layd abedde, as tædious, & needles. All is now, jn bowld Courtly Speaking, and bowld Industrious dooing. Actiuity, præcent bowld Actiuity."⁵⁹ The greatest examples have been given by these who have eschewed the written word:

Lycurgus, et Socrates, Græcorum sapientissimi, etiam maxima quaeque Agrapha esse voluerunt. Christus ipse suum Evangelium non scribi, sed predicari mandauit. Ite, et prædicate (non sedete, et scribe).⁶⁰

⁵⁴ *Works*, ed. Grosart, iii, xxvii.

⁵⁵ See the gloss to the September eclogue of Spenser's *Shepherdes Calender*; Barnabe Barnes's letter to Harvey (Harvey's *Works*, ed. Grosart, ii, 19 ff.).

⁵⁶ *Works*, ed. Grosart, iii, xxvii.

⁵⁷ *Marg.*, p. 89.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-5.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

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Like a true humanist, he joins classical and Scriptural precedent without any sense of incongruity: but his point is the strictly practical one that literature does not pay.

This is how Harvey read his own time:

Common Learning, & y^e name of A good schollar, was neuer so much contemn'd, & abiectid of princes, Pragmaticals, & common Gallants, as nowadayes; insomuch that it necessarily concernith, & importith ye lernid ether präsently to hate y^r books; or actually to insinuate, & enforce theselues, by uery special, & singular propertyes of emploiable, & necessary vse, in all affaires, as well priuate, as publique, amounting to any commodity, ether oeconomical, or politique.⁶¹

It is the same complaint that one finds in Daniel's *Musophilus* and in the first book of the *Advancement of Learning*. But Harvey is not concerned to criticize the prevailing standard or to alter it, as Daniel and Bacon were, to different ends; he wishes simply to understand it and act according to it. It suited the logic of his position. The humanist's eloquence, he held, was to be used to influence human action, not indirectly through books, but immediately and to practical ends through the power of the spoken word. If the humanist's "œconomical" and "politique" talents went unregarded, it was better, Harvey concluded, not to publish anything than to gain the reputation of a mere scholar or man of letters.

Unlike Daniel, Harvey was little concerned about his fame in after-times. In one of his notes, he remarks:

Axiophilus shall forgett himself, or will remember to leaue sum memorials behinde him: & to make an vse of so manie rhapsodies, cantos, hymnes, odes, epigrams, sonets, & discourses, as at idle howers, or at flowing fitts he hath compiled.⁶²

Here "Axiophilus," as Moore Smith notes, is clearly Harvey himself. But the Axiophilus of the marginalia is the "lover of honor"—which for Harvey in general meant "present reputation" rather than fame after death. He was too "pragmatical" to care much about the opinion of posterity.

Through Harvey's marginalia and his publications in the controversy

61 *Ibid.*, p. 151.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 233.

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with Nashe runs the theme of power: the power of the bold and skillful individual, in the marginalia; of the enterprising state, in his reflections upon English greatness. There is a curious disparity between Harvey's public attitude and many of his privately recorded opinions. He frequently reproached Nashe with emulating the example of Pietro Aretino,⁶³ but privately he admired Aretino's successful impudence.⁶⁴ He deplored the affectation of "singularity" among Nashe and his "villanist" associates,⁶⁵ but his notes are full of satisfaction in his own "original arts" and his taste for the *recherché*.⁶⁶ Harvey discreetly veiled his private tastes and motives from the public, but they were of a piece with his professed aims for the state. In the controversy with Nashe, his admiration is all for the military commanders, the discoverers of new lands, the mathematicians and navigators and chemists, even to the "expert artisans, or any sensible industrious Practitioner, howsoever Vnlectured in Schooles, or Vnlettered in bookes."⁶⁷ Men of action who were contributing to the material prosperity and prestige of England were Harvey's heroes. He did not care about their scruples; what he admired was their valor, their industry, and their success. He welcomed any change that tended to increase the national wealth or power, and he looked to bold innovation to effect such ends. He was much closer to Francis Bacon than to the conservative Nashe in this, though he had little appreciation of the inductive and experimental techniques of science that it was Bacon's aim to popularize, and he came far short of Bacon in genius.

Harvey hoped to win some great personal success by the power of his eloquence joined with boldness in action; and after he had failed, he blamed his failure upon the decay of learning in England and the neglect of learned men. "To be a Ciceronian is a flowting stocke," he re-

63 *Works*, ed. Grosart, i, 203, 218; ii, 91, 272, etc.

64 *Marg.*, pp. 124, 147, 155-6, 196.

65 *Works*, ed. Grosart, i, 220; ii, 44 ff., 218 ff., 284, etc.

66 Two of Harvey's unpublished notes illustrate this point. The first refers to Harvey himself: "He gallantly praiseth manie other bookes: but in effect onlie regardeth His original arts: & final professions: with Gandins Stratagems" (MS. 1764. 1, fol. 146r). The second explains his special regard for Gandino: "Bartasium admirarer, nisi esset notissimus. Nunc etiam vulgaris Machiauellus: nondum Gandinus" (*ibid.*, fol. 204r).

67 *Works*, ed. Grosart, ii. 289.

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marks bitterly, in *Pierces Supererogation*.⁶⁸ The rhetorical tradition in which Harvey belonged was indeed passing out of fashion in the '90's; the era of the new science was approaching, and with it the vogue of "strong lines" and baroque prose. Harvey did not really belong in this age typified by the genius of Francis Bacon, though he shared to the full Bacon's secular aims. He remained a Ciceronian of the generation of Sidney and Spenser, a would-be statesman in the descent from Wolsey and Cromwell and Smith and Burghley, a "humanitian of the old world" who could not accommodate himself to the new.

68 *Ibid.*, ii. 53.

DEKKER'S PART IN *THE FAMILIE OF LOVE*

By GERALD J. EBERLE

The entry of *The Familie of Love* in the Stationers' Register on October 12, 1607 (Arber, III, 360), mentions no author; the title-page is equally unrevealing. Only in 1656, in Archer's catalogue appended to *The Old Law*, was the name of Middleton associated for the first time with the play. Kirkman repeats this attribution.

Several oddities in the quarto are likely to arouse suspicion: it is, first of all, the only play by Middleton that bears a title-page motto;¹ second, the well-known "To the Reader" speaks of the work as old, although its being acted by the "Children of his Maiesties Reuells" seems to suggest a date no earlier than 1607; third, the prologue tells us that "opinion hath not blazd" the author's fame, although Middleton certainly was known by 1607; finally, the play shows signs of revision and in many respects is unlike Middleton's work as we know it. Sizable portions of the play lack the ring of Middleton's style. One such passage may be considered now, out of its context. Because it was the starting point of this study, it may very appropriately mark the beginning of this report.

At the end of Act IV, Scene ii, Gerardine rhapsodizes as he contemplates his plot to win his love, Maria:

T'inioy a creature, whose disheueled locks,
Like gems against the repercussive Sun,
Giues light and splendor. whose starlike eyes
Attract more gazar loues to see them moue
Then the Tartarians God, when first *Egeons* Hill
A mounts in triumph, a skin more pure and soft,
Then is the silke-worme bed, to the[e] more white
Then newfalne Snow, or shining luorie,
Is happinesse sought by the Gods themselues . . .

¹ The title-page motto on *Blurt Master Constable* is no exception. Dekker's authorship of *Blurt* was mentioned in passing by E. H. C. Oliphant, "The Authorship of 'The Revenger's Tragedy,'" *S.P.*, xxiii (1926), 166. It was restated positively by Mark Eccles, "Middleton's Birth and Education," *R.E.S.*, vii (1931), 4, and was independently demonstrated by W. J. Lawrence, "Dekker's Theatrical Allusiveness" in *Speeding up Shakespeare* (1937), pp. 117-9.

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Two words in this passage first suggested the possibility that Dekker might be part author of *The Familie of Love*—"Tartarians" and "repercussive." Abrams used the first as a touchstone in attributing *The Merry Devill of Edmonton* to Dekker.² F. P. Wilson used the second to illustrate Dekkerian vocabulary in *Newes from Graves-end*.³

In Dekker's *Dreame, Sun's Darling, Troia Noua*, and *Graves-end* the word "repercussive" is used of echoes. But in *Magnificent Entertainment*, Br^v, it is used as it is here:

this precious Stone,
That sets out *Europe*: this (the glasse alone),
Where the neat Sunne each Morne himselfe attires,
And gildes it with his repercussive fires.

The word "Tartarie" is used in Middleton's *Blacke Booke*; and "Tartar" occurs in Shakespeare; but the unusual "Tartarians" bears the hall-mark of Dekker. (Its use in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and Knolles' *History of the Turks* is to be expected and may be discounted.) Dekker uses the word eight times: twice in *Knights Conjuring*, once each in *Fortunatus*, *Dreame*, *Lanthorne*, *Horse-Race*, *Armourours*, and *Merry Devill*.

Obviously it was necessary to make a thorough study of the play as a possibly collaborative work; that study took the form of a hunt for touchstones in the works of both Dekker and Middleton,⁴ for the hand

² William A. Abrams (ed.), *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* (Duke University Press, 1942), p. 74.

³ F. P. Wilson (ed.), *Dekker's Plague Pamphlets* (1925), p. xiii.

⁴ The following works I take to be wholly or in part by Dekker, exclusive of the collaborative works of Middleton and Dekker, which are listed separately: *The Shomakers Holiday*, 1600; *Old Fortunatus*, 1600, *Satiro-mastix*, 1602; *Blurt Master Constable*, 1602; *Patient Grissill*, 1603; *The Batchelars Banquet*, 1603; *The Wonderfull yeare*, 1603; *The Magnificent Entertainment*, 1604 (except one speech that Dekker acknowledges to be Middleton's); *Newes from Graves-end*, 1604; *The Double PP*, 1606; *The Seven deadlie Sinnes*, 1606; *West-ward Hoe*, 1607; *North-ward Hoe*, 1607; *The Whore of Babylon*, 1607; *Sir Thomas Wyat*, 1607; *A Knights Conjuring*, 1607 (the second edition of *Newes from Hell*, with additions); *The Dead Tearme*, 1608; *The Belman of London*, 1608; *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, 1608; *The Merry Devill of Edmonton*, 1608; *The Guls Horne-booke*, 1609; *The Rave(ve)ns Almanacke*, 1609; *O per se O*, 1612; *Troia-Noua Triumphans*, 1612; *If It Be Not Good The Diuel is in it*, 1612; *A Strange Horse-Race*, 1613; *Canaans Calamitie*, 1618; *Dekker his Dreame*, 1620; *Warres, Warres, Warres*, 1628; *Londons Tempe*, 1629; *The Blacke Rod: and The White Rod*, 1630; *The Second Part of the Honest Whore*, 1630; *Match mee in London*, 1631; *The Virgin Martyr*, 1631; *The Noble Souldier*, 1634;

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of Thomas Middleton was quite clearly evident in many parts of *The Familie of Love*.

In passing it might be noted that the quoted passage yields more evidence of Dekker: references to the silkworm are frequent in Dekker and in Webster, not in Middleton. Dekker refers often to ivory in his figures; Middleton does not. The involved syntax is like Dekker's:

T'inioy a creature . . . [then seven lines of verse]
Is happinesse sought by the Gods themselues . . .

The phrase, "to the[e] more white/ Then newfalne Snow," is similar to *Satiro.*, EX^v:

To thee more faire, to others her two lips
Shew like a parted Moone in thine Eclipse

This study attempts to approach the ideal set down by Bentley for studies in attribution: "welcome contributions to dramatic history. They present the evidence for and against the attribution in a conscientious attempt to approach the truth; they are not special pleas . . ." ⁵ The principles that governed the choice of parallel passages will be apparent as the report progresses. It may be noted here that commonplaces and proverbial expressions have been included as confirmatory evidence if Dekker uses them often and Middleton never, and that Dekker parallels

The Wonder of a Kingdome, 1636; *The Sun's-Darling*, 1657. The original editions of the following works were not readily available: *Iests to make you Merie*, 1607; *Workes for Armourours*, 1609; *Four Birdes of Noahs Arke*, 1609; *A Rod for Run-awayes*, 1625; *London Looke Backe*, 1630. The first three I examined in Grosart's edition of *The Non-Dramatic Works*, 1884-6; the last two in F. P. Wilson's edition of *Dekker's Plague Pamphlets* (1925), which preserves the signatures of the originals.

The works I take to be Middleton's and Dekker's in collaboration are these: *The Blacke Booke*, 1604; *Father Hubbards Tales*, 1604; *The Meeting of Gallants*, 1604; *The Honest Whore* (Part One), 1604; *The Roaring Girle*, 1611; *The Bloodie Banquet*, 1639. On the collaboration of Middleton and Dekker in the first three listed of these works see Wilson's edition of the *Plague Pamphlets* cited above, and also Phillip Shaw, "The Position of Thomas Dekker in Jacobean Prison Literature," *PMLA*, lxii (June, 1947), 366-8. See also E. H. C. Oliphant, "A Dekker-Middleton Play, *The Bloodie Banquet*," *TLS*, December 17, 1925, p. 882.

Works mainly by Middleton include those in Bullen's edition, except *Blurt Master Constable*. To these may be added *The Ghost of Lucrece*, 1600; *The Revengers Tragaedie*, 1607; *The Puritaine*, 1607. All but *Microcynicon*, *The Wisdom of Solomon Paraphrased*, and six of the *Triumphs* I have read in the original editions. For these see Bullen's edition.

5 Gerald E. Bentley, "Authenticity and Attribution in the Jacobean and Caroline Drama," *English Institute Annual* (1942), p. 117.

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cited are not to be found in Middleton unless otherwise noted. Even distant echoes in Middleton have been quoted.

Study of the play as a whole seems to show several strata of composition. I believe that *The Familie of Love*, as we know it, is a revision by Dekker and Middleton of an early play written by Middleton with considerable help from Dekker. In the revision, allusions to the religious sect were added, along with several new Lipsalve and Gudgeon episodes and some topical allusions to the livery company of Porters.

The title-page motto is, then, Dekker's announcement of his collaboration with Middleton.⁶ The prologue is that which was written for the early play, when Middleton had no reputation, before it was revised and re-staged in the early months of 1607. Such an hypothesis has the advantage of offering some explanation for otherwise inexplicable difficulties. Analysis of the play lends support to these conjectures.

Act I, Scene i.

The first scene, two pages in the quarto, is not markedly in the manner of Dekker or Middleton. The phrase "fooles paradise" is used by Middleton in *Microcynicon* (Bullen, viii, 136) but not later. Dekker uses it in *Wond. Year*, C2^v; *West. Hoe*, G4; *Batch. Banq.*, A2^v; *Deadlie S.*, F2; *Knights Conj.*, D1^v; and *Sun's Darling*, C2^v.

The word "ouerreacht" is a favorite of Dekker's; it occurs in *Blurt*, F2^v; *Horse-Race*, E3; *Ravens Alm.*, F1^v; *Belman*, I2; *Shomaker*, B2^v; *Merry D.*, A4^v and F1; *Roar. Girle*, I4 (in Dekker's part). But it occurs in Middleton's *Old Law*, H2^v, in a scene that Middleton may have written.

Touchstones are scarce in this scene, but the generally euphuistic tone, the bandying of verbal shuttlecocks, are reminiscent of Middleton's *Wisdom of Solomon*. The opening scene seems to be early work by Middleton possibly retouched by Dekker, but lightly.

Act I, Scene ii.

The self-conscious preparation for the set speech by Lipsalve sounds like Dekker's work, as does the entire first part of this scene.

6 *Sydera iungamus, facito mihi Iuppiter adsit,
Et tibi Mercurius noster dabit omnia faxo.*

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Didst euer see the true picture of a louer? I can giue
thee the *Hieroglyphick*. And this it is, . . .

In *Honest Whore* (Part One), D₄, Hippolito attempts to convert Bel-lafront with a set speech that begins, "Lend me your silence, and attention." In *Honest Whore* (Part Two), B₂, we have this: "I giue you (my Lord) the true picture of a happy man; I was turning leaues ouer this morning, and found it . . ." Throughout Dekker's rogue pamphlets we are told again and again that the author will draw pictures for us, pictures of upright men, of curtals, and so on.

Webster uses the word "*Hieroglyphick*" several times, but always in the sense of strange writing; in the sense of symbol or emblem the word is frequent in Dekker: some form of the word appears in *Magnificent Ent.*, E₃^v; *Guls H.B.*, B₂^v; *Fortunatus*, K₂; *Horse-Race*, E₄; and *Troia Noua*, A₄^v.

Reminiscent of the entire speech is this passage from *Honest Whore* (Part Two), C₂:

you know, that a woman was made of the rib of a man, and that rib was crooked. The Morall of which is, that a man must from his beginning be crooked to his wife . . .

Woman's having "a certaine thing called Tunge, ten times more sharp then a needle, and that . . . man must haue shotte quite through him" recalls Dekker's constant references to the artillery of words and phrases. Specifically, the tongue is called a weapon in *Ravens Alm.*, C₃^v, and in *Batch. Banq.*, E₃.

Mention of one's "natiue soyle" is not exclusively Dekkerian, but it is exceedingly common in Dekker and rare in Middleton.

Lipsalve's comment, "let me be whipt to death with ladies heare-laces," is somewhat like *Fortunatus*, G₁^v, "let him bee shot to death with the terrible arrowes of faire Ladies eyes."

More self-conscious introduction is noted in this scene: "Ile tell thee," and "follow this song." The song itself suggests another in *Be Not Good*, I₃^v-I₄, part of which reads

This is she shall doo'te,
Or she shall doo't, or she shall doo't.

The description of women as "windy turning veins" is not in Mid-

dleton, though he speaks of such vanes in *Wisdom of Solomon* (Bullen, viii, 180 and 250). Dekker uses the figure in *Satiro.*, A3; *Dead Tearme*, D3^v; and *Match mee*, G4. The continuation of the figure, "light as chaffe which when / Our nourishing graynes are winnow'd from them" is a common Dekker image. Figures of winnowing and sifting occur in *Honest Whore* (Part Two), F3^v; *Four Brides* (Grosart, v, 56); *Knights Conj.*, C3; *Be Not Good*, C2; *Graves-end*, E1; *Wond. Kingdome*, E1^v (this may be John Day's, for it appears in *Parliament of the Bees*); *Ravens Alm.*, C3 and C4^v. Reference to chaff occurs in *Father Hubburds Tales*, and may be Dekker's.

With the entry of Maria (A3^v) the pseudo-poetic speech of the lovers is reminiscent again of *Wisdom of Solomon*. The word "pitchy" is used three times by Middleton in that work (Bullen, viii, 247, 274, and 280) and once in *Blacke Booke*, F3^v, which may be Dekker's. The latter uses the word five times. In *Wisdom of Solomon*, too, Middleton makes three references to *Alastor*, "Night's dismal summoner" (Bullen, viii, 247, 274) and speaks of "night's horses, in the running wain" (Bullen, viii, 285).

Similarly, the word "conioyned" is used in *Wisdom of Solomon* four times (Bullen, viii, 207, 259, 269), but not later. It is a favorite with Dekker.

Again we have early Middleton verse in which Dekker may have had some hand. The Lipsalve and Gudgeon asides burlesque the serious speeches of Gerardine and Maria and may be, therefore, later interpolations. It would be comforting to know that in 1607 Middleton realized how ridiculous this verse was.

Act I, Scene iii.

The first part of this scene, up to the entry of Lipsalve and Gudgeon, is clearly Dekker's. I take these to be Dekker touchstones:

"Grincomes" Dekker uses the word several times, Middleton never. It occurs again in this play.

"first in my Account" The use of accounting imagery in this fashion is to be found at least a dozen times in Dekker, the word "account" eight times. Middleton uses it once in a fanciful figure, "Where huffing winds cast up their airy accounts" (Bullen, viii, 115).

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"bite on the bridle" This use of "bridle" rather than "bit" is characteristic of Dekker; it may be found in *Graves-end*, B4; *Lanthorne*, F4; and *Armourours* (Grosart, iv, 150).

With the entry of Lipsalve and Gudgeon (B2^v) Middleton's hand is again in evidence, though I believe that the couplet that closes the scene may be Dekker's. The same pun on "consumption" occurs in *Match mee*, B3^v: "my candle is come to an vntimely end through a Consumption."

Act II, Scene i.

This brief scene, consisting of a single speech by Purge, is entirely Dekker's. The use of "dooings" with a bawdy meaning is frequent in Dekker, as is the use of the word in the sense of *affairs*. Middleton uses it rarely, and only once in a bawdy context, *Widow*, G2. It appears, too, in *Blacke Booke*, perhaps by Dekker. Its frequency in Dekker may be judged by a single work, *Armourours* (Grosart, iv), in which it occurs six times.

The phrasing, "her soft Pillow hath giuen her counsell to keepe her bed," is similar to that in *Guls H.B.*, C1, "if you will but take sound counsell of your pillow you shall neuer rise."

Act II, Scene ii.

Here again Dekker's hand is evident. The word "iocund" occurs dozens of times in Dekker's work—five times in *Deadlie S.*, for example—and only once in Middleton, *Microcynicon* (Bullen, viii, 136). Jocular references to the Trojan horse occur in *Wond. Year*, C3, and in *Blurt*, F3.

Act II, Scene iii.

The language of the gallants in this scene, deliberately affected, is hard to classify. Suggestive of Dekker, however, are the words and phrases, "ken," "running heads," "Fox furre," "liberality seald with strong Armes and Herauldry," and "Arrow i'th Quiuer" used in a bawdy sense. Comments on "the state of things at Brussels" and on the "whipping cheare" given to beggars make it likely that this first part of the scene at least, to the bottom of B4^v, was written by Dekker. The episode that will culminate in the whipping scene (III, iii) begins on C1, and is probably Middleton's.

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Act II, Scene iv.

The first part of this scene has too few marks of Dekker for confident ascription of the scene to him, but Dekker's work is suggested by the attack on "quilted Calues," similarly satirized in *North. Hoe*, D4; *Blurt*, B4; *Merry Devill*, B2^v; *Grissill*, C3. Maria's praise of married love may be Dekker's: the lovers whose "conioyned lips / Suck forth each others soules" remind one of *Blurt*, C4^v, "sucke kisses from thy lips." "Conjoined," it has already been noted, is a favorite Dekker word.

The passage in question concludes with this:

Where what they wish, they haue yet still desire,
And sweets are known without society.

The word "satiety" or, in the older spelling, "saciety" (misprinted in *Fam. Love*) appears in Dekker's *Be Not Good*, E2, and in *Batch. Banq.*, A2^v. Similar ideas are expressed in *Shomaker*, F3, "my poore famisht eies do feed on that / Which made them famish," and in *Troia Noua*, A3, "seldome to a surfeite, for when she is most full, her longing wants something to be satisfied." Middleton uses the word "insatiety" in *Microcynicon* (Bullen, viii, 120).

The entry of Club with the trunk (C2^v) shows no marks of Dekker; when Dr. Glistler enters, Middleton's hand becomes apparent. The whole episode of preparation for the whipping scene is Middleton's.

When Maria enters "ouer the Trunke" (C4^v) Dekker's hand is best seen in Gerardine's verse, "loue supprest fares like a raging fire . . . the Ocean in his source / May easier hide himselfe . . . For in the mind, / She holds her seate . . . thy cruell gardyan . . . cannot dissipate / what heau'n hath ioyn'd . . ." Love as a fire that burns all obstacles and the companion image of the sea are frequent in Dekker. Note this in *Honest Whore* (Part Two), E3^v:

Iron growes by strokes more hard,
Lawlesse desires are seas scorning all boundes,
Or sulphure which being ram'd vp, more confounds, . . .
Winds wrastling with great fires, incense the flames.

Similar echoes occur in *Honest Whore* (Part One), A2^v; in *Fortunatus*, D4^v; and in *Roar. Girle*, B1^v and Cr^v. Middleton, in *Wisdom of Solomon* (Bullen, viii, 234) describes God's mercy in terms of fire covered with

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ashes: "Yet sometime will it burn, when flame it must." And in *Microcynicon* (Bullen, viii, 134) he writes of satirists:

streams that are barr'd their course
Swell with more rage and far more greater force.

The idea of love being in the mind, near when remote, is expressed in *Batch. Banq.*, I3^v; *Blurt*, C1^v; *Wyat*, D3^v; and *Honest Whore* (Part Two), B2^v. The love knot tied in heaven and the powerlessness of covetous fathers are commonplaces, of course, but very frequent in Dekker and rare in Middleton.

Act III, Scene i.

The love scene between Gerardine and Maria presents a vexing problem, the solution of which may lie in Gerardine's objection to enforced love:

That Bruites, nor Animalls do proue a thrall
To such seruility:

Unfortunately, the closest parallels all occur in passages the authorship of which is disputed. In the second scene of the second act of *Roar. Girl*, D4^v, these lines occur:

If a man haue a free will, where should the vse
More perfect shine then in his will to loue.
All creatures haue their liberty in that,
Tho else kept vnder seruile yoke and feare,
The very bondsclaue has his freedome there . . .

Scholarly opinion is evenly divided on the question of Middleton's or Dekker's authorship of these lines.

In *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall*, D3^v, probably by Dekker, the enforced separation of husband and wife is treated thus:

O that the poorest beggers that do breath
Should yet haue that which is deni'd to vs,
But to haue partners in their miserie.

And in *The Bloodie Banquet*, C3, thought by Oliphant to be Dekker's part of the play, this occurs:

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Why should men
Be natures bondslaves? Every creature else
Comes freely to the Table of the Earth;

The presence of utterances characteristic of Middleton and of Dekker in the scene further complicates the problem. On present evidence it is undesirable to attempt definite attribution, but I lean toward Dekker.

The episode of Lipsalve's disguising himself as Gerardine, with which Dyce and Bullen begin a new scene (D₂^v), is Middleton's. With the entry of Dr. Glister (D₄^v), Dekker's hand is indicated by the use of the words "randiuous" and "mynion." Dekker uses the first fifteen times and the second nineteen times. Middleton uses "minion" three times.

Act III, Scene ii.

This scene (III, iii in Bullen) is probably Dekker's. The toying with oaths:

y'are about me in flesh mistrisse, and thers your boast, but in my tother part, we are all one before God.

MI. PUR. All one with me! dost thou sweare too?

is like Dekker. The same sort of fooling is to be noted in *North. Hoe*, B₂^v:

You wrong her vpon my soul.

MAYBERRY. No, she wrongs me vpon her body.

In *Blurt*, C₁, referring to his sword and addressing the character named Dandyprat, Hippolito says, "by the cross of this, *Dandyprat*." Both Dyce and Bullen omit the comma and the joke. In *Roar. Girle*, D₂, the jest is made obvious:

MOL. . . . you abusd me . . .

FEL. Not I by this light . . .

MOLL. No, but by candlelight you did: you haue trickes to saue your oathes . . .

It must be added that toying with the oath "by this hand" is found in both Middleton and Dekker.

The episode of Dryfat's conversion is in Middleton's manner, but when Purge knocks at the door and is refused admittance the scene is

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probably Dekker's. The word "wodden" is a favorite Dekker epithet; "brass" as a symbol of durability or hardness is used at least ten times by Dekker; and the description of words as bullets or "pellets" occurs well over a score of times in his works. The fullest expression is that in *Dead Tearme*, F1: "The *Pen* is the *Piece* that shootes, *Inck* is the powder that carries, and *Wordes* are the *Bullets* that kill."

The final portion of Purge's speech calls to mind these parallels:

Graves-end, B1, "hauing wept a whole ynck-horne full of Verses"

West. Hoe, A4, "women though they shoulde weepe licour enough to serue a Dyer, or a Brewer"

Merry Devill, E4^v, After talking idly for a time, Sir Arthur says: "I am so out of patience, I know not what to say."

North. Hoe, A4^v, Mayberry believes himself a cuckold and rambles on like Purge, concluding, "lets haue some Sack to drowne this Cuckold . . . one word & no more; I am but a foolish tradesman, and yet Ile be a wise tradesman."

West. Hoe, A4, "looke you, I am wonderous merry, can any man discerne by my face, that I am a Cuckold?"

West. Hoe, E2^v, "I haue plaid the foole a little to beguile the memory of mine owne misfortune."

Armourours (Grosart, iv, 126 and 132), "She held many townes, and was obeyed in most kingdomes, but how? as theeves are obeyed by true men . . ."

"he hath made many a man, but how? to be damned"

Act III, Scene iii.

This entire scene, divided by Dyce and Bullen into three, is wholly Middleton's.

Act III, Scene iv.

This is III, vii in Dyce and Bullen, but the quarto is marked "*Act. 3. Scen. 4.*" This may be early Middleton work, though Dekker's hand is suggested by the figure of speech drawn from the zodiac: "Ere *Sol* haue compast halfe the signes." Dekker has nearly a score of such figures, of which the following bear closest resemblance to the lines here:

Fortunatus, I1, "Before the Sunne shall sixe times more arise,
His royall marriage will we solemnize."

Meet. Gallants, B2, "the Moone hath had aboute sixe great Bellies since wee walkt here last together, and layne in as often."

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Be Not Good, H2^v,

"Before the starre

To call whome vp, the wakefull Cocke doth sing
Bee twice more scene abroad . . ."

Roar. Girle, F4,

"Since last I saw him twelue moneths three times told,
The Moone hath drawne through her light siluer bow"

Act IV, Scene i.

This scene is entirely Middleton's.

Act IV, Scene ii.

The opening lines of this scene are probably Dekker's. The whole range of classical mythology suggests his work. The "Orbe" of love, "*Heauen Synod*," the "marble throne and Iuory Scepter" of Jove are often mentioned in Dekker, very rarely in Middleton.

Justifying his disguise, Gerardine draws upon the same two reasons as Lacy in *Shomaker*, C2:

How many shapes haue gods and Kings deuise,
Thereby to compasse their desired loues?
It is no shame for Rowland Lacy then,
To clothe his cunning with the Gentle Craft, . . .
O loue, how powerfull art thou, that canst change
High birth to barenesse, and a noble mind,
To the meane semblance of a shooemaker?

With the entry of Dryfat (F1^v) the scene is Middleton's. As he leaves (F2^v) Dekker returns to write those lines of verse with which this study began.

Act IV, Scene iii.

This scene is probably entirely Dekker's. The mock-serious treatment of the signs of pregnancy appears again in *Honest Whore* (Part One), B1, and in *Batch. Banq.*, H2^v. Mrs. Glister's toying with "thats flat . . . thats round" is like that in *Honest Whore* (Part Two), C1^v, and in *Satiro.*, A3.

Gerardine's appearance disguised as a porter recalls many Dekker parallels:

MI. GLI. Passion of my heart, what art thou?

GER. No Ghost forsooth, tho' I appeare in white.

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MI. GLI. No, but a saucy knaue I perceiue by your manners.

GER. None of that Liurey neither: I am of the bearing trade forsooth, you may see by my Smock—frock I wold say: I am (if it please you) of the spick & span new set vp Company of Porters . . .

MAR. You are none of the 12 are you?

GER. No forsooth but one of the 24.

MI. GLI. Orders of knaues, I thought so . . .

Middleton's only reference to porters occurs in *Michaelmas Term*, D4, and that is an almost proverbial allusion. Among the dozen references to porters in Dekker are two in *Iests to make you Merie* (Grosart, ii, 322 and 325) mentioning the *company* of porters. Familiarity with their dress is shown in *Dead Tearme*, G2^v, with the same suggestion of their resemblance to ghosts:

And both of them being Porters, were taken by reason of their white Frocks, for two Ghosts walking in white Shirts.

Humor wrung from the hasty correction of a slip of the tongue is found in *Satiro.*, F3^v; *Blurt*, B3; *Roar. Girle*, B3^v; and the locution "spick & span new" is used by Dekker in *Graves-end*, A3^v, and in *Wond. Year*, C2^v.

Both Dyce and Bullen note that the number of orders of knaves is not that found in the rogue books of the day. They did not note the more pertinent fact that in *Belman*, C2^v, Dekker is vague on the number of orders and that in *O per se O*, N4^v, he tells us that the rogue who does not have his doxy at his heels is held unworthy "to be counted one of the foure and twenty Orders."

The locution, "you would be bumd for your Roguery if you were well seru'd," occurs also in *Belman*, C3^v, and in *Merry Devill*, E3.

Act IV, Scene iv.

Though the greater part of this scene is Middleton's, the conclusion sounds like a Dekker addition. The list of villains (G3) is Dekkerian, as are the phrases "groat monger" and "marcheth in this fayre rancke." Various sorts of "mongers" appear six times in Dekker's work; and his rogue pamphlets constantly speak in military terms of the army of villains. Dekker often uses "march" to describe the order of words.

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Act V, Scene i.

Twenty-eight passages in Dekker, ten of them bawdy, referring figuratively to conjurers and their circles, testify to the popularity of this figure with Dekker and to his probable authorship of this scene. Middleton uses the conjurer in *Puritaine* when Captain Idle impersonates one, and he refers to conjurers, but not circles, in *A Trick*, B1, "I am thy spirit, coniure me into any shape." The full Dekker-like image occurs in *Blacke Booke*, B1-B1^v, which may have been written by Dekker:

And in adulterous Circles there rise I:
There am I coniur'd vp through hote desire.

The word "nynnyhammer" appears twice in *Guls H.B.*, D1 and B2 (missigned A2); and "Marchant venturer" applied to a rogue is in *Lanthorne*, D3^v, and in *Belman*, C4. The entry of Lipsalve and Gudgeon (G3^v) brings Middleton back into the scene; their exit takes Middleton along.

Dekker's hand in Dr. Glister's final speech is suggested by the pun on "bawdies," which occurs also in *Blurt*, B4^v and C3.

The appeal to the citizen audience, for whose sake Glister will punish the gallants, is a Dekker touch. Note the similar association of ideas in *North. Hoe*, E2, "ther's neare a Gentleman of them all shall gull a Citizen, & thinke to go scot-free."

The use of "hote spurres" here is like that in *Lanthorne*, K1^v, and in *Batch. Banq.*, H4^v.

Act V, Scene ii.

This brief scene shows several marks of Dekker. References to the "Court of Guard" occur five times in Dekker; and the strength of "concept" in love affairs is stated in *Wyat*, C4^v. Figures of speech drawn from arithmetic are very frequent in Dekker; the lines here find close parallels in *Dreame*, D4; *Virgin Martyr*, E1; and *Blurt*, G2^v. Middleton uses the word figuratively only once, and then to a different purpose, in *Changeling*, D2. The proverbial "I stand on thornes" is used by Dekker four times in this form; twice in addition he uses "needles" instead of "thornes."

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Act V, Scene iii.

Exigencies of space preclude detailed analysis of the thirty-four Dekker parallels in this final scene. Enumeration must suffice for such words as "common counsell," "quiddits," "pedlers French," "attone," "tenebris," "Trumpeter," "mad Oxe," "Volatile," "vpshot," "horne mad," "Summa totalis," "Audit," "Arbitterment," "combustion," and "mouses," all of them used by Dekker with varying frequency. The following lines are worthy of fuller treatment:

H2^v: (as *Club* saide well ee'now) . . .

Such repetition occurs also in *North. Hoe*, G4^v, "but as you sayd euen now very wisely, least his hornes should vshe him . . ."

H3: they assemble together in the day time, like so many Bees vnder a hyue.

DRY. Come home *Crura Thimo plena*, and lodge among hornets, is't not so?

Figures of speech involving bees occur nineteen times in Dekker. The phrase from Virgil's *Georgics* appears in Latin in *West. Hoe*, C1, and in translation in *Honest Whore* (Part Two), I4; *Whore Babylon*, E4^v; *Warres*, B2; and *Bloodie Banq.*, A3. References to bees are rare in Middleton, the closest approximation to the lines in *Fam. Love* being Quomodo's calling his wife "sweete hony-thye" in *Mich. Term*, C4^v.

H3: as different as a Doctor & a Dunce, a man and a beast.

Dekker is fond of making incongruous comparisons, especially when the overtones suggest that there is really little difference; note *Blurt*, B4, "there is as much difference betweene you and a Louer, as betweene a Cuckolde and a Vnicorne."

H3^v: I haue brought you a full barne to glut your greedy appetite.

This punning reference to the pregnant Maria may have been learned from *Much Ado*, III, iv, 48-9. It occurs again in *Meet. Gallants*, A2^v, and in *Sun's Darling*, F1^v.

H4^v: wade no farther into the Creame pots of this womans cryme.

Dekker uses the word "wade" seven times. Middleton uses it once in

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Wisdom of Solomon (Bullen, viii, 147). Dekker's use of the word "cream" is noteworthy in *Wond. Year*, E4, "This was the creame of her confusion, which being skimd off from the stomach of her conscience"; and in *Blurt*, E3^v, "the verie creame of all, and therefore how to skim off that."

I3: made her a stranger in your land of *Ham*.

This recalls the somewhat similar "stranger to the Ile of man" in Dekker's *Iests to make you Merie* (Grosart, ii, 309).

I3^v: Indian mines and *Tagus* glistening oare.

Indian gold seems almost an obsession with Dekker: I have noted the idea twenty-four times in Dekker's work. The allusion, of course, is commonplace and appears several times in Middleton. But *Tagus* is not mentioned by Middleton. It occurs again in *London's Tempe*, B3^v: "Iron! farre more worth then *Tagus* golden Sand."

Much as the general plan of this final scene suggests Middleton's construction and organization, the many echoes of Dekker point to his hand as that which held the pen. Middleton's part in the solution of the Maria-Glister-Gerardine plot is obvious. The "launch with a thousand pound" (I3) is Middletonian both in conception and in the sum involved, a great one indeed. In *A Mad World* Sir Bounteous pays a thousand marks to his grandson, who has married the old man's mistress. And in *A Fair Quarrel* Fitz-allen gains a thousand pieces over and above Jane's dowry to father the child that is really his.

If this analysis of the play is sound, and if the explanation of the enigmatical title-page motto and prologue is valid, *The Familie of Love* must be allowed to take the place previously occupied by *Blurt* as Middleton's first known venture into the field of drama. Bald's conjecture⁷ that this play was written in 1602 and revised in 1606 or 1607 is probably very close to the truth.

7 R. C. Bald, "The Chronology of Middleton's Plays," *M.L.R.*, xxxii (1937), 36.

A TOPICAL REFERENCE IN *THE ALCHEMIST*

By C. J. SISSON

It is not open to any reasonable doubt to maintain that the Elizabethan stage and drama were alive to the attractions of topical references for the entertainment of their audiences. It may be that the search for topical significances in Shakespeare has been blown upon of late because of overzealous attempts to interpret some of his plays as consciously designed to affect public opinion in political matters of the moment, as also because of some forced, and unnecessary, interpretations of lines and passages in Shakespeare in the desire to relate them to events of the day and so to date their composition.

There are certainties enough in Shakespeare to encourage the judicious in their belief that he was not above profiting from time to time by this appeal to popular taste. But it is important to beware of gags and interpolations. A striking example is the famous crux in *Twelfth Night*, concerning the Lady of the Strachey and the yeoman of the wardrobe, which is, I find, a reference to actual persons and to events subsequent to 1616. It is, therefore, an interpolation inserted at some later revival. The play was not printed, of course, until 1623.

With Ben Jonson we are in a more favorable position, where the authoritative texts of his plays were furnished under his own supervision. The very basis of his satirical comedy, moreover, which was the critical reflection of the follies and the vices of contemporary society, invited him to draw upon the world in which he lived for his material. His editors have shown how close was the relation between his comedy and his world of persons, events, and ideas, and it is clear that further knowledge will serve to illustrate more precisely this reflection of actual life.

A much neglected source of information is the mass of legal records in the archives of the Public Record Office, in particular in Star Chamber and in Chancery, which have in the main hitherto been explored with an eye to Shakespeare and his theatres. From Star Chamber and Chancery came the full story of whole plays, Dekker's *Keep the Widow Waking* and Chapman's *The Old Joiner of Aldgate*, written and acted

in direct reflection of events of notoriety, the stage serving as a newspaper in effect.¹

The Alchemist was plainly a play of topical interest throughout, dealing with a social disorder of the day that gave rise to grave corruptions. It is the more interesting, therefore, to be able to indicate the precise source of some of its most effective material.

The persons involved in an extraordinary story, which emerges at full length in Chancery records, are of high rank, and some of them are well known to students of literary history. Young Thomas Rogers, of a distinguished Dorset family with their seat at Hinton Martin, was brother-in-law to Sir George More, Donne's father-in-law. In London he fell into the hands of unworthy representatives of another great name, Sir Anthony Asheley and his brother Saul, who found means to profit from Rogers' wealth. Rogers is described as "a very phantasticall and humerous fellowe by his behaviour," and everything points to an epileptic and degenerate condition which made him an easy prey for the Asheleys.

It has often been objected to the Dapper Scenes in *The Alchemist* that satire here goes beyond the bounds of probability. Yet the events there presented dramatically are an exact reflection of what actually occurred. A tool of the Asheleys, called Greene, on their instructions, got into touch with Rogers and promised him that he should be introduced to the Queen of Fairies, and that with Greene's favor he should marry her. In the meantime, Rogers was to furnish Greene with five or six pounds in gold to be offered "to the Fayrees" to ensure his welcome. Rogers did so, and it is one of the counts, in a complicated suit dealing mainly with landed property, that this minor fraud was committed.

'Tis but your bestowing
Some twenty nobles, 'mong her Graces servants.

Ben Jonson has raised the bid a little, but it is near enough to the actual sum paid. And he takes the story further, beyond the point where the witnesses in Chancery leave us devoured by curiosity. But it is clearly the same story.

¹ Cf. C. J. Sisson, *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age*.

A Topical Reference in The Alchemist

The evidence in question was given in Chancery² in November-February 1609-1610, and the events described were of recent occurrence. *The Alchemist*, as is well known, was first acted in 1610. "Daylight and champain discovers not more: this is open." And we may well recall with some wry thoughts Ben Jonson's protests, in *Bartholomew Fair*, against topical interpretations of his characters. We may feel quite certain that the delight of the audience in the Dapper scenes was vastly enhanced by their knowledge, by town talk and otherwise, of the lamentable adventures of young Thomas Rogers.

We might even consider how far the jest was taken on the stage, whether the actor who played Dapper was chosen, and made up, to portray Rogers to the life. In *The Old Joiner of Aldgate*, it is clear, Dr. Milward was so portrayed, for he complained in Star Chamber that he was painfully recognizable on the stage. There was, of course, before the dramatist and actors, the fear of a similar libel suit to that brought by Milward against Chapman. But they were adepts at the evasion of such charges. It was, moreover, a confession on the part of the person libelled that the ridiculous cap in fact fitted. A more serious danger was to incur attack on the grounds of touching upon policy or of *scandalum magnatum*, reflections upon persons of high place in the State. There was here no risk of this, just as there was no risk in the open reference to Savory in *The Devil Is an Ass* (I, ii, 3) despite his connection with the Overbury poisonings. Abraham Savory was, in fact, a most unsavory character, a shark in the waters of Stuart London, an actor for a time, and a "conjurer," like Subtle. We learn much about him in Chancery proceedings taken against him by a certain Thomas Windsor.³

It may be that these instances, of interest to students of Ben Jonson, will suffice to encourage others to plunge into legal records in the spirit of prospectors. They will emerge, at any rate, with a familiar acquaintance with real people and real life in their chosen period, and probably with a few nuggets.

² C24/341/47; C24/343/*Rogers v. Rogers*.

³ C24/501/102. Trinity Term, 1623. He acted in Lennox's company in 1605. Mr. Percy Simpson once referred me, in connection with Savory, to Michael Sparke's *Truth brought to Light by Time* (1651). His Commentaries upon the plays will, in due course, extend our knowledge greatly.

MIDDLETON'S *THE PHOENIX*

By BALDWIN MAXWELL

A short time before the publication of *Blurt Master Constable*, which had been acted by the Children of Paul's, Middleton seems to have engaged himself to write for companies under the direction of Philip Henslowe. On behalf of the Admiral's Men, Henslowe on 22 May 1602 records a payment of £5 to Middleton and four others (Dekker, Drayton, Munday, and Webster) for a lost play, *Caesar's Fall*, and exactly one week later a payment to the same five of £3 for a play he calls *Two Shapes*. In spite of the apparent inharmony of the two titles, it has been usually agreed that they represent but one play. "The agreement of the list of authors and the complementary nature of the payments," wrote Mr. Greg, "put the identity of the pieces, I think, beyond doubt."¹ Middleton's name next appears in Henslowe's records on 3 October 1602, when he was advanced £1 in earnest of an unnamed play which he was writing or had promised to write for another of Henslowe's companies, the Earl of Worcester's Men.² As this unnamed play was for Worcester's Men, it can hardly be identical to the lost *Randal, Earl of Chester*, for which Henslowe on 21 October and 9 November paid Middleton on behalf of the Admiral's Men.³ Middleton's name last appears in the records for 1602 on 14 December, when Henslowe sent him five shillings for writing a new prologue and epilogue for *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, to be recited at the Christmas performance of the play at court.⁴ Henslowe's consecutive records of disbursements to playwrights stop with the entry of 16 March 1602/3, three days before an order forbidding the performance of plays during the Queen's illness. Though a note in the *Diary* states "Begininge to playe agayne by the kynges licence . . . 1603 9 of maye," the resurgence of the plague almost immediately reclosed the theatres, and it was not until 9 April 1604 that the Council authorized performances by the players of the three companies then known as the King's Men, Queen's Men, and Prince Henry's Men.⁵

1 W. W. Greg, ed., *Henslowe's Diary* (1904), ii, 222.

2 *Ibid.*, i, 182; ii, 269.

3 *Ibid.*, i, 171; ii, 225.

4 *Ibid.*, i, 172.

5 E. K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, i, 302.

With the latter two companies, which had previously been known as the Admiral's Men and the Earl of Worcester's Men, Henslowe was still associated, but his diary has few entries connected with the theatre after March 1603, and in only one of these is there a reference to Middleton. This entry, which is not specifically dated but immediately precedes an entry dated 14 March 1604, records the payment to Dekker and Middleton "in earneste of ther play Called the pasyent man & the onest hore the some of" £5.⁶ The size of the payment suggests that the play was at least near completion. *The Honest Whore*, Part I of which was printed late in 1604, is the only extant play written for Henslowe in which Middleton is known to have had a hand.

In the months between 19 March 1603 and 9 April 1604, during which, as a result of the adult companies' being forbidden to act in or near London, there would be little demand for new plays, Middleton may have written the two prose tracts which he published in 1604, *The Black Book* and *Father Hubbard's Tales*.⁷ The composition of these brief and unpretentious tracts, however, could hardly have consumed the whole year. And as no one would know for how long the restrictions against performances might stand, there is certainly no reason to expect that dramatic composition would cease even during an extended period of prohibition. Further it may be noted that the order of 9 April 1604, authorizing the resumption of public performances, names only the three adult companies—the King's, the Queen's and the Prince's. Though perhaps inconsistent, it seems at least possible that the restrictions against the children's companies may have been less stringent, that their period of inactivity may have been less extended. If such were the case, it may explain Middleton's leaving Henslowe to write again for the Children of Paul's. True, he was paid by Henslowe for *The Honest Whore* sometime in 1604; but he could have promised Henslowe the play before the theatres were closed and have delivered it—there being no reason for prompt delivery—only when it became apparent that the ban against public performances would soon be lifted. Whatever the situation may have been, I believe it can be shown that *The Phoenix*, printed in 1607

⁶ Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, i, 175.

⁷ *Father Hubbard's Tales* was entered upon the *Stationers' Register* on 3 January 1604, *The Black Book* on 22 March 1604.

Middleton's *The Phoenix*

as "Acted by the Children of Paules," was written in 1603, probably several months after *Randal, Earl of Chester* and perhaps some six months before the public theatres reopened.

The differences of opinion concerning the date of *The Phoenix* have not been great. Fleay dated it after *Volpone* (1605), thinking he recognized in it an imitation of Jonson's comedy.⁸ Denying that the supposed imitation was "clear enough to cause any difficulty," and observing that "Knights are satirized in I, vi, 150, II, iii, 4, and there is an allusion to the unsettled state of Ireland in I, v, 6," Sir Edmund Chambers assigned *The Phoenix* to 1603-1604.⁹ When the play was printed in 1607, the title-page stated that it had been "presented before his Maiestie." The only available performance before King James, says Sir Edmund, was on 20 February 1604. In the most recent effort to determine the date, Mr. R. C. Bald has argued that, if performed at court on 20 February 1604, it is unlikely that *The Phoenix* had then just been written, the theatres still being closed because of the plague. "On the grounds of style, too," wrote Mr. Bald, "I should be inclined to fix as early a date as possible for it."¹⁰ He dates it, therefore, 1602.

The reference to the unsettled state of Ireland—" 'tis as dangerous as a piece of Ireland"—is, of course, of little help in the question of date; the dangerously unsettled state of Ireland extended over much too vast a span of years. It is true that the situation in Ireland was at least comparatively quiet from May 1603, when Mountjoy overcame all organized resistance, until rebellion again broke out in 1607. Yet for so many years before 1603 had Ireland been without peace that it was probably many months after May 1603 that Englishmen realized that Ireland was any less dangerous than it had for so long been thought. There is in *The Phoenix*, however, another—and hitherto unnoted—allusion to conditions in Ireland which is more helpful in setting a date. In III, i, 151, pretending severity towards his disguised servant, Furtivo, who has been brought before him for robbery, Justice Falso asks why he should

8 Frederick Gard Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama* (1891), 2 vols., II, 92.

9 Chambers, *Eliz. Stage*, III, 439.

10 R. C. Bald, "The Chronology of Thomas Middleton's Plays," *M.L.R.*, xxxii (1937), 35-6.

resort to robbery. "Is it," he asks, "because your worshipful master feeds you with lean spits, pays you with Irish money, or clothes you in northern dozens?" Obviously, to have any point the "Irish money" must refer to the debased coin with which the English sought to flood Ireland about the middle of 1601. Irish money had not previously been cheap. Indeed one reason for English dissatisfaction was that the large proportion of sterling in Irish coins enabled the Irish to trade in foreign markets. The second and doubtless the principal reason for the English action was the emptiness of Elizabeth's treasury. This emptiness might be remedied, it was thought, if the crown could engross the coins with the large silver content and substitute for them others containing less silver. The plan was debated near the end of 1600,¹¹ and in February 1600/1 an indenture drawn for the new coins. A letter from F. King to Sir George Carey, dated 2 April 1601, makes clear what the English hoped to gain from the new coins, which were not yet in circulation:

There is some scarcity of money in Dublin by reason of the Lord Deputy's absence, and a general expectation of a new coin; and as the first proceedeth of a good cause, so it may fall out that the effects of the second will prove more available to her majesty's service than all men do look into. For the rebels have now a reasonable store of this sterling coin, which serveth them to make traffic withal with the Scots and other strangers; whereof if they be once disfurnished (as our green merchants will soon have drawn home the good, and left the bad abroad), they may make shorter markets by much than now they do . . .¹²

It was not until the middle of June 1601 that the new coins were placed in circulation. The army and all government agents were paid in them and proclamations were issued declaring them legal tender. Exchanges were set up, in places less convenient to the Irish than to the merchants, at which, with a smaller bonus than the difference in the silver content justified, the old coins might be exchanged for the new. At first the scheme seems to have gone as had been hoped. On 7 July 1601 Sir George Carew wrote Cecil that "the new coin throughout the prov-

¹¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, vol. ccvii, Pt. 6, items 131-140.

¹² *C.S.P., Ireland*, ccviii, 266. In a letter to Dudley Carleton dated 3 February 1601 John Chamberlain gives the same explanation: "We are coining base money for Ireland, to hinder the rebels from supplying their wants from abroad" (*C.S.P., Domestic*, cclxxviii, 544).

ince runs current without contradiction,"¹³ and twelve days later Lord Deputy Mountjoy reported to the Privy Council that the "new money, since the time it was proclaimed . . . passeth as current as the old did."¹⁴

It was not long, however, before an unforeseen difficulty arose. The merchants, recognizing how the crown stood to gain by the exchange of the new coins for the old, began to "muscle in" on the Queen's "racket." On 5 and 13 September Sir George Carey gives testimony similar to that of Sir Geoffrey Fenton in a letter to Cecil dated 11 September 1601. Although, Fenton wrote,

these new moneys . . . have found reasonable good acceptance both with the army and the country, yet I see that one of her Majesty's main drifts which was, as I conceive, to withdraw the old sterling silver out of this realm, cometh not on so fast as were meet, for that the merchants underhand seek to engross it to themselves by giving 2s in the pound or more, where the Queen by her proclamation prescribeth but 12d.¹⁵

The action of the merchants, naturally, served further to cheapen the debased coins, as well as to deprive the Queen of the gain she had hoped for. On 11 December 1601 the mayor of Cork, John Coppinger, reported to the Lord Deputy that "most of the cantreds here refuse to take the Queen's new coin for such commodities and victuals as the citizens buy of them, but demand the old sterling money, by which the market here is greatly prejudiced."¹⁶ By another proclamation, set forth at Dublin 9 June 1602, the Crown tried to force the use of the new money by commanding that no one thereafter should traffic or trade with the old coinage, or use it for payment of fees, wages, or debts upon pain of imprisonment and fine.¹⁷ But the new proclamation served only to aggravate the misery and discontent. The situation became so bad that the Irish money was one of the matters that Cecil thought it necessary to

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 417. Although I have followed the varying spelling *Carey* or *Carew* as given in *C.S.P., Ireland*, I assume that in all instances cited the reference is to the Sir George Carew (Carey) who was knighted 24 February 1585/6 and created Baron Carew 4 June 1605. The only others listed in *D.N.B.* were Sir George Carey (Carew), who had become Baron Hunsdon 23 July 1596, and Sir George Carew (Carey) who was not knighted until 23 July 1603. The identity of the writer or recipient of the letters cited is, of course, of slight importance to my argument.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 439.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

¹⁵ *C.S.P., Ireland*, 1601, pp. 66-7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 407-10.

discuss with the new king even before James arrived in London.¹⁸ Especially heavy was the suffering of the English soldiers in Ireland, paid, of course, in the new coin. A letter from Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Cecil dated 25 April 1603 declares that "the discontentment of the coin is infinite and now unsupportable, for it is generally refused, [and he] knows no way to make it current . . . but [by] the cannon"; and he further complains that "the companies [of soldiers] are grown exceeding weak of English, for the miseries of this war are so intolerable, especially by this new coin, that all the best men forsake them."¹⁹ (The continued use of the adjective *new*, two years after it became current, suggests how completely the acceptance of the debased currency had been refused.) On 12 July 1603 the Lord Deputy in Ireland advised that the sooner the coin was altered the better for the King.²⁰ When an Irish deputation of two knights and two lawyers called upon James on 6 August 1603 to state their grievances, the King, although he angrily denied their request that they be permitted to worship as Catholics, listened sympathetically to their request that the currency be restored to the value it had had before the war.²¹ The King's word was good. Steps were taken the next month to improve the condition, and finally the only sensible solution was reached by a proclamation on 3 December 1603 that the new money of Ireland should be current in all the King's realms at its value in fine silver.²²

Justice Falso's question of *Furtivo*, whether he had been forced into thievery by his master's paying him in "Irish money," can refer only to the debased coinage which the crown sought to impose upon Ireland from 1601 to 1603. Such an allusion would seem most unlikely in 1604, after the abandonment of the project; it might occur at any time in 1602; but it would appear to be most likely during the first three quarters of 1603 when the failure of the plan was recognized and the protests against it were loudest.

A second obvious topical allusion in *The Phoenix* would also be apt

¹⁸ *Salisbury Papers* (Royal Commission on Historical MSS.), xv, 49–50. Summarized by G. B. Harrison, *A Jacobean Diary* (1941), p. 13.

¹⁹ *C.S.P., Ireland*, 1603, p. 26.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

²¹ *C.S.P., Venetian*, p. 83; *Gawdy Papers*, cited in note 23.

²² *C.S.P., Ireland*, p. 113.

in 1603, but hardly before May or June. King James, leaving Edinburgh on 5 April, did not arrive in the neighborhood of London until 3 May. Although he had knighted many gentlemen during his progress south, the extent to which he was to cheapen the honor of knighthood by his indiscriminate bestowal of it could hardly have been at once suspected. It was quite clear, however, by the middle of the summer. In a letter to his brother, dated 7 August 1603, Philip Gawdy first relates two of the "many jestes bredd" of the newly created knights, and then refers indirectly to the protests against the new debased Irish coinage. After the first jest he continues:

two walking espyed one a farr of; the one demanded what he sholde be, the other answered he seamed to be a gentleman, no, I warrant you, sayes the other, I thinke he is but a knight. . . . S^r Patrick Barnwell and S^r Garrett Elmes, withe two other Irish lawyers, ar committed about the petition they presented to the Councel about tolleration of relygion and other matters; ther wer to the number of fower skore attending vppon them at that instant.²³

Sir Patrick, Sir Garrett, and the two Irish lawyers composed the delegation already referred to. They had petitioned the day before for redress of three grievances, asking a change in the officers of justice, the restoration of Irish currency to its former value, and freedom to worship as Catholics. It was their third request, of course, that led King James to order them to the Tower.

The summer of 1603, then, would appear to have been the only time during which there would be both references to the debased Irish money and jests about the promiscuous creation of knights. Both subjects were of interest when Philip Gawdy wrote his letter of 7 August 1603, and both are glanced at in *The Phoenix*. The period was so short during which interest in one of these subjects overlapped interest in the other that it can hardly be just coincidence that one of the jests related by Gawdy should appear in *The Phoenix*. Indeed it appears twice. When,

23 In the *Gawdy Papers* in the *Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (1879), p. 527, this letter is incorrectly dated 7 June, the year not given but the letter following one dated November 1608; in *Letters of Philip Gawdy*, ed. Isaac Herbert Jeayes (1906), it is correctly dated "early in Aug. 1603" (p. 136); in G. B. Harrison's *A Jacobean Diary*, p. 55, it is more specifically (and correctly) dated 7 August 1603. I follow Jeayes's spelling, which, though both profess to give the original spelling, differs radically from that of the text as reprinted by the Royal Comm. on Hist. MSS.

Middleton's The Phoenix

in I, vi, Jeweller's Wife brings Knight to the house of her father, Justice Falso, Falso asks:

Daughter, what gentleman, might this be?

JEW. WIFE. No gentleman, sir; he's a Knight.

FAL. Is he but a knight? troth, I would a'sworn [he] had been a gentleman . . . (ll. 148-51)

And again in II, iii, 2-5, as they take their leave Falso says:

Daughter, I charge you bring this gentleman along with you:—gentleman! I cry ye mercy, sir; I call you gentleman still; I forget you're but a knight; you must pardon me, sir.

Gawdy's relating the jest to his brother suggests that it was only recently in circulation. At most it could have been told for only two or three months. If, as has generally been assumed, the acting of all plays was forbidden during the last nine months of 1603, the jest could hardly have gained prevalence through a performance of *The Phoenix*. But if the jest did not originate in *The Phoenix*, there seems no reason to doubt that Middleton heard the jest at about the same time that Philip Gawdy heard it and found a way to use it in the play he was then writing or was very soon to write.

The appearance of the same topical jest in *The Phoenix* and in a letter of 7 August 1603, the reference to the debased Irish coin, which would have been apt no later than the end of 1603, and the satire on the new creation of knights, hardly likely before June of that year, all urge that *The Phoenix* was composed between June and December 1603. Its composition during those months would permit its performance before the court on 20 February 1604, the date to which, according to Sir Edmund Chambers, the legend of the title-page, "presented before his Maiestie," must refer.

But, it may be said, topical allusions and jests being easily inserted into a play at any time after its composition, the date of actual composition can best be determined by the style and by the stage in an author's development which the play represents. To such a view no one can object, however difficult it may be to obtain an objective estimate of style and development. But no contradiction between the external evidence of topical allusions and the internal evidence of style is involved

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in assigning the composition of *The Phoenix* to the summer or early fall of 1603. When Mr. Bald, urging the date 1602, wrote: "On the grounds of style . . . I should be inclined to fix as early a date as possible for it," he is looking forward rather than backward. When compared to the comedies of London life which follow, the style and technique of *The Phoenix* are obviously early. But of Middleton's dramatic work which preceded *The Phoenix*, we have only *Blurt Master Constable*, none of the plays having survived on which he worked for Henslowe during the second half of 1602. And *The Phoenix* seems clearly a transition from the romantic comedy of *Blurt* to the satirical comedies of London life. Although the scene, like that of *Blurt*, is laid in Italy, the characters, when they have a nationality—and many of them have—are English. Justice Falso and his servants, Jeweller's Wife, Knight, the "term-trotter" Tangle, and the cheating Captain—none of them would we be surprised to encounter in one of the later London comedies. The romantic love element, the center of interest in *Blurt*, has been retired to the same inconspicuous position it occupies in most of the plays of London life. Clearly Middleton has abandoned romantic comedy for satire. As far as style and manner may be indicative, *The Phoenix* not only is a transition from *Blurt* to the later comedies, but is clear evidence that Middleton has discovered his true bent and is on the very verge of his comedies of London life.

Although there are in *The Phoenix* two or three slight contradictions, they appear to be nothing more than oversights, or perhaps a copyist's or a compositor's errors—certainly too slight to suggest that the play ever underwent revision. In notes on the opening lines of both Act IV and Act V, Mr. Bullen observed that "it is curious that the prince did not assume a new name with his disguise. From I, ii, [137] ('Not many months *Phoenix* shall keep his life') it is clear that Proditor knew the prince by the name of *Phoenix*."²⁴ The oversight, if such it be, is, of course, in I, ii, 137, and not in the later scenes. The prince did assume a new name with his disguise—*Phoenix*, and only in the one instance is he as the prince spoken of or addressed as *Phoenix*. The oversight may have been Middleton's, or it may have been a copyist's or the com-

24 A. H. Bullen, *The Works of Thomas Middleton* (1885), i, 177, 195.

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positor's, either of whom, knowing the prince and Phoenix to be the same and observing *Phoenix* in the stage directions and speech headings, may have substituted *Phoenix* for *the prince* in I, ii, 137. Lines 136-7 read:

PROD. I love to avoid strife,—
Not many monthes *Phoenix* shall keepe his life. *Exit*.

In the 1607 quarto these are the last lines on B2v and, although they are printed as verse—the only verse on the page, the last line with the *Exit* fills a width equal to a line of prose, stretching from one edge of the case to the other. Possibly only as he set the last line of the page did the compositor recognize that it was necessary to include the *Exit* on this page and therefore within this last line. So, rather than unduly crowd the words within the line, the compositor may have sought to save space by substituting one word, *Phoenix*, for two words, *the prince*. Too,

Not many months the prince shall keep his life

presents a more regular iambic pentameter line than that in which *Phoenix* appears for *the prince*.

That the word *Phoenix* was not, however, substituted for the reason I have suggested, but that it was rather an oversight, is perhaps indicated by a second contradiction in II, ii, where the disguised prince and Fidelio question the Captain about the sale of his wife.

PHOE. But what if the duke should hear of this?

FID. Ay, or your son-in-law Fidelio knows of the sale of his mother.

CAP. What and they did. I sell none but mine own. As for the duke, he's abroad by this time; and for Fidelio, he's in labour.

PHOE. He in labour?

CAP. What call you travelling?

PHOE. That's true: but let me tell you, Captain, whether the duke hear on't . . . , 'twas a most filthy, loathsome part. (ll. 281-91)

It is, of course, not the duke who is supposed to be travelling abroad attended by Fidelio, as the Captain says, but the duke's son, the prince. The captain has so been told in II, i:

PROD. My lord, the duke's son is upon his travels
To several kingdoms . . .

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CAP. . . . but who
Be his attendants?

PROD. . . . But singly attended . . .
Only by your son-in-law, Fidelio. (ll. 108-24)

Unless, as seems unlikely, *duke* has been several times in the later passage (II, ii) substituted for *prince* or for *duke's son*, the author must have been guilty of a momentary oversight as to who was traveling abroad. It is possible that the confusion was due to the dramatist's failure to reconcile certain situations transferred from his source with others which he introduced. No source for *The Phoenix* is known, however.

It was long ago suggested, and has with a varying degree of doubt been reaffirmed, that the source of the play was "a Spanish story called *The Force of Love*."²⁵ The only known Spanish story which bears this title is *La Fuerza del Amor*,²⁶ by Maria de Zayas y Sotomayor, a seventeenth-century imitator of Cervantes. But as her story was written more than twenty-five years after *The Phoenix* had been printed, it was obviously not Middleton's source; and as there is not the faintest similarity between the play and the story, no one, though ignorant of Maria's dates, could ever have thought the play in any way indebted to *La Fuerza del Amor*. Indeed, there is every reason to think that the source, if there were one, bore no such title as *The Force of Love*. A more unsatisfactory title, at least, could hardly be found for the incidents presented in the play, where the love interest is most meagre and where no reconciliations are brought about, no barriers surmounted by the power of love. Neither is there anything in the play suggestive of Spanish origin. If a foreign source were used, it could have furnished only the framework—the idea of the prince's seeking out abuses in his own realm when it is thought that he is traveling abroad. The abuses satirized in *The Phoenix*—especially those portrayed in *Jeweller's Wife*, *Knight*, *Tangle*, and *Justice Falso*—are both too English and too frequent in the other plays by Middleton to permit one to believe them taken from a Spanish source.

²⁵ First suggested in *Biographica Dramatica* (see ed., 1812, iii, 148).

²⁶ Reprinted in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (Madrid, 1854), xxxiii (*Novelistas posteriores a Cervantes*, ii), 561-6.

SCHOLARLY PUBLICATION IN SHAKESPEARE'S DAY:
A LEADING CASE

By FRANKLIN B. WILLIAMS, JR.

Of books printed in Shakespeare's age, John Minsheu's polyglot dictionary, published in 1617 with the English title of *The Guide into the Tongues*, is unique for the light it throws on the distribution of learned works. Since stationers declined to risk the heavy capital investment, Minsheu himself was forced to finance the printing and manage the marketing. The valuable documents resulting from his ingenious promotion methods are analyzed in the following pages. For instance, printed prospectuses unrecorded in the *Short-Title Catalogue* survive for both the first and second editions. Students frequently mention the printed list of purchasers found in a majority of surviving copies of the *Guide*, a list which—to avoid offense to those who persist in terming it a "List of Subscribers"—will hereafter be cited as the *Catalogue of Names*. Yet few are aware that during the many months that Minsheu was busy selling his dictionary, he published at least ten issues of this *Catalogue*. Like the proverbial blind sages examining the elephant, writers unfamiliar with these variant issues have exchanged charges of inaccuracy; one regrets that all scholarly conflicts cannot be resolved similarly with the happy discovery that everyone is "right as right can be!" The present article will question the venerable assumption that the 1617 *Guide* was the first English book published by subscription, but will present new evidence that on other grounds Minsheu nevertheless deserves credit for introducing the subscription method. Other illuminating details will develop from a study of a book which, though not frequently mentioned in literary circles, was so familiar that Milton, seeking a descriptive term for a volume using many unusual coinages, called it "that wretched pilgrimage over *Minshews* Dictionary."¹

In an age unfamiliar with organized subsidies for monuments of scholarship, the publication of the *Guide* was a formidable undertaking. By any standards it was a major printing venture, for its 726 large folio pages of text in small type not only used the familiar roman, black-

1 See Joseph Hall, *Mundus Alter et Idem*, ed. Huntington Brown (1937), p. xxxiii.

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letter and italic (with diacritical marks), but frequently required Greek, Anglo-Saxon and Hebrew characters. Nor had Minsheu the private wealth that facilitated scholarship in his day. It is said that Sir Henry Savile spent £8,000 publishing his magnificent eight-volume Chrysostom. Perhaps a more modest instance should be cited as a parallel. One of Minsheu's chief financial backers, Sir Henry Spelman, was soon to be engrossed in publishing his own specialized contribution to lexicography, *Archaeologus in modum Glossarii*. Although this volume had a more limited appeal than Minsheu's, it was on the other hand a smaller job of printing. It is said that Spelman personally bore the entire costs of publishing the first volume in 1626, and that most of the edition remained on hand for years. It is suggestive that the second volume was not printed until some years after his death. In the light of Spelman's experience, one develops new respect for Minsheu's enterprise.

That Minsheu succeeded in his weighty venture must be attributed in large part to his skill as a salesman. Although apparently self-taught, he was able to convince the foremost contemporary scholars of the value of his work *before* publication; it is therefore not surprising that the merits of the printed tome have impressed Henry B. Wheatley and later scholars. To be sure, in the winter of 1618-9, when the sale of the dictionary proceeded slowly, Ben Jonson told Drummond that Minsheu was a rogue, and in public print many years earlier Abraham Fraunce had termed him a "false knave."² Yet it is obvious that Minsheu was able to present himself in a more ingratiating light, since success depended upon his scholarly pretensions and reputation for industry. His remarkable self-salesmanship is evident in the public endorsements which he took pains to get at the outset from Oxford University and a group of London scholars. These certificates, obtained when he hoped that his masterpiece was about to go to press, are printed before *The Guide into the Tongues* and reproduced in full or in abstract in the prospectuses for both editions. The Oxford certificate, dated November 22, 1610, is signed by the Vice-Chancellor, John King (later Bishop of London), and seven other heads. It is interestingly similar to the character testi-

² Ben Jonson, ed. C. H. Herford and P. Simpson, i, 133 and 154. The citation of *The Countesse of Pembrookes Yuuychurch* (1591) should be "Sig. H1."

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monials that Christopher Angelus, professional Greek refugee, obtained from Cambridge and Oxford in 1610 and 1617 respectively, but of course stresses the value of Minsheu's manuscript rather than his suffering for conscience. The London certificate, dated December 8, 1610, is signed by William Camden and seven other scholars, including Edward Topsell of *Four-Footed Beasts* fame.

The Oxford and London certificates afford practically all the information that survives on the actual compilation of the *Guide*. Work on the polyglot dictionary began soon after Minsheu completed his 1599 revision of Percyvall's Spanish dictionary. At a later period he found his individual efforts inadequate and recruited helpers. Proceeding on sound lexicographical principles, he employed these assistants in a systematic search. In the words of the Oxford certificate, Minsheu assembled

all Wordes in all these Languages, as much as many Scholers (some Englishmen, some Welsh, some high Dutch-men, low Dutch, French, some Italians, &c. all learned in the Tongues) for diuers yeeres could find out, by reading the best Authors in all these Languages . . . and all at his great charges and expences. . . .

Minsheu convinced the Oxford and London scholars that up to the summer of 1610 his outlay on the project—for much of which he was in debt—approximated “a thousand Markes,” equivalent perhaps to \$25,000 at 1938 values. Even after heavily discounting the estimate, one is perplexed to account for such large-scale expenditure by a simple language teacher. About the end of July, 1610, Minsheu took his staff of “Strangers and Scholers” down to Oxford to complete the editing of his masterpiece. There, “to his farther great expences,” he “appointed euery one in his owne Language . . . to runne ouer [the manuscript], that it now might goe the more correct to the Presse.” The Oxford dons graciously affirmed that

it is in our Opinions, A rare and excellent Worke . . . very Worthy to be Printed and Published throughout Christendome, for the Benefit and helpe of Learning in all these Tongues . . . and the Speciall aduancement of our English Tongue amongst other Nations.

Leaving his bulky manuscript in Oxford after excerpting sample entries, Minsheu returned to London to inaugurate his promotional cam-

paign. His heart would have sunk had he dreamed that nearly seven years were to intervene before a copy would be available for sale. His first step was to obtain the testimonial of the London scholars, dated December 8. Since it appears likely that he used the leaflet in protecting his author's rights, the publication of his prospectus was probably his next move. Of this, the earliest printed English book prospectus on record, no copy is known in America. The rare piece was described by the late Falconer Madan, presumably from a copy in the Bodleian:

A prospectus of John Minsheu's "Dictionarium Etymologicum Copiosissimum [undecim linguarum] . . .," consisting of four folio pages, contains on the first two pages a specimen of the dictionary, A-About, and on the third "The true Copy of the hands, with the Seale of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, in confirmation and approbation of this worke," a testimonial from eight members of the University, headed by John King, the vice-chancellor, and dated Nov. 22, 1610. There follows on the same page another testimonial from learned men, and the last page contains notes of the signs used in the work.³

Minsheu had a heavy financial stake in his work. Since Elizabethan copyright was for the benefit of publishers rather than of authors, the lexicographer resorted to the only alternative open in such circumstances.

And for that then I found, I had spent all my substance thereupon, and gotten greatly into debt thereby, I laboured for His Maiesties Letters Patents, which by the meanes of certaine Right honourable Personages, by shewing some part of the Worke, I obtained his Maiesties gracious Graunt herein.⁴

Under date of February 20, 1611, there was granted royal "Licence to John Minshon, of the sole printing of the 'Glosson Etimologicon,' or dictionary etymological of 12 languages, for 21 years."⁵ Minsheu's next

³ *Oxford Books*, ii, 60 (item 328). Yale University Library, which has acquired the collection, reports that there is no copy in Madan's personal library. The first two pages of the *Guide* embrace the words A-About; perhaps this prospectus consists literally of specimen pages.

⁴ It has been judged unnecessary to give signature-references for the frequent quotations from the preliminaries to the *Guide* and the *Catalogue*. Furthermore, Minsheu's profuse use of italics is ignored.

⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, p. 10. Cf. W. P. W. Phillimore, *An Index to Bills of Privy Signet* (1890), p. 113. Apparently the full text of this license has never been printed.

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overture met with dismal failure; this time he was dealing with businessmen in no mood to take risks for the profit of others. These "Letters Patents, with my Copie, I tendred to the Company of Stationers to be sould, who by reason of my great debts to be paid thereby, refused the same." Minsheu was forced to attempt the only alternative, to raise funds to hire a printer of his own. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that no entry for the *Guide* appears in the Stationers' Register.

In his search for a scholarly subsidy, it was only natural that Minsheu should turn first to London's equivalent to a university, the Inns of Court. "I first preferred Petition to the Honourable and Right Worshipfull Benchers and Gentlemen, of . . . Graies Inne, and Lincolnes Inne, by whose goodnesse and Contributions it was first set on Printing." As will appear in a moment, Minsheu means that he formally petitioned the two societies for grants of money. Now since there is no evidence that the Inns took official action to assist Minsheu, it follows that the contributions which he received were donated individually by members of the societies. Indeed, Minsheu admits, skeptical souls said that the barristers contributed more out of good will to scholarship than in any "hope, that euer it should be brought to passe." The benchers of Lincoln's Inn were apparently the more generous, for a special section is provided for them in the *Catalogue of Names*. The third Inn Minsheu approached was the Inner Temple, and here alone there is external evidence. In the minutes of a parliament of the benchers on May 26, 1611, occurs the entry:

The request of Mr. Mynshull touching the printing of his dictionary of eleven languages being moved by the treasurer [Roger Dale], is altogether disliked.⁶

Nevertheless Minsheu reports that at the Inner Temple he had the same success as at Gray's and Lincoln's Inns. However, he did not approach the Middle Temple; his explanation is that by this time he was able to borrow money to finance the printing. In view of this aid from the Inns, it is not surprising that Minsheu gives careful attention to law terms, an element particularly stressed in his second edition.

While still treating with the Inns of Court Minsheu had begun to

6 F. A. Inderwick, *A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records* (1896-1901), ii, 59.

solicit aid from "diuers Honorable and Right Worshipfull Personages, Bishops and others." From this point onward it becomes impossible to distinguish to what extent his collections were gifts and to what extent loans. The first printed sheets, besides serving as evidence of Minsheu's honest intentions, doubtless became security for loans. Although pretending to maintain a veil of anonymity over some of his noble and distinguished patrons, Minsheu pays tribute to several benefactors both in his preface and in the *Catalogue*. For as the years passed and funds failed, the *Guide* "lay dead at the Presse for want of mony." At this point an earlier contributor, Sir John Lawrence (later created baronet), was induced to lend "further out of his purse, a great summe." Three others joined him, and "they did at their charge, Print off the rest, and greatest part of the maine Booke of eleuen Languages." The three were "Doctor Aileworth of Great Milton,"⁷ Mr. Paul Peart, and the Gresham College geometrician, Henry Briggs.

Meanwhile Minsheu had undertaken a second work, a Spanish dictionary based on his 1599 revision of Percyvall, expanded and elaborately supplied with cross-references to the *Guide*. This work, he informs us, he both began and completed at Cambridge, "and much the sooner by the fauourable goodnesse of the . . . Vicechancellours and . . . heads of houses of both Vniuersities, to animate some Schollers to set to their helping hands." Presumably Minsheu was no longer able to support a paid staff! He also acknowledges the magnanimity of a "Worthy noble Man of this Kingdome" in depleting his own library for "diuers yeeres last past" in order that Minsheu might be provided with scarce foreign reference works. Early financial supporters of the *Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie* were Robert Treswell (Somerset Herald), William Caldwell (sergeant of His Majesty's bakehouse), and John Pory the geographer, "a little before he went to trauell out of England [in 1613]." Like the *Guide*, the *Dictionary* languished at the press; it was rescued through liberal loans from three former benefactors, Henry Briggs, Sir Henry Spelman, and "a worthy Citizen Master Richard Booth." Now it is possible that Minsheu originally planned the *Spanish Dictionary* as an independent work, but before it was ready for pub-

⁷ Doubtless Queen Elizabeth's old physician, Anthony Aylworth, who was apparently spending his last years near Oxford. He was buried in New College Chapel in 1619.

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lication he relegated it to the position of an appendix or second part to the *Guide*. The preliminaries to both parts, as well as the *Catalogue of Names*, clearly represent it as part of the *Guide*. One may question the decision of the *Short-Title Catalogue* in giving it a separate listing (17949).

Having traced Minsheu's scholarly and financial travail to the point where he could publish the *Guide* "to your viewes as you see, (though it hath cost me the hazard of my life therefore)," one may pause to review the printing history. In this field I am heavily indebted to the guidance of Dr. E. E. Willoughby and Professor W. A. Jackson. Although the imprint offers no clue, it is possible to identify most of the presswork and to reconstruct its troubled course. The text of the *Guide* (gatherings A-Zz) was produced at the Eliot's Court Press, presumably by Melchisidec Bradwood.⁸ Among London printshops, the Eliot's Court Press was notable for its supply of types and workmen skilled in scholarly books. Although Bradwood himself was still chiefly occupied at Eton on the great Savile Chrysostom, he continued to issue works in London. Among his books for 1611, the year in which it may be assumed that the *Guide* was begun, was the second edition of John Florio's Italian dictionary, *Queen Anna's New World of Words*. Minsheu's *opus* was a more ponderous undertaking, but it is curious to observe that both the Florio and the Minsheu volumes were printed in the main by Bradwood but in part by William Stansby. The next section of Minsheu's book to be worked on was the text of the *Spanish Dictionary*; this consists exclusively of small type devoid of easy clues, and I will not venture a guess as to its source. This unidentified printer worked off gatherings A-N and stopped; apparently funds were again exhausted. When Minsheu obtained money to complete his project in 1617, he turned to William Stansby for the finishing touches. Stansby printed the last three gatherings of the *Spanish Dictionary* (O-Q), at least nine of the ten preliminary leaves to both parts of the volume, and

⁸ Although the evidence is scanty, the headpiece and initial on text Sig. A1 (i.e., page 1) may be found respectively in *S.T.C.* 20063 (title-page) and 11099 (¶57), the latter being the Florio dictionary mentioned above. This headpiece is retained in the second edition of the *Guide*, which bears the imprint of John Haviland, one of Bradwood's successors at Eliot's Court.

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the special dedication leaves mentioned hereafter.⁹ On the whole, the craftsmanship of the *Guide* is not distinguished, but a few of Stansby's pages are pleasing to the eye.

Now that the *Guide* was at long last in print, there is indication that Minsheu again suggested that the Stationers' Company undertake its marketing. At least such action is hinted in the *Catalogue of Names*: "In regard the Company of Stationers of London vtterly refusing to buy them from him, He is forced to tender them himselfe." Although the Company had declined at least once and perhaps twice to become involved in Minsheu's venture, individual booksellers played a considerable part. As his regular agent Minsheu designated the obscure bookseller and bookbinder John Browne, who may now be identified with some confidence as John Browne, junior.¹⁰ Although the title-page carefully states that the *Guide* is published by the author, copies "are to be sold at Iohn Brownes shop a Booke-seller in little Brittainne." Browne's name also appears at the foot of most issues of the *Catalogue of Names*. That other booksellers bought wholesale lots is shown by the following entries in Variant 3 of the *Catalogue of Names*:

Mr. [John] Bill	25
Mr. [Henry] Fetherstone.	40
Mr. [John] Piper	2
Mr. [Timothy] Barlow	0

The last two figures are obviously pried; the numbers intended were probably "20" and "10" respectively. Since these four names were

9 The break between gatherings N and O is unmistakable. The most convenient proof of Stansby's workmanship is comparison of initials and ornaments with Stansby's part of the 1617 edition of Joseph Hall (*S.T.C.* 12707). Among the clinching points is the telltale broken-block large initial "T" found on Sig. A3 of the Minsheu preliminaries and at Ddd3 and elsewhere in Hall.

10 Although expressing doubt, R. B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers 1557-1640* (1910), p. 52, seems to favor John Browne, senior, who died in 1622. However, the Folger has a variant (unrecorded in *S.T.C.*) of the second (1625) edition with the imprint "to be sold at Iohn Brownes shop." Yet though improbable, it is conceivable that, if unique, this title-page was an error slavishly copied from the 1617 title when the second edition was being composed. Whether Senior or Junior, Browne was presumably responsible for the binding of plain calf stamped on front and back with the royal arms that is found on so many copies as to suggest a "publisher's binding." Unaware of the commonness of this binding, several libraries (like the Guildhall) have claimed to possess the King's original "subscription copy."

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dropped from all later issues of the *Catalogue*, one wonders whether the booksellers found the arrangement unsatisfactory and returned the copies, or whether they disposed of them in normal trade. The question is not an idle one, for it bears on the size of the edition. Either Minsheu diligently searched out the disposition of some of these copies to enter in his *Catalogue*, or the edition considerably exceeded the 500 that one would expect, for the *incomplete* list of purchasers in the *Catalogue* accounts for nearly 430 copies in addition to these wholesale lots. Nor were other stationers unconcerned. Light on the state of the market in January, 1619 (presumably 1619/20), is found in manuscript notes by Thomas Sanderson, benchet of Lincoln's Inn, in his copy of the *Guide*, now in the Library of Congress. This copy has the blank state of the imprint to the *Spanish Dictionary*, a variant not rare though unlisted in the *Short-Title Catalogue*. After the printed words "And are to be sold at" Sanderson has inserted in manuscript, "euery booke-sellers in Paules churchyeard. whence I had this. 1619." His notes on the main title-page supply the further information that he received the volume on January 3, 1619, as a *gift* from the bookseller Simon Waterson: "Quod gratis grate." May one infer that the stock was proving difficult to get rid of?

Primarily, however, the marketing of the *Guide* was Minsheu's personal task, and many were the expedients that he devised. Since he consistently refrains from mentioning any price, it may be assumed that he obtained as liberal a sum as he could, depending on the wealth and generosity of the purchaser. For Minsheu had in mind the large research outlay in addition to normal publishing costs. Specific instances are always of interest. In one of the Folger copies Minsheu has entered the following receipt: "Receiued of Sir Nicholas Kempe Knight this 14th of August 1619 of his free guifte for this booke thirtie shillinges Per me Johannem Minshaeum." For all his generosity, Sir Nicholas never had the satisfaction of seeing his name in the *Catalogue*! A copy in the possession of the Rosenbach Company contains the contemporary note: "pretium 22^s 1618 william Reade"; this copy was perhaps bought from a bookseller or at second hand.¹¹ On the other hand, one suspects that Minsheu gave away some copies of his work to win the prestige of

11 But the names of Edward and John Reade appear in the *Catalogue*.

noted names in the *Catalogue*. This surmise is supported by the inscription "Ex dono authoris 1617" in the Wadham College copy listed in the *Catalogue*.¹² Minsheu's systematic canvass for buyers may be traced to some extent in the successive issues of the *Catalogue of Names*. Either he or his agent visited various cities and towns. The most successful journeys were to Cambridge (Variant 5 or ?4), Oxford (Variant 7), Windsor (Variant 9), and Bath, Bristol, and Winchester (Variant 10).

In marketing the *Guide* Minsheu relied to no small extent on snob-appeal. An early scheme which he soon abandoned was to prepare specially printed individual dedication leaves. He was more ethical than most practitioners of this art, for he usually specifies that these unique dedications are "*oultre la dedication generale*" or "*praeter dedicationem generalem*" to the King.¹³ The former Huth copy, presented to Shakespeare's patron, Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, was illustrated in the first (1941) catalogue of Alan Keen, Ltd., of London. The copy for Thomas Wilbraham is described as item 603 in Catalogue 197 (1936) of Bernard Halliday of Leicester. Both of these copies are now in the world's most remarkable Minsheu collection, that of Mr. C. K. Ogden of the Orthological Institute, London. While French and Latin are used respectively in these copies, Spanish is used in the inscription to George Carew, first Earl of Totnes, found in a Harvard copy bound before (and perhaps particularly intended for) the *Spanish Dictionary*. In view of the rarity of these special dedications and the fact that the three patrons mentioned all appear in the first two columns of early states of the *Catalogue*, it is probable that Minsheu discontinued this method when he hit on the less expensive idea of the *Catalogue of Names*.

A Catalogue and true note of the Names of such Persons which . . . haue receaued the Etymologicall Dictionarie served many uses. It could be distributed as a handbill, inserted into the dictionary, or posted before a bookstall. It would convince a hesitant purchaser of the distinguished company he was joining. It would flatter a buyer with the notion that his name also would be printed in the next issue—though

¹² H. A. Wheeler, *A Short Catalogue of English Books before 1641 in Wadham College* (1929), p. 59.

¹³ For more dubious methods in this field see Mr. F. P. Wilson's essay in this volume.

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probably too late for inclusion in his own copy of the *Guide*. There is reason to believe that some copies were used with the prospectus for the second edition of the *Guide*. Minsheu early began to insert the *Catalogue* into copies of the dictionary, although only Variant 10 definitely states that it is "now printed in euery Booke." Somewhat over half of the surviving copies of the *Guide* contain the list. It consists of a single large folio leaf with an explanatory statement followed by names in five columns, betraying some preliminary classification but for the most part added "promiscuously as they tooke them." The statement tells the purpose of the list, notes Minsheu's "great debtes, vnpossible for him euer to pay, without the assistance of like Receauers of the said Bookes," explains the necessity for his vending the book because of the uncooperative attitude of the Stationers' Company, and assures prospective buyers that their service to scholarship will win his undying gratitude.

The plan of the *Catalogue* obviously called for repeated printings to incorporate late purchasers, but dispersal of copies has obscured how numerous these issues are. The *Guide* is a comparatively common book. The following table of variant issues of the *Catalogue* rests on a survey of fifty-five copies of the *Guide*, including all known in American collections. The table presumably covers all variants in the United States, but in view of the large number of *Guides* surviving in British libraries, it is not unlikely that an additional issue or two will be found. The survey would have been impossible without the prompt and courteous cooperation of libraries in answering queries and supplying photostats. Nor must one neglect a note of thanks to the almost equal number of libraries which reported that their copies of the *Guide* lack the *Catalogue*. My colleague Professor Bernard M. Wagner kindly supplied data on many of the British copies included in the table, while Dr. James G. McManaway of the Folger Library drew my attention to the others. I am particularly grateful to Mr. C. K. Ogden for his kindness in supplying information on his copies; however, pressure of time and present difficulty in obtaining photostats have made it impossible to describe his variants as fully as the others.

The attempt to date the sequence of variants rests wholly on internal data. As a sample of the type of evidence, it may be noted that Bacon appears successively as Lord Keeper, Lord Chancellor (Variant 6) and

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Variant Issues of the *Catalogue of Names*

(STC 17944a)

Variant	Type Copy	Number of Names			Last name on list	Cols. of names on verso	Printed after
		Persons	Libraries	Total			
1	C. K. Ogden, London				Sir Io: Deckham [i.e., Dacombe]	0	
2	C. K. Ogden, London				Mr. Charles Chibborne	0	
3	Newberry Library	168	1	169	Sir Iohn Franckline	0	May 1617
4	C. K. Ogden, London				Mr. Peter Greuill	1	
5	Cambridge Univ., Broadsides XVII	223	19	242	Mr. Edw: Smith . . .	1½	2 Feb. 1618
6	Harvard 9212.2F(A)	267	20	287	Sir Thomas Metham	2½	6 July 1618
7	British Museum 629.m.15	325	37	362	The Lo: Mountioy	4⅓	
8	Folger 154	326	37	363	Edw: L. Fitzwarren	4⅓	
9	Folger 1522	359	37	396	Mr. Welles . . .	5	16 Feb. 1619
10	Folger 1193	378	39	417	Sir Ri: Tichborne	5	6 Nov. 1619

Other Copies

Variant 3: Bodleian (Douce M.subt.21)

Variant 6: Bodleian (B6.10.Art), University of Edinburgh

Variant 7: C. K. Ogden; Cornell, Rosenbach Company, University of Virginia

Variant 8: Rosenbach Company

Variant 9: British Museum (625.1.1), C. K. Ogden; Boston Athenaeum, Boston Public Library, W. A. Clark Library, Folger (2 more copies), Harvard (9212.2F-B), Library of Congress, New York Public (Arents Collection), University of Oregon, University of Texas, Western Reserve University

Variant 10: British Museum (C.83.k.1), C. K. Odgen, Folger, University of Illinois

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Baron Verulam (Variant 9). Only positive evidence is of value, since the *Catalogue* either ignores or is tardy in reporting many changes of status, including promotions in the peerage. Anyone interested in refining this series of dates may begin from the incidents used above: Variant 3, William Hakewill made solicitor general to the Queen; Variant 5, Gray's Inn revels of Henry II, Prince of Purpoole; Variant 6, [William] Loe made D.D.; Variant 9, Sir George Calvert made Secretary of State and Privy Councillor; Variant 10, Edward Chaloner made D.D.

Since the *Catalogue* was produced in ten states over a period of more than two years, the question arises of editions and issues. Photostats were not available for the Ogden variants (1, 2, and 4). Otherwise, examination suggests that Variants 3, 7, and 9 represent entirely fresh settings and may properly be called editions, while the other issues make use of standing type. But this standing type was anything but static. Besides the routine addition and interpolation of new names, the forms received several kinds of revision. The most common is the abbreviation of an old entry to provide an extra line of space. This manipulation appears most clearly in the transition from Variant 9 to 10, the latter occupying precisely the same space but incorporating 21 more entries. Next are erratic and often tardy efforts to recognize changes in status among purchasers, such as the elevation of Buckingham from Earl to Marquis, and of Sidney from Viscount Lisle to Earl of Leicester. Conversely several entries are modified as the result of the disgrace of Suffolk in 1618. No systematic effort was made to keep the *Catalogue* currently accurate, however, and no notice was taken of the deaths of patrons. A few errors of detail are corrected, but in the fresh editions new ones appear, like the degeneration of Sir William Sidley to "Sidney." Such slips as the designation of Theophilus Field as Bishop of St. Asaph rather than Llandaff may account for some of the unidentifiable entries in the *Catalogue*. Variant 8 appears almost superegratory; during the printing of the verso of Variant 7 Minsheu had the printer rearrange three columns of type to an improved pattern and add a single name! The size of the later issues was apparently much greater than the earlier; the cost of this advertising device over the two-year period must have been considerable. The printer or printers

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of the *Catalogue* remain unidentified. Variants 3-6 have a large ornamental initial "A" of the "Apostles" series, showing two readers, while the later variants use the large "A" of a handsome series with themes from classical mythology. Unfortunately both of these series are known in more than one version.

An analysis of the *Catalogue of Names* discloses that it might almost serve as a census of literary patrons and the scholarly world at Shakespeare's death. The tally of names in the table discounts the accidental duplication of "Henry Atlow" in Variants 7-10 but ignores a second doubtful duplication. The total of 378 individuals and 39 libraries found in Variant 10 does not represent the full accumulation, however, since 14 persons were intentionally or accidentally dropped at various stages in the series.¹⁴ The grand total is accordingly 392 persons, with over-all of 431. Of the 392 individuals, I have so far—to my own satisfaction—identified well over 300 with historical individuals, and the ultimate residue of unidentifiable will be rather small. Of the 150 purchasers who are included in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, many, like Laud, were still at early stages in their careers. Although one misses the names of Savile and Selden, scholarship is strongly represented. Besides sections devoted to the two universities, there are numerous clergymen, schoolmasters, and heralds. Although a goodly number of the translators of the Authorized Version died before 1617, nine of the survivors bought the *Guide*.¹⁵ Ten purchasers were among the men later proposed for membership in the King's "Academ Roial." The circle of literary patrons, led by the royal family, ranges from prelates, judges, and outstanding courtiers down through the ranks to country squires with intellectual interests. Here are Southampton, Pembroke, Montgomery, Bedford, Bridgewater, Essex, Sheffield, and other familiar titles, as well as five men of the Rich family. The seven women include Queen Anne and the inevitable Countess of Bedford. The extraordinary number of minor court functionaries, such as the "clerk of the spicery" and other unsung clerks and secretaries, suggests that

14 The "lost" total of 14 may be slightly increased in Variants 1, 2, and 4, which I have not seen. That some of the omissions were accidental is indicated by the fact that two other dropped names were restored in later issues.

15 Four other translators signed the 1610 testimonials for the *Guide*, including William Bedwell, who actively assisted Minshew with Arabic etymologies.

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pressure in Minsheu's favor was exerted by someone in high position. One hesitates to hint that James himself considered the *Guide* more intelligible and laudable than he is said to have found the *Novum Organum*. It is notable, however, that rival court factions supported the *Guide*; both the Villiers and Howard tribes are profusely represented in the *Catalogue*.

Among professional men in the *Catalogue*, the law far outnumbers medicine. There is a liberal sprinkling of merchants, including a group from the alien colonies in London. The average author was perhaps too needy to appear in the *Catalogue*, but among literary figures not already mentioned (like Bacon and Camden) are Lancelot Andrewes, Christopher Brooke, John Donne, Francis Godwin, Joseph Hall, Sir John Hayward, Barten Holyday, Sir Robert Naunton, and Josuah Sylvester. Among individuals with literary associations are Sir Allen Apsley (Mrs. Hutchinson's father), William Crashaw, Alexander Gill (Milton's teacher), Sir Giles Mompesson, and Patrick Young the royal librarian. The identification of "Mr. Davenant of Oxford" with John, the poet's father, stands up under close scrutiny, but the romantic theory of modern booksellers that his interest in the book was probably aroused by Shakespeare is untenable.¹⁶ The identification problem that has most exasperated me is that of Henry II, Prince of Purpoole, in the 1618 revels at Gray's Inn. Although Henry II remains anonymous, it is curious to note that Sir Henry Helmes of Norfolk, who had impersonated Henry I in the revels of 1594, appears in the *Catalogue* in his later capacity of Gentleman Pensioner.¹⁷

It will have been obvious long since that the present writer feels that the *Catalogue of Names* can in no accurate sense be termed a "List of Subscribers," and that evidence is lacking to establish the *Guide* as the first English work published by subscription. In the judicious words of Edmond Malone,

it does not appear that the noblemen and others whose names are given . . . countenanced the undertaking, previous to the publication of the work;

¹⁶ The obvious explanation is found in early Variants, where "Mr. Davenant of Oxford" immediately follows the name of his kinsman, the Cambridge don Edward Davenant. Bishop John Davenant was also a purchaser.

¹⁷ The full *Catalogue* will be indexed in the present writer's *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses*, now in progress.

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and therefore they cannot be considered as *Subscribers*, in the sense in which we now use the word.¹⁸

It is only fair to admit, however, that from the eighteenth century to the present the *Guide* has almost invariably been cited as the first English instance of subscription publication. The affirmative argument is most reasonably presented by Professor Sarah L. C. Clapp in her comprehensive discussion of the question.¹⁹ While denying the 1617 *Guide* its time-honored distinction as the earliest subscription volume, I am happy to record hitherto unnoticed evidence confirming Minsheu's position as a pioneer in the subscription field. It was for the second (1625) edition of his polyglot dictionary, however, that he hit on the method. His troubled experience in publishing the first edition made the discovery inevitable.

Except for a stray remark of William Oldys that apparently Joseph Ames possessed a copy,²⁰ bibliographers seem to have been unaware of the survival of the printed prospectus for the revised edition of the dictionary (*STC* 17945). Fortunately a copy, together with Variant 10 of the *Catalogue*, is found in a Folger copy of the second edition. The prospectus, printed by John Haviland,²¹ is a small folio leaf with an awkward title beginning *A Few Words and Matters of a multitude . . . added to a former Impression*. It contains abstract copies of the two 1610 testimonials, an explanatory "preface," a table of abbreviations used in the revised edition, and eight samples of the added word-entries. Minsheu imparts the interesting information that now, after maintaining his family in London thirty years by teaching languages, he has been incapacitated by deafness. Deaf, "decaied, and in debt," he must rely on his pen.

The prospectus must have been issued shortly before the new edition was published. The extreme rarity of the item, together with its im-

18 *The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden* (1800), i, 234. Malone's copy of the *Guide* apparently contained Variant 10 of the *Catalogue*.

19 Pp. 209-16 of "The Beginnings of Subscription Publication in the Seventeenth Century" in *M.P.*, xxix (1931-2).

20 "Mr. Ames has the paper or proposal Minsheu published with all the subscribers' names about the year 1629"—*N. & Q.*, 2nd Ser., xi (1861), 422.

21 Haviland printed the second edition. The prospectus, which is without imprint, uses his Eliot's Court Press initial "W" of the Apostles Series.

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portance in the history of subscription ventures, justifies the following excerpts, in which it will be observed that Minsheu is still chary about prices:

Whereas the Author hath long since vented and sold out his whole first Impression of bookes, which haue beene receiued into the hands of the chiefe Nobilitie, Clergie and Gentry of this Land. . . .

And hath for some yeeres last past, wholly studied, and with great paines applied himselfe to the augmenting and amending of his former worke. . . . All which now lies readie for the Presse to be printed.

And because Stationers and Printers in reason may not print it, but for their owne profit, not allowing the Author the benefit. . . . Neither will any other men lay downe such summes of money to print the same, except the Author can procure some meanes that the bookes lie not on their hands. . . .

Whereby the Author (without crauing any money at this time out of any mens purses towards the printing againe of this Worke augmented and amended) may . . . thus farre require of some noble, worthy and vertuous good men. . . .

That they would be pleased to let him obtaine this easie request, (to encourage men to lay downe money to print the same) but only to set to their hands to take one booke a peece of him after they be fully printed againe . . . and deliuered perfect into their possessions, and not before, at such price and rate as they themselues shall reasonably value the worth of the Worke, and the greatnesse of the Volume may deserue, or the ordinary price of
as vnder the hands of diuers men already are set downe.

The outcome of Minsheu's plan is unknown; no trace has been found of a printed subscription list. Perhaps Minsheu's canvass disclosed sufficient interest in the work to attract financial backing without the formality of subscription handling. As for the first edition, the records of the Stationers' Company are silent on the venture.²² The name of the printer, John Haviland, appears in the imprint, and the title-page date, July 22, 1625, to some extent explains Minsheu's discarding his original dedication to James I in favor of one to the rising luminary, John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln. The second part of the *Guide*, the

²² The mention of "minshewes Dictionary" under date of April 5, 1624, at fol. 81^r of unpublished Court Book C (currently being edited for the Bibliographical Society by Prof. W. A. Jackson) doubtless refers to the 1623 edition of the Percyvall-Minsheu Spanish dictionary, as is made clear by the related entry in the Stationers' Register under date of May 26, 1623 (Arber, *Transcript*, iv, 97).

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Spanish Dictionary, was not reprinted, presumably to avoid competition with the 1623 Percyvall-Minsheu which Haviland had also printed. The new edition also moved rather slowly, and title-pages were struck off with dates of 1626 and 1627. Copies were doubtless on hand at the undiscovered date when Minsheu died, apparently still in debt from his publishing ventures. That stationers felt under some obligation for his thirty years of lexicographical effort is indicated by the unusual benefit-sales for his children. One issue (*STC* 23132a) of Thomas Stafford's *Pacata Hibernia*, 1633, was "vented for the benefit of the Children of Iohn Mynshew, deceased." Similarly an issue (not in the *Short-Title Catalogue*) of Thomas Lodge's translation of a huge commentary on du Bartas (*STC* 21667) was "vented for the benefit of Edward Minshew, the Sonne of Iohn Minshew deceased."²³

Ignorance of the date of Minsheu's death is typical of the field that remains for biographical exploration. Most existing accounts, like W. A. J. Archbold's feeble sketch in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, fail to exploit even the information in Minsheu's prefaces, such as vague references to his travels into foreign countries before 1587 to acquire languages. These journeys he owed to the friendship and aid of "some worthy Merchants," who also ransomed him home "when I had beene taken prisoner." Biographical details await search in unpublished records, and here the student will encounter orthographic difficulties. For instance, the listing in the *Catalogue* of Robert Vesey of Oxfordshire as "Coosen Germane to the Author" leads one to the marriage of William Vazie (Vesey) of Chimney to Margaret, daughter of Thomas Minshull.²⁴ Records quoted in this article specify "Minshon" and "Mynshull," while Minsheu's own efforts to adapt his signature to various languages in his printed dedications produce results like "Mincheu" and "Minxu." The value of Minsheu's contribution to lexicography is beyond the scope of this article. Most of the important studies are noted by Professors D. T. Starnes and G. E. Noyes, although

²³ The regular bookseller for both of these editions was Matthew Lownes, who had handled one of the issues of the 1623 Percyvall-Minsheu: "J. Haviland for M. Lownes, 1623," not recorded in *S.T.C.* A copy of this issue, as of most of the unrecorded issues mentioned in this article, may be found in the Folger.

²⁴ *The Publications of the Harleian Society*, v (1871), 256.

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the *Guide* does not fall within the range of their book.²⁵ However, they do not cite one of the best articles on Minshew, Leo Wiener's "Spanish Studies in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries."²⁶

²⁵ *The English Dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson* (1946), the index to which is incomplete. Note articles by Starnes, Weekley, and Wheatley listed on pp. 229-30.

²⁶ *The Modern Quarterly of Language and Literature*, No. 5 (August, 1899), 3-11. This is an irregular issue of *The Modern Language Quarterly*.

RANDOLPH'S *PRAELUDIUM* AND THE SALISBURY COURT THEATRE

By GERALD EADES BENTLEY

All scholars who have indulged themselves in the pleasant occupation of examining collections of seventeenth-century commonplace books, such as the one assembled by Dr. Adams at the Folger Shakespeare Library, are familiar with the frequent occurrence in such manuscripts of poems by, or attributed to, Thomas Randolph, the Cambridge poet and dramatist. Randolph was clearly more popular than several of his betters with the compilers of such volumes, particularly with those collectors who were Cambridge men.

Many of these poems attributed to Randolph did not find their way into print in any of the seven editions of his collected works which appeared in the seventeenth century. One such piece, a dramatic dialogue between *Histrion* and *Gentleman* with the title *Praeludium*, is preserved in the British Museum manuscript collection, in Add. MS. 37425. This manuscript is a composite one, made up of various unrelated items of which *Praeludium* is number 5, fols. 54-5. First to call attention to the dialogue was Professor Parry, and, so far as I know, it has been printed only in his edition of the poems and *Amyntas* in 1917.¹ He was somewhat dubious about the admission of the piece to the Randolph canon,² but Professor Moore Smith, whose authority as a Randolph scholar was great, did not hesitate to accept *Praeludium* as genuine Randolph,³ and with reason. One of the two sheets on which the dialogue is written bears the endorsement, "T. Randall⁴ after y^e last Plague" (misread "Prologue" by Parry) in a seventeenth-century hand. This hand has been identified by a later hand and in a different ink, "N.B. The Endorsement is in the handwriting Lord Ch Clarendon." Parry compared the hand of the endorsement with other ex-

1 J. J. Parry, *The Poems and Amyntas of Thomas Randolph* (1917), pp. 226-31.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 370-1.

3 "The Canon of Randolph's Dramatic Works," *R.E.S.*, i (1925), 319-20.

4 This form of the poet's name was commonly used by his friends and admirers. See G. Thorn-Drury, *The Poems of Thomas Randolph* (1929), pp. viii, ix, 184, 193, 207, 211.

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amples of Clarendon's hand and found them the same.⁵ Since Clarendon (at that time plain Edward Hyde) was in London at the Middle Temple⁶ in the period when *Praeludium* must have been written,⁷ and since both he and Randolph were friends and admirers of Ben Jonson and presumably both members of the tribe of Ben at this time⁸ and therefore of some acquaintance, Clarendon's endorsement of the British Museum manuscript seems good evidence for Randolph's authorship of the dialogue. Moreover the *Praeludium* exhibits three extended images or figures of speech which Randolph used in his acknowledged work,⁹ and Randolph's tendency to repeat his own felicitous phrases has been pointed out before.¹⁰ Finally, the unusual form of the praeludium, which was never employed by most dramatists, was favored by Randolph: he wrote one for his play *Aristippus, or the Jovial Philosopher*; the first scene of his *Muses' Looking-Glass* is very like a praeludium; and there is some slight suggestion that he may have written an earlier form of the praeludium printed with Goffe's *Careless Shepherdess* in 1656.¹¹ The evidence seems adequate, therefore, for the acceptance of the *Praeludium* as a composition of Thomas Randolph.

It is possible, I think, to deduce the date of this piece and the theatrical

5 *Poems and Amyntas of Randolph*, p. 370.

6 *The Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon* . . . Written by Himself (1759), pp. 7-15.

7 See below.

8 Clarendon says of himself, "Whilst He was only a Student of the Law, and stood at Gaze, and irresolute what Course of Life to take, his chief Acquaintance were *Ben. Johnson, John Selden, Charles Cotton, John Vaughan, Sir Kenelm Digby, Thomas May, and Thomas Carew* . . . and He [Jonson] had for many Years an extraordinary Kindness for Mr. Hyde, till He found He betook himself to Business, which He believed ought never to be preferred before his Company." (*The Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon* . . . Written by Himself, p. 30.) The years in question must have been between 1625, when Hyde entered the Middle Temple (*ibid.*, p. 7), and shortly after 1632, when he married a second time, for Hyde says of himself, "From the Time of his Marriage He laid aside all other Thoughts but of his Profession, to the which He betook himself very seriously" (*ibid.*, pp. 15-6). One is tempted to conjecture that Clarendon may have first met Randolph at Cambridge, for in the summer of 1628 Clarendon set out to ride the circuit with his uncle. Their first stop was Cambridge, where they stayed at Randolph's college, Trinity. Here the young Hyde came down with small pox and after a day or two was moved from Trinity College to the Sun Inn, where he was ill for more than a month. (*Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.)

9 Moore Smith, *R.E.S.*, i (1925), 319-20.

10 E.g., Parry, *Poems and Amyntas of Randolph*, p. 373; Moore Smith, *R.E.S.*, i, 309-10; Cyrus Day, *P.M.L.A.*, xliii (1928), 800-09.

11 Moore Smith, *R.E.S.*, i, 320-2.

event which occasioned its composition. In the first place, it is clear that it was never intended for an amateur production before an academic audience, like some of Randolph's other work, but for an audience in a London theatre. The whole tone of the dialogue is that of a genial theatre habitué of social position and some wealth, i.e., "Gentleman," speaking familiarly to a social inferior, a professional entertainer, i.e., "Histrio," about his "qualitie," and being entertained by Histrio's mock-heroic illustrations of the actors' troubles. The place allusions all refer to London and never to Cambridge: the characters speak of the "dearth of witt all ouer the tauernes & ordinaryes," of "any stage i'th towne" of "hospitable Humphryes."¹² That the action takes place in a London private theatre and not in a college hall is suggested not only by the professional-entertainer character of Histrio, but by Gentleman's lines, "walke downe the stayres, & chew the cud wth my seruimgmen," and by his last speech, in which, as he leaves the stage, he says of the ensuing prologue, "I shall heare that in the Cockpit."

Praeludium, then, appears to be a prologue piece intended for performance by professional actors in a London theatre. Randolph's association with a London theatrical troupe, incongruous as it may seem for a Fellow of Trinity and Prevaricator of the University, has been suggested before by Fleay and somewhat gingerly taken up by Moore Smith and Parry.¹³ Fleay noticed that there were various allusions in Randolph's non-dramatic verse which suggested association with a London dramatic company and that the first scene of his *Muses' Looking-Glass* contained lines indicating that the play was performed in a new London theatre, which Fleay assumed to be the Salisbury Court. With characteristic insouciance, Fleay jumped to the conclusion that Randolph was assistant manager of Prince Charles's company, which was occupying the Salisbury Court in 1632 and 1633. The evidence both of the dates of Randolph's later Cambridge career and of the history of the London acting companies is against the details of this conclusion,

¹² I.e., Duke Humphrey's alleged monument in St. Paul's Cathedral, notorious for generations as the haunt of the impecunious in search of a meal.

¹³ F. G. Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642*, ii, 166-7; G. C. Moore Smith, "Thomas Randolph," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1927, pp. 93-5; Parry, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-8. Thorn-Drury, *op. cit.*, pp. xv-xvii, wholly rejected Fleay's contention.

but new evidence (discovered since Fleay's time) of the license of two of Randolph's plays by Sir Henry Herbert for the Children of the King's Revels company in 1630 and of a fairly clear allusion in William Hemminges's *Elegy on Randolph's Finger* to the poet's writing anti-Puritan satire for a boy company, indicates that Fleay's conclusion should be modified, not rejected. In sum, it seems likely that in 1630 and perhaps as early as the end of 1629 Randolph was in London serving as playwright for the Salisbury Court theatre—perhaps under contract, as Richard Brome was to this theatre 1635–8. More detailed evidence for this modification of Fleay's thesis I have presented elsewhere.¹⁴

New evidence of Randolph's association with the Salisbury Court appears in William Prynne's *Histrio-Mastix*, 1633. This interminable diatribe against plays, players, theatres, and theatre-goers contains disappointingly few specific allusions to the drama and theatres of the time, but occasionally Prynne strays from the classics and the Fathers to his contemporaries. One such deviation occurs in Part I on page 797.

The grand Objection of our present dissolute times for the justification of these Playes is this; (y) That none but a companie of Puritans and Precisians speake against them; all else applaud and eke frequent them; therefore certainly they are very good recreations, since none but Puritans disaffect them.

[*Marginal note*] y This obiection as I have heard was much urged in a most scurrilous and prophane manner in the first Play that was acted in the New-erected Play-house: a fit consecration Sermon for that Divels Chappell.

The "New-erected Play-house," which Prynne so characteristically dubs "that Divels Chappell," must have been the Salisbury Court theatre, for the erection of that playhouse in 1629 is the only example of new theatre construction in London between 1617 and 1642,¹⁵ and Prynne himself refers to it as "one *new Theatre* erected" in the dedication of his book.¹⁶ *Histrio-Mastix* was entered in the Stationers' Register 16 October 1630 and issued in 1633, but it is known that the author had been working on it for years, because Dr. Goad and Dr. Harris testified

14 *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage* (1941), ii, 537–9.

15 See J. Q. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses* (n.d.), *passim*.

16 *Histrio-Mastix*, Sig. *3^r.

that they had seen parts of Prynne's manuscript seven and nine years before his examination in 1633.¹⁷ In the light of these facts, the physical relation of Prynne's statement about the "grand Objection" to the annotation about the opening of the new theatre suggests that he added the marginal note to his manuscript late in 1629 or in 1630 when he heard about the new play at the gala (?) opening of the Salisbury Court, some fifteen minutes' walk across Fleet Street from Lincoln's Inn in which Prynne says his book was "wholly compiled." No doubt he had heard about the opening from his colleagues, for in his second epistle he laments the reputation of Inns of Court men as play-haunters—"that this is one of the first things they learne as soone as they are admitted, to see Stage-plays."¹⁸

What was the play at the opening of the new Salisbury Court theatre in which "Puritans and Precisians" speak against plays? I can think of no play written in or about the year 1629 which fits the description so well as Randolph's *Muses' Looking-Glass*, in which the Puritans, Master Bird and Mistress Flowerdew, come upon the stage at the beginning and make ignorant and fanatical remarks in Puritan jargon about the audience, the actors, theatres, and all plays. They remain on the stage throughout the performance making foolish remarks, and at the end of the play are converted and determine to visit comedies, hereafter for their own good. Not only are the Puritans made more of in this play than in others of the time, but the conclusion is one which would have been especially enraging to Prynne and other Puritans. There is evidence that *The Muses' Looking-Glass* was anathema to the Puritans in the *Elegy on Randolph's Finger* written by Randolph's Westminster schoolmate, William Hemmingses. In this amusing burlesque, one Puritan indites Thomas Randolph to another:

And w^{ch} was worse that lately he did pen
vyle thinges for pigmeies gaynst the Sonns of men,
The Righteous man and the regenerate
being laught to scorne thare by the reprobate.¹⁹

¹⁷ S. R. Gardiner, *Documents Relating to the Proceedings against William Prynne in 1634 and 1637* (Camden Society, 1877), p. 3.

¹⁸ *Histrio-Mastix*, Sig. **3^v.

¹⁹ G. C. Moore Smith, *William Hemmingses' Elegy on Randolph's Finger* (1923), lines 195-8.

Randolph's *Praeludium* and

The "pigmeyes" were the Children of the King's Revels company, for whom it is now known that the play was licensed; "The Righteous man and the regenerate" are Master Bird and Mistress Flowerdew, representing all fanatical Puritans; and "the reprobate" is the audience at the Salisbury Court theatre which no doubt "laught to scorne" the two Puritans, and which Mistress Flowerdew calls "the lewd reprobate" in the opening speech in *The Muses' Looking-Glass*.

These various allusions of Prynne and Hemminges fit together well enough to offer a fairly strong suggestion that the play with which the new Salisbury Court theatre opened was Randolph's *Muses' Looking-Glass*. Together with other evidence of Randolph's association with that theatre, the allusions seem to indicate that Thomas Randolph was the regular playwright for the Salisbury Court theatre from its opening to the end of 1630, or possibly later.²⁰

With this background of Randolph's association with the company of the King's Revels at the Salisbury Court theatre in 1629 and 1630 in mind, we are in a position to consider more intelligently the date and occasion of the *Praeludium*.²¹

The whole point of this dialogue is that the players have been unable

20 I know of no definite evidence that Randolph was back in Cambridge before he was granted an M.A. degree in July 1631. He was there eight months later for the performance of his *Jealous Lovers* before the King and Queen in the hall of Trinity College, 22 March 1631/2. One would assume that the play was written for that performance, since Randolph says in the dedication to the Master of Trinity that it was "born at your command," and it seems likely, therefore, that he remained in Cambridge from the time of the granting of his degree until the performance before the King and Queen.

21 We can ignore Parry's suggestion (*op. cit.*, p. 371) that the *Praeludium* was written for a performance of a play of Randolph's after the closing of the theatres in 1642. For one thing, the evidence that Randolph wrote the dialogue himself is enough to rule out any date after his death in 1634/5. For another, Parry's misreading of the endorsement deprived him of the information that the dialogue was written "after ye last Plague." There were, of course, no plague closings after 1642. Plague closings were official inhibitions, and the theatres were officially inhibited at all times from 1642 to the Restoration. Parry's alternate suggestion, which he himself did not favor, that the *Praeludium* was prepared for a revival of Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Woman Hater*, which has the sub-title *The Hungry Courtier*, affords no evidence as to date or occasion. In any case, the suggestion does not seem to me very likely, since the point of the dialogue is that the actors will *not* perform *The Hungry Courtier*. The title-page of the 1607 edition of the Beaumont and Fletcher play says that it was acted by Paul's Boys, but those of 1648 and 1649 say that it was acted by the King's men, for whom, presumably, Davenant wrote the prologue published in *Madagascar* in 1638. Though the ownership of the play may have been uncertain, it was not normal for other companies to act plays claimed by the premier London company.

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to act for a long time and are hence half starved, and that for months the gentlemen of the town have seen nothing of them. The first fifty lines make this clear enough:

Gen: Ho! histrio! I thought a presse had swallowed yo^u all, tis so long since I saw a Comedie: haue yo^u not for want of exercise forgot yo^r quality? Can yo^u strodde as wide, & talke as loud as yo^u were wont to doe?

Histr: Wee will S^r stretch legs & mouth to doe yo^u seruice; though in this dead vacation the one hath benne onely employd in the to^thers errands; the feete had little else to doe but to walke away the stomacke.

Gen: Well I am glad the gagg is out of yo^r mouth; wee haue had a great dearth of witt all ouer the tauernes & ordinaryes, for want of new wordes, & had yo^u ben Longer supprest, wee must either haue new studyed Euphues or returned to Greenes Arcadia, or haue Cald in fidlers & said nothing—drinking in silence wou'd haue come up againe.

Hist: It ha's benne a wretched time wth us I'me sure all ouer the towne; such an alteration cleane through 'um a fellow that ha's benne big enough to play Hercules, is fallen away so many Cubitts, all the cloth's in our wardrope will not stuffe him up to the stature—a paire of silke stockings seru'd six of 'um from June to October—another had nothing to eate for a fortnight togeather but a propertie buckler—

Gen: Hard of digestion! What play haue yo^u today?

Hist: one newly reuiu'd, the Hungry Courtier:

Gen: the hungry Courtier—no—let it bee the hungry plaier—I woud not sit on any stage ith towne this twelue-month, for if they gape as wide as they usd to doe, I shoud suspect a further danger there is iust occasion to feare the Actors will deuoure the audience—what thinke yo^u of a play nothing but ghosts? woud it not bee excellently fitted for the persons? Neuer a Comedie where a pudding is eaten? or bowleing wth penny loaues? o for a yeoman of the guard's part at a chine of beefe! I woud hardly trust thee at one of yo^r woodden pyes—faith how haue yo^u liu'd? does the lady at fifty hold out? prethee show mee how & by what miracle yo^u haue benne preseru'd—

Hist: faith S^r I'll tell yo^u—Some of us haue beg'd in blanke verse; others haue acted Tamberlaine to a butcher & spoke themselues o^th score for a sheephead—many haue peepd into roomes like fidlers, wth Gentlemen will yo^u heare any Speeches—²²

In the remainder of the dialogue Histrio does several standard rôles

²² This transcript is taken from the manuscript and does not agree in several details with Parry's.

Randolph's Praeludium and

in the manner in which the hungry players rendered them during the inhibition. Though the impersonations are amusing, they add little or nothing to the evidence of occasion given in the first fifty lines. From these lines it is evident that the period during which the theatres had been closed and the actors starving was a long one, otherwise the hyperbole of the dialogue would have had little point. The closing must not only have covered an entire summer but have begun some time before June if the actors were already desperate enough to sell precious silk stockings in June. Furthermore, to give complete point to these lines, the dialogue must have been read not too long after October. Evidently the closing was not a voluntary one, since Gentleman says "suppress" and "the gagg is out of yo^r mouth," and it must have applied not only to this company but to all London troupes if there is any point to Gentleman's statement that because of the hunger of the players "I would not sit on any stage i'th towne this twelue-month." All these allusions agree perfectly with Clarendon's statement in the endorsement that the dialogue was written after a plague closing.

What long plague closing of the London theatres during Randolph's lifetime would the allusions fit? The only ones between his matriculation at Cambridge and his death are those of 1625, 1630, and 1631.²³ The first is unlikely because Randolph was then an undergraduate at Cambridge, the Salisbury Court theatre had not yet been built, and the King's Revels company had not been organized.²⁴ The doubtful closing of 1631 does not fit the allusions, because it must have come sometime between the middle of February 1630/1 and June 1631, and in this period the theatres seem to have been closed for only part of the time.²⁵ The June to October allusion of *Praeludium* would not fit these dates. There is left only the inhibition of 1630, when the Privy Council sent out an order for the closing of the theatres on 14 April 1630 and did not allow them to reopen until 12 November 1630.²⁶

The patness with which these dates fit the facts of Randolph's career, the facts of Clarendon's London residence, and the allusions of *Praeludium* are obvious. If the players had been deprived of their occupation in the middle of April, they would have been in serious straits by

23 See *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, ii, 652-9.

24 *Ibid.*, i, 283-91.

25 *Ibid.*, ii, 658-9.

26 *Ibid.*, ii, 657-8.

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June, and, as in the *Praeludium*, still unemployed in October. If *Praeludium* was written as an introduction to the first play at Salisbury Court after the long suppression and acted on the 12th or 13th of November, Histrio's reference to the six actors who lived on a pair of silk stockings from June to October would have been apposite, however exaggerated.

The *Praeludium* of the British Museum manuscript, then, not only affords evidence that it was written by Thomas Randolph, but it fits neatly into his known career. It furnishes further evidence of his close affiliation with the company at Salisbury Court, for though occasional plays for a company might be written by almost any playwright, the composition of a special piece like a prologue or praeludium was normally the task of the regular theatre poet. It was Randolph who seems to have occupied that position for the Salisbury Court theatre in the first year of its existence, and it was Randolph who wrote the *Praeludium* as a greeting to the play-starved patrons who flocked into the playhouse for the reopening after the long inhibition of April to November 1630.

THE CURIOUS MARGINALIA OF CHARLES,
SECOND LORD STANHOPE

By G. P. V. AKRIGG

The Folger Shakespeare Library has in its vaults three books whose pages are generously supplied with marginalia in a sprawling seventeenth-century hand. These jottings are so strange and diverse in their contents, and their authorship has so long and so persistently been misattributed, that a study of them is readily justified.

There can be no doubt as to the common authorship of the three sets of marginalia. The hand is clearly the same; moreover, jingles and proverbs written in one book recur in another, and the same friends and enemies are mentioned in the three sets of entries. First of the books in point of time is a large folio of Raleigh's *Historie of the World*, 1634 (S.T.C. 20641). References to the death of Lord Dorchester and the execution of the Earl of Castlehaven, to the Earl of Bridgewater being President of Wales and Wentworth being Lord Deputy in Ireland, to the Earl of Clare being a Star Chamber defendant, and to Lord Craven's anticipated expedition to aid the Prince Palatine,¹ all point to a date for the marginalia close to that of publication of the volume. Next come the marginalia in a copy of Fulke Greville's *Certaine Learned and Elegant Workes*, 1633 (S.T.C. 12361). References to the fines levied on Lord Mohun and to the expected suspension of the Bishop of Lincoln from his ecclesiastical preferments² pretty well establish 1637 as the date for the marginalia. The last of the three books is Cresacre More's *Life and Death of Sir Thomas More*, 1642. An apparent reference to the Earl of Northumberland absenting himself from Parliament, a note that the House of Commons will pay the Scots £40,000 a month until Christmas,³ and the tone of the political references generally seem to indicate 1643 as the date for its marginalia.

¹ Hereafter referred to as *Raleigh*, abbreviated to *R* in footnotes. Sigs. Nn2^r, Rrrr4^r, Kkk5^r, Cccc2^r, Dddd1^r, Aaaa6^r, respectively.

² Hereafter referred to as *Greville*, abbreviated to *G* in footnotes. Sigs. D4^r and E1^r, respectively.

³ Hereafter referred to as *More*, abbreviated to *M* in footnotes. Sigs. Rr2^r and Fff1^r, respectively.

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One of the three volumes now before us has a notable history. The *Life of More* was at one time in the possession of Horace Walpole, who in his *Anecdotes of Painting in England* refers to the book and attributes its marginalia to Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery (1584-1650):

Another person who seems to have borne much resentment to [Inigo] Jones was Philip Earl of Pembroke; in the Harleian library was an edition of Stone-henge which formerly belonged to that Earl, and the margins of which were full of strange notes writ by him, not on the work, but on the author or any thing else. I have such another common-place book, if one may call it so, of Earl Philip, the life of Sir Thomas More.⁴

On the title-page of the book itself Walpole wrote, "The Writing in the Margins was by Philip Earl of Pembroke in Charles the first's Reign and is very singular."

The Rev. Alexander Dyce was acquainted with the *More* and accepted Walpole's attribution of its marginalia when he cited, in his edition of Beaumont and Fletcher,⁵ a reference to Fletcher which he found there. Dyce made the error of speaking of the book itself not as Cresacre More's but as Roper's life of More. In this he was followed by J. Payne Collier, who, in his edition of Shakespeare,⁶ animadverted to a mention of Aurelian Townsend in the marginalia. Collier, like Dyce, accepted Walpole's ascription to Pembroke. Finally, in his life of Townsend in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, E. I. Carlyle cited Collier;⁷ and so perpetuated Walpole's identification of Pembroke as the marginalia writer, and Dyce's error as to the book concerned.

In the meantime J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps had come into possession of the Raleigh *Historie of the World*. He examined the marginalia in cursory fashion, and wrote a single page note which he pasted to a blank page at the front of the volume. In this note he certified,

I have seen two or three other volumes annotated in a similar manner by the same sprawling hand, in one of which a recent possessor attributed the notes to the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.

4 Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (Strawberry Hill, 1765), ii, 173.

5 *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. Rev. Alexander Dyce (1843), i, p. xvii.

6 *The Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. J. Payne Collier (1844), i, p. xcvi.

7 "Aurelian Townsend," *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, xix, 1030.

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After a listing of interesting items in the marginalia, Halliwell-Phillipps concluded his brief conspectus, "The notes deserve a more careful examination. The above are just noted after a rapid glance over them." Apparently he was satisfied with the ascription to Pembroke since he cut out several of the marginal strips, which he pasted into one of his scrap-books and subsequently catalogued in his *Calendar of Shakespearean Rarities*⁸ as being by the Earl of Pembroke. This scrap-book found its way to the Folger Library and these excised fragments of marginalia subsequently were listed by De Ricci in his *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. De Ricci, naturally, followed Halliwell-Phillipps and listed the fragments as in the hand of Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.⁹

The third volume, Greville's *Works*, once in the possession of Swinburne, has a note in the inside front cover in an earlier hand ascribing the marginalia to Pembroke, and citing the passage in Walpole's *Anecdotes* already referred to.

One of the things which must impress any reader of the marginalia is the complete absence of internal evidence to support Walpole's attribution to the Earl of Pembroke. On the contrary, though the writer nowhere identifies himself, he supplies sufficient clues to make it a matter of no great difficulty to discover him—and he is not Pembroke. Among the clues is a note found in three places, in slightly different form, in the *Raleigh*:

It is fitt y^t wee fue
Wee Bacons, 1
Wee Montagues, 2
Wee Chumleighs, 3
Wee Tallmatches, 4
Wee Stanhopes, 5 for names sake, for
sakes sake, by way of reason & discretion
dooe all hold together.¹⁰

The same list occurs in the *Greville*. This time it reads:

8 2nd ed., ed. Ernest E. Baker (1891), p. 84.

9 I, 312.

10 R: on blank side of excised portion of map bearing number 152. See also Sigs. Nn4^r and Eec6^v.

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wee Bacons wee Mountagues, wee Stanhopes wee Tallmatches, wee Chumleighs wth all our affinities, & consanguinities & by way of collaterall assurance will all hold together.¹¹

In the *More* the full list is not to be found, but there is a note "Kate Chumleigh, Besse Tallmatch, Doll Stanhope."¹² The author's family is easily picked out of this list once one notices the general frequency of the Stanhope name, and specific references to "ye head of our howse S^r Philip Stanhope," "Sir Mehel Stanhope your Grandfather" and "your cousin Jhon Posthumus Stanhope."¹³ Several passages lead to the particular Stanhope who made these jottings. The one involving the fewest genealogical complications is a reference to "My Aunt Susan Mackwilliams."¹⁴ This leads us to Charles, the only son of John Stanhope, first Baron Stanhope of Harrington, by his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Henry MacWilliams. After a fruitless first marriage, the elder Stanhope had as issue by this second wife not only our marginalia-writer, who succeeded him in the title in 1621, but also two daughters, Elizabeth, who married Sir Lionel Tollemache, Bart., and Catherine, who married Robert, Viscount Cholmondeley. When we discover that the second Lord Stanhope had a wife, Dorothy, we understand the notation in the *More*, "Kate Chumleigh, Besse Tallmatch, Doll Stanhope."

Here then is our writer, not the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery but another, less important, courtier, the only son of that John Stanhope who was master of the posts and treasurer of the chamber under Elizabeth and James. Once our writer is known a whole set of minor references fit into place. Thus a memorandum "Mend your Gallery at Haringeton & then neaw paynt it"¹⁵ and a disgruntled phrase "Hearingeton howse or Houell"¹⁶ plainly refer to the family house at Harrington which he inherited in 1621.

Before turning from our author, if we may term him such, to his writings, we may properly insert the fullest notice available on him, that in the *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*:

STANHOPE, CHARLES. Adm. Fell.-Com. at QUEENS', May 2, 1608.

11 G: Sig. k1^r.

12 M: Eeer^r.

13 M: Aa3^v; R: p. 343 (excised margin); M: Ddd3^r, respectively.

14 G: g3^v.

15 G: T2^r.

16 M: A1^v.

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Of Northamptonshire. S. and h. of John, Baron Stanhope, of Harrington. Bapt. Apr. 27, 1595, at Chelsea. M.A. 1612. Incorp. at Oxford, 1622. K.B., 1610. Adm. at Gray's Inn, Aug. 13, 1611. Succeeded as 2nd Lord Stanhope, Mar. 9, 1620-1. Of Harrington, Northants. Lived abroad during the civil wars. Married Dorothy, sister of James, 1st Earl of Newburgh, and dau. of Sir John Livingstone, Bart. Died *s.p.*, 1675, aged 80. Buried at Nocton. Lincs.¹⁷

Our writer identified, let us turn to his notes. The contents of the marginalia are highly miscellaneous, generally referring to almost anything except the text. Only very occasionally does a phrase on the printed page inspire a marginal comment or, by a curious process of free association, prompt Stanhope to jot down some echoing phrase. Thus a couplet from Brooke's poem *Eternitie*,

Arts, Miters, Lawes, Moments, Supremacie,
Of Natures erring *Alchymie* the storie

evokes from Stanhope a cogent marginal note "ye oath of Allegiaunce ye oath of Supremacye."¹⁸ References of any sort to the text are rare, however. Stanhope used his volumes as "commonplace books," spattering their margins with memoranda, observations, admired quotations, Latin phrases and learned names, or any wandering thoughts that came into his head. Much of the marginalia is little more than "doodling"; thus brief lists of rivers of England, of forests, fairs, colleges, religious orders, vehicles, inns of court, etc., etc., stud the pages without system or reason. Stanhope is particularly given to jotting down lists of persons, often without clue as to why he groups them together. Thus in the *More* we have "Jhon Milton, Jhon Turner, George Harrison."¹⁹ Sometimes a random phrase or a proverb is set down, to recur again and again. In all three books, for instance, Stanhope has written cryptically "Bread is a bynder, ye fyre is a dryer."²⁰ Sometimes a piece of doggerel gets stuck in our lord's head and must be delivered to paper. Thus twice in his *Raleigh* and once in his *More* he writes:

Wrawleigh had of witt great store
And hee must dye therefore

17 J. Venn & J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, Pt. I, iv, 146.

18 G: T4^r.

19 M: Bb2^r.

20 R: B1^r; G: 12^r; M: Ll2^r.

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And after that hee was dead
Then they fell a cuttinge of his head.²¹

One thing is apparent, as his lordship leafed through his books no phrase or fancy that tumbled through his brain was too slight to copy down. "The Lethargy, A Liturgy"²² he writes for no reason at all, or "Abraham begott Isack & Isack begott Jacob & soe they begott one another, unto y^e end of y^t Genealogicall chapter."²³ On one occasion he displays the resources of his vocabulary, "Some hard woords for Harry ye wise & Betty ye fayer, as for example Exempli gratia or videlicet Paralipomenon, Apocrypha, Canonically Traditions Ecclesiasticall traditions, Oecumenicall counsell . . ."²⁴ At times he sets down the simplest stream of consciousness stuff, meaningless stringings together of free associations. "Hannibal ad portas El Turco en Campagnia. Hanniballs, & Canniballs, ye river of Amazons, ye Isle of Amazons."²⁵ "Your freind Mr Philip Cale, your Freind Mr Harry Dauyes, Back freinds I mean. Back & syde goe bare goe bare . . ."²⁶ Passages such as these make one wonder whether Stanhope scrawled in his books when in his cups, or whether we have not here a brainsick lord and a subject for the psychiatrist. One finds illuminating a passage in a letter which the Rev. Thomas Lorkin wrote in June, 1613, to Sir Thomas Puckering:

My Lord Stanhope's son is lately fallen lunatic; and the little hope that is conceived of his recovery makes divers of your friends think that it is your hard fortune to be no more forward in embracing those offers which were formerly made you out of that house.²⁷

Plainly, recovery of some sort was achieved since Charles, Lord Stanhope, was incorporated at Oxford in 1622, and in May, 1625, after some trouble with a competitor, succeeded to his father's office of Master of the Posts.²⁸ He married, and directed his own life and estate during the years in which he made these jottings. Nevertheless, looking over the nonsensical or utterly trivial nature of much of the material, one may

21 R: A1^r; R: Kkkk5^r; M: Ddd2^r.

22 R: Ooo3^r.

23 R: Tt3^v.

24 R: Qq4^r.

25 R: Vvv3^v.

26 G: Bb3^r. The latter part of the quotation comes, of course, from the old drinking song to be found in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*.

27 Thomas Birch, *The Court and Times of James the First* (1849), i, 254.

28 *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N. E. McClure (1939), ii, 621.

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suspect that the second Lord Stanhope was something a little less than perfectly balanced mentally.

Fortunately not all the marginalia are as ludicrous as the specimens just examined. Generally they make sense. Some of the pieces derive a special interest because of the little side-lights they cast on the life of a Caroline courtier. There are memos of debts owed and owing, of law suits pending, of persons whose company is unprofitable or dangerous. "Shunne Sr Anthony Hintons & Sr George Greenfeilds company" he warns himself, then adds "Pain Fisher, Squeal of Cotsall, my Lord Neddy [Lord Edward Paulet] are needy company, good onely one for another."²⁹ Other passages bring before us the very type of the dissolute, impecunious courtier of the day:

Wear to day your Cloath, Doublett hose & cloake, your swoord by your side, & call to Tom Wallin for one fowlinge, twoo byrdinge Peices

Pay none of ye Wallwine debts

Giue yem good woords.³⁰

At Hazard seaun is better then eleuen, a poxe take ye bones, if they will not favour a man some times. Though my estate bee poore reuenuue scant Whilst I have any left you shall not want.

Afflictio dat intellectum vexatio facit sapientem.³¹

Haue ballades & Tauern musick but once in a weeke at most, on a friday at night, ye three tunnes in Fleet street is a good cheape tauern.³²

In the *Greville* he copies down a doggerel list of taverns.

They passe by ye Diuell yey make it noe matter,
ye Miter, ye Globe, & ye head in ye Platter,
ye Fountain, ye Mearmaid too, these yey goe by all
& how yey will answer yey baulke ye Head Royall.³³

At times the reader of the marginalia finds himself brushing elbows with the parasites and hangers-on of the court of Charles I. Two shadowy, sinister figures enter here. They are Johannis Baptista de Riva and Harry Hughes. Generally Stanhope rails against both of them. Hughes he calls a pimp and his wife a whore. He warns himself "Haue an ey upon Harry Huys, for poysoning your hands . . ."³⁴ He has a caveat

29 R: Fr^r (excised margin).

30 M: Ddd2^r-Ddd3^r.

31 G: Y2^r.

32 G: Y1^r.

33 G: O4^r.

34 G: I4^r.

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concerning Riva also, "Shunne Riwas Company & hate him . . ." ³⁵ "Pope Napper," he writes, "calls Riua Mefistophilus." ³⁶ Bitterly he records, "For keepinge wicked Riwas company, I have lost as much Horse flesh, as cost mee thirty pounds starlinge. spent 40 or 50 ls in Coach Hyre, and hee hath Had, sixscore pounds of mee out of purse." ³⁷ At one point Stanhope jauntily observes "My Lord Banninge My Lord Crauen younge Mr Curtean and I will bee Patrones to Harry Huys against Babtista Riua." ³⁸ The falling out between the two rogues cannot have been of any great duration for a few pages later we find another entry, "De los dos Ennemigoess reconciliados Guarda os, Henrico Huys, Medico, et Johanne Riua Iustis consulto Civili." ³⁹

Referred to once in the *Raleigh* (ca. 1634), three times in the *Greville* (1637) and once again in the *More* (1643) is Diamond Violet. Who was Diamond Violet? Her name is one to plunge a romantic historical novelist into an ecstasy. It is a name Hollywood would love. Diamond Violet, who was she? Unfortunately we cannot tell. Perhaps she was Stanhope's mistress. He plays with her name like a lover, "What sayes Diamond Violet, what says Violet Diamond." ⁴⁰ Several times he toys with such reversals. Perhaps her real name was Killentry; in the *Raleigh* Stanhope writes "Diamond killentry, Violet De la Barre"; ⁴¹ in the *Greville*,

Diamond Violett
Violet Diamond

Jack Dawes
Will Killentry ⁴²

Perhaps she was Killentry's wife, and De la Barre her maiden name. Let us leave the romantic quest after Diamond Violet. Stanhope suffered disillusion at last. The solitary reference he makes to her in 1643 is bitter: "She guilds ye West In dyes, & perfumes ye east, good silly cheat Diamond Violet a Citty cheat." ⁴³

In the marginalia of 1643 a new character makes her appearance—Doll Stanhope. Apparently at some time after 1637 the second Lord

35 G: F2^r.

38 G: k3^r.

41 R: Ppp4^r.

36 G: P4^r.

39 G: S3^r.

42 G: Rr5^r.

37 G: T2^r.

40 G: Z4^r.

43 M: Ddd2^r.

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Stanhope had acquired a wife. According to the *Complete Peerage*⁴⁴ she was Dorothy, daughter of Charles Barrett of Aveley Belhouse, Essex, and sister of Edward Barrett, Lord Newburgh. Probably this is an error, however, and the *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*⁴⁵ is correct in identifying her as the daughter of Sir John Livingstone, Bart. and the sister of James Livingstone, 1st Earl of Newburgh. Clearly Charles Stanhope and his Doll were not on the most loving terms when he made the jottings in his *More*. There are protesting notes against her expenses. "Telle eeuey Boddy How y^t your Honest wife spends you in twoo years 4000 ls clear upon her selfe in paynt perfumes."⁴⁶ He is determined she should economize, "Three hundred & 20 ls an year for herselfe is enough if not too mutch for my lady Dollkin."⁴⁷ He rages at his wife's serving people, embellishing the list with some interesting additions: "Sarah Whoore Hagar Hoord, Doll tear sheet, Robeina Roe Nell South, Ales Saul are my wiues gouernesses & schoolemistresses for her many loues & lusts for whome noe boddy else cares a straw a rush a pinne a needle nor a. . ."⁴⁸ Alice Saul is mentioned again in a passage from which several inferences may be drawn: "Ales Saul is my wiues laundry mayd Dayry mayd & Sempstresse aged 22 years ould Robeina Roe is my wiues dull silent waytinge gentlewoman shee hath an ould Witch heer her ould Bawdy tell tale & shee spye."⁴⁹ As for Lady Stanhope's gentleman usher, he is "a stupid leaprous foole."⁵⁰ All in all, the household of Charles, 2nd Lord Stanhope, must have been quite a ménage.

The marginalia in the *More* have an additional interest since they show their writer's inner struggle at the outset of the Great Rebellion. In his *Raleigh*, in the early '30's, he had been able to postulate a double allegiance. "There are two thinges gouern in England, ye Common Law of England & ye kinge's souerayne power & hygh Prerogative against ye w^{ch} non est disputandum."⁵¹ The *Greville* notes of 1637 show him inclining to the King's side: "The commons, or ye common people are like a droue of sheep, or a flock of cranes as one doth fly all will follow. it is bellua multorum capitum & soe is ye lower howse of Parlia-

44 *The Complete Peerage*, ed. Gibbs, iii, 417.

45 Pt. I, iv, 146.

48 M: Ffr^r.

51 R: Sss⁵.

46 M: Dddr^r.

49 M: Eeez^r.

47 M: Dddz^r.

50 M: Ffr^r.

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ment . . ."⁵² He makes a note to himself, "Pay shippe mony willingly, & forrest Lawes wittingely if there bee any."⁵³ The coming of the crisis, the final choosing of sides brought great indecision. On the one hand he weighs alternatives and writes:

Medio tutissimus ibis
Regia tutissima via.⁵⁴

He puts down a couplet:

Kinges must command, competitours must downe
Near death hee stands whooe stands too near a crowne.⁵⁵

But the other side presents itself to him also and he soberly writes "kinges can not dooe impossible thinges but they may dooe unlawfull thinges."⁵⁶ A gust of enthusiasm for parliament comes upon him and he proclaims:

ye noble howse of commons will take an order y^t ye councell table shall noe more sett a rate upon victuals fish nor flesh an assize upon Bread corne bear corne mault barley nor wine woud nor marle & by force of Arms yey will hinder his Ma^{tye} from leauyinge ye twoo irregular taxes of shippe monye, & Forrest lawes.⁵⁷

The enthusiasm was short-lived. Stanhope was not to be a whole-hearted adherent to either side.

The Stanhope marginalia will never constitute a rich vein of material for the historian, but there are little interesting items here and there. Stanhope's father, we learn, would have spared the life of Cuff, the Essex conspirator, but Cecil was bent on his destruction.⁵⁸ As for Cuff—"At ye Consultation at Drury howse Cuff would haue had S^r Robert Ceecill cut in peices with penkniues."⁵⁹ Of Essex himself, he notes, "Equo ferocienti subtrahendum Pabulum. sayd Queen Elizabeth of ye late Earl of Essex."⁶⁰ Among other things Stanhope asserts that Dunbar realized £60,000 from the sale of Queen Elizabeth's old clothes (!) and spent at least £20,000 on his house at Berwick.⁶¹ He mentions that his own father lent £1,000 towards building Suffolk

52 G: g4^r.

55 M: Ll4^r.

58 G: ix^r.

61 R: Cccc3^r.

53 G: 1r^r.

56 M: G4^r.

59 R: Mmm2^r.

54 M: Qq4^r.

57 M: Fff1^r.

60 M: Fff3^r.

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house.⁶² There are other little pieces of information. Beside a character sketch of Henry VIII saying "he loued none but to serue his owne turne; and no longer was anie in his fauour but as long as they applyed themselves to his humours . . .," Stanhope has made an annotation "Noc more did my lord Treasurer Salsburye."⁶³ Of Sir Dudley Carleton he writes, "The Spannish faction sayd y^t my Lord of Dorchester to gett a boy killd a man & it was but a girle w^{ch} dyed before it was an yeare ould."⁶⁴ Of Sir Robert Carey who carried news of Queen Elizabeth's death to King James and became chief gentleman of the bedchamber to Prince Charles, he records, "S^r Walter Wrawleigh would say, Robein Cary was of ye tribe of Many Asses."⁶⁵

There is quite a bit of contemporary gossip in the marginalia.⁶⁶ Among other things Stanhope took a lively interest in the income enjoyed by his acquaintances. He makes note that Lord Craven has £12,000 a year in land and £160,000 in his purse, that Lord Petre has £12,000 a year and that Lord Roberts died worth around £300,000.⁶⁷ One cannot help suspecting Stanhope of wild inaccuracy in his figures. Once he corrects himself and notes that his cousin Roper's office which he had valued at £6,000 a year is worth £2,000 at the most.⁶⁸ Apart from these financial notes, there are stray pieces of gossip: "My Lord Neddy [Paulet] & none else allowes stealinge & killinge."⁶⁹ "S^r Thomas Holtcraft, hath spent all, hee was wise in eeuey boddyes businesse but his owne, kinge James would say to him S^r Thomas Holtcraft, you are onely wise in ye mouth."⁷⁰ "My lady Udall was a Coy Duck or rather a stale to fetch in others, such as my smirkinge Lady May, my Lady Isabella Smythe—my Lady Lettice Lake, my Lady Essex Cheeke."⁷¹ "My Lord Don Luys," we learn, "is a great seruant of my Lady of Essexes."⁷² A reference to "ye Colledge of Collapsed Ladyes in Drury Lane my Lady Garner my Lady Markham my Lady Easten"⁷³ refers to ladies frail not in morals but in Protestantism who have lapsed into

62 R: Dddd6^r.

63 M: K2^v-K3^r.

64 G: F4^r.

65 G: Q4^r.

66 Some 480 names occur in an index of persons compiled by the present writer and on file at the Folger Library.

67 G: S1^r; G: E1^r; R: Rr6^r, respectively.

68 M: V4^v and X1^r.

69 R: Vvv4^r.

70 R: Ttr1^r.

71 R: Qqq3^r.

72 R: Ss4^r.

73 R: Qqq6^r.

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Catholicism. Some references are more veiled, like the jingle in the *Raleigh*, "An health to ye Lady y^t ruleth ye Prince wth a twigge & health to her Lord wth his great Perriwigge."⁷⁴ In the *More* is a cryptic note, "Tigellinus gave ye new Fauourites Paramour or Concubine iewells woorth 8000 pounds."⁷⁵

Scattered through the three sets of marginalia are a number of proverbs. As an exercise for his learning his lordship was fond of translating them into schoolboy Latin. Thus he notes "Multorum manibus grande leuatur opus."⁷⁶ Other proverbs of the time are in their homely native English: "What is gotten under ye Diuells chinne, is spent upon his belly. As ye english Prouerb is."⁷⁷ "Hee y^t is not at 20, knowes not at 30, hath not at forty, will neeuere eyther bee, haue, or know."⁷⁸ "Hee y^t chouseth his wife in Westminster, his man in Pauls, his horse in Smythfeild, may chaunce haue an whoore to his wife, a knaue to his man, a iade to his horse!"⁷⁹ Not listed in any of the works on proverbs which the present writer has been able to consult, but bearing all the marks of a proverb, is an aphorism:

These three kinde of people should haue death allwayes before yeur eyes
Mairyners when they goe to Sea,
Souldiers when they goe to battell,
Woemen when they trauell with child.⁸⁰

Along with his proverbs Stanhope puts down snatches of ballad and rhyme. Thus from Corbet's mocking verses on Cambridge's reception of King James in 1615, he sets down,

& vented hath a studdied toy
as long as was ye seige of Troy
& spent her selfe for full fiue days
in speeches, exercise & playes⁸¹

Elsewhere we find an old folk rhyme which Stanhope could have found in Camden's *Britannia*:

Were I in my castle of Bungye,
Upon ye Riuer of Wooeney,
I would not care for ye kinge of Cockenye.⁸²

74 R: Iiii6^v.

77 R: Aaaaa2^v.

80 R: A6^v.

75 M: Vu4^r.

78 R: Sss1^r.

81 R: Ccc4^r.

76 R: Nnnn5^r.

79 *Loc. cit.*

82 M: Lli1^v.

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Other tags and snatches are to be found, sometimes the chorus line of a song, sometimes a whole stanza. Twice we find what appear to be complete pieces. One is a set of lines on Buckingham after he had turned against Spain:

Theres nought can aswage
Spayns Embassadours rage,
but ye Great Duke of Buckingames head
For ye barbarous Don
knowes y^t whilst it is on,
it wilbee to yeur terrour, & dread
But why doo you laugh,
though hee wisht it were of,
perhaps it was his Masters request,
But if such a condition
Wer in his Commission,
I swear, 'twas a capitall ieast.⁸³

Also complete appears to be an incantation set forth in spirited lines with a fine rattling rhythm:

From ye Hagg & ye hungry Goblins,
y^t into raggs would rend you,
& from ye men, y^t daunce by ten,
in ye booke of moones defend you.
They daunce by twoo, & they daunce by ten,
& by God yey daunce like propper men.⁸⁴

Finally, Stanhope has a number of references to the literary figures of the age. "Sir Frauncis Bacon," he records, "was full of Humanity, ciuility, morality."⁸⁵ "Gorringheberry howse & ye Summer-howse at Gorringeberry was Called Bacons folly."⁸⁶ There is a reference to William Davenant, "Doctour Turner, Wil killentry, Will Dauenant & Clapton are great compannions of my Lady kingsmel, haue been wth her at ye Bathe & at Epsam waters, & at Nonesuch waters."⁸⁷ There are a number of slight references to Sir Walter Raleigh. He repeats several times a crude jingle:

The originall of ye rude rauly
it is too base to tell,

83 G: Pp2^r.
86 R: Nan6^v.

84 G: R4^r.
87 R: Iiii4^v.

85 R: Kkk4^r.

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From Italy it came to us
to Italy from Hell.⁸⁸

He notes "S^r Walter Wrawleigh sayed, & hee sayed uery true hee could dooe his Maiesty more seruice in a dungeon then in a graue."⁸⁹ Stanhope has a few things to mention about Fulke Greville also:

S^r Fulke Greuill had some 4000 l^s an year to begin wth & gott more by preferring schollers then my father did omnibus viis et modis.

I haue heard for taukinge a little obscenely to Queen Elizabeth hee was bannished ye Court, & after twoo or three year brought in by my father, for w^{ch}, S^r Robert Ceecill was angrye.⁹⁰

Also in the margin of Greville's *Certaine Learned and Elegant Workes* he scrawled an epigram,

Fulke & Jhon, Fulke & Jhon,
you shall rise anon,
when better witts are gone⁹¹

John presumably is John Donne. Jonson, too, is the subject of an epigram several times copied down,

Then farewell Ben,
ye best of poetts,
but ye woorst of men⁹²

For John Selden, our lord had a fervent dislike. "M^r Selden," he tells us, "is a great Lezinante Grandissimo Borachio Frequentissimo Putaneiro & useth ye l'Escole of Italy."⁹³ Later he speaks of him as an "inauspicious lawyer."⁹⁴ Aurelian Townsend is mentioned several times. There is of course the reference already noted as cited by J. Payne Collier and taken from him by *D.N.B.* This may be given in full:

M^r Aureliand Townesend a poore & pocky Poett but a marryed man & an howse keeper in Barbicon Hard by ye now Earl of Bridgewater Hee hath a uery fine & fayer daughter, Mrs to ye Paulsgraue first & then afterwards ye noble Count of Dossett, a Priuy Councelour & a knight of ye Garter.⁹⁵

88 R: A1 and Ttt6^v.

91 G: Q1^r and Pp3^v.

94 R: Ppp2^r.

89 R: Ssss6^v.

92 G: l1^r.

95 M: Ccc3^v.

90 G: Pp3^v-Pp4^r.

93 R: Rr5^v.

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There are several other references to the poet:

Aurelian would bee glad to sell an 100 uerses now at sixepence apeice 50 shillinges an 100 uerses.⁹⁶

Shunne such needy company as Captayn Steele, yet giue him fūe pounds, & Aurelian Townesend yet giue him now and then a peice, twoo or three or if you bee a winner fūe hee is a discreet Poett and not iealous of his wife.⁹⁷

Finally we come to Stanhope and the dramatists. The dramatists of course looked to the courtiers for patronage, and so it is not surprising to find Stanhope taking a considerable interest in the stage. If we may take Stanhope as typical, the Caroline courtier knew his drama, and pondered over passages from the plays. In his *Raleigh* Stanhope wrote out two passages from the fifth act of Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois*; the one, of twelve lines, beginning "O had I neeuer marryed but for forme" from a speech by Tamyra, the other, of seven lines, beginning "Farewell braue relicts of a compleat man," from the final noble apostrophe to Bussy.⁹⁸ Chapman must have been one of Stanhope's favourite writers. The British Museum has a copy of *Byron's Tragedy* once in his possession. With Webster, too, Stanhope was well acquainted. Adding information of his own about Fletcher, he copied out Webster's complimentary listing of his fellow dramatists from the "Epistle to the Reader" prefaced to *The White Devil*:

The full & heightned style of Master Chapman ye laboured & understanding woorkes of M^r Jhonson M^r Beaumont M^r Fletcher brother to Natt Fletcher M^{rs} Whites seruant sonnes to Bishoppe Fletcher of london a great Tobacconist & marryed to my Lady Baker M^r Shakespear M^r Deckar M^r Heywood⁹⁹

This passage occurs in the *More*. Some ten years earlier Stanhope had set down on a page in the *Raleigh* two Latin tags with which Webster

96 M: Ccc4^r.

97 R: Eeece5^r (excised margin).

98 R: Tttt2^r—Tttt3^r. To the former passage Stanhope adds a vivid phrase from Tamyra's next speech:

To ye open desarts,
Like to an hunted Tigresse I will fly.

99 M: Z2^r.

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had ornamented this same "Epistle."¹⁰⁰ In the *Greville* we find, slightly misquoted, Vittoria's last lines from the same play:

Oh how happy are yey that neeuwer saw ye Court
Nor neeuwer kneaw great men but by report!¹⁰¹

Three times in the *Raleigh* and once in the *Greville*, Stanhope refers to "Squeal of Cotswold,"¹⁰² apparently a person with whom he had some personal acquaintance. Halliwell-Phillipps coming upon the *Raleigh* references recalled *Henry IV*, Part 2, III, ii, and Justice Shallow's account of his wild young days at Clement's Inn with his friends "Francis Pickbone, and Will Squele, a Cotswold man." Accordingly, he cut out these passages and pasted them in one of his scrapbooks, record being subsequently made of these "notices of one 'Squeal of Cotswold,' who appears to have been a very indifferent character; singular evidences of the poet's introducing the name of a local celebrity of his own day into an historical drama."¹⁰³ Since the marginalia post-date the play by some thirty-five years, it would seem more likely that we have here a jocular application of the Shakespearean name to one of Stanhope's acquaintances, most of whom, indeed, seem to have been "very indifferent characters." We have previously noticed "Doll Tearsheet" being listed as one of the schoolmistresses for Lady Stanhope's lusts and loves. One direct quotation from Shakespeare is to be found. In the *More* Stanhope writes:

By all ye Glorious honours I haue wonne,
If Taulbott flye, hee is none of Taulbotts sonne.¹⁰⁴

The original, somewhat different in form, is 1 *Henry VI*, IV, vi, 50-1.

The foregoing account has been based on the three volumes containing Stanhope marginalia in the Folger Library. The British Museum

100 "Non norunt haec monumenta mori"

"Nec Rhoncos metuas (sic) Maligniorum,
nec scombris tunicas dabis molestas"

R: A3^v.

101 G: li2^r.

102 R: Fr^r (excised margin), Qqqq6^r (excised margin), Eeeee5^r (excised margin); G: D3^r.

103 *Calendar of Shakespearean Rarities* (1891), p. 84.

104 M: Mm1^r.

The fifth Chapter.

179

*how you passe the day away amongst you in the
sweete fruits of learning. And although nothing
is written from you, but it is most pleasing unto
me, yet those things are most sugred sweete,
which I cannot learne of but by you or your bro-
ther. And in the ende: I pray thee, Megg, see that
I understande by you, what your studies are.
For rather then I would suffer you, my children,
to live idely, I would my self looke unto you,
with the losse of my temporall estate, bidding all
other cares and businesses Farewell, amongst
which there is nothing more sweete unto me,
then thy self, my dearest daughter. Farewell.*

It seemeth also by another letter of his,
how carefull he was that his children might be
learned and diligent, and he prayeth them for
it thus: Thomas More sendeth greeting to his
most deare daughters Margaret, Elizabeth and
Cecilie; and to Margaret Gigs as deare to him
as if she were his owne. I cannot sufficiently
expresse, my best beloved wven. her, how your
eloquent letters haue exceedingly pleased me: and
this is not the least cause, that I understande by
Z 2 them

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has a copy of *Byron's Tragedy*, previously referred to, with its margins crammed also with the unmistakable outpourings of Lord Stanhope's jumbled brain. This volume has been trimmed so drastically as to make it practically impossible to piece together the marginalia. The loss is probably not great; much of the Stanhope marginalia in the Folger Library is incredibly banal or trivial. What seems clear is that some sort of obsession set Stanhope crowding the margins of his books with his queer disjointed notes and fancies. Probably he spoiled dozens of books in this manner. Taken together they might yield a fairly complete picture of one of the more curious members of the English aristocracy. More of these books may survive in other libraries. For purposes of identification the accompanying plate shows a specimen of the hand. Certain characteristics may be noted. Stanhope never writes a long "s" but is addicted to the antique crossed double "l." Double stem "r's" are rare indeed. The "reversed 'e'" and the numeral "6" form of "s" he never employs. It is a sprawling erratic hand, answerable to the untidiness of its owner's mind.